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THE
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TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

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VOL. VIII



THE
INSTITUTES OF VISHNU

TRANSLATED BY

JULIUS JOLLY

THE BHAGAVADGÎTÂ

WITH

THE SANATSUGÂTIYA

AND

THE ANUGÎTÂ

TRANSLATED BY THE LATE

KÂSHINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG, M.A.

NEW YORK
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THE
INSTITUTES OF VISHNU

TRANSLATED BY

JULIUS JOLLY

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LIST OF THE MORE IMPORTANT ABBREVIATIONS.

- Âpast.—Âpastamba's Dharma-sûtra, ed. Bühler.
 Âsv.—Âsvalâyana's *Grîhya-sûtra*, ed. Stenzler.
 Gaut.—Gautama's Dharmaśāstra, ed. Stenzler.
 Gobh.—Gobhila's *Grîhya-sûtra*, in the *Bibl. Ind.*
 M.—Mânava Dharmaśāstra, Calcutta edition, with the Com-
 mentary of Kullûka.
 Nand.—Nandapandita, the commentator of the Viṣṇu-sûtra.
 Pâr.—Pâraskara's *Grîhya-sûtra*, ed. Stenzler.
 Sâṅkh.—Sâṅkhâya's *Grîhya-sûtra*, ed. Oldenberg, in the
 fifteenth volume of the *Indische Studien*.
 Y.—Yâgyavalkya's Dharmaśāstra, ed. Stenzler.
 Âpast. and Gaut. refer also to Dr. Bühler's translation of these
 two works in the second volume of the *Sacred Books of the East*.

INTRODUCTION.

THE *Vishnu-smṛiti* or *Vaishṇava Dharmaśāstra* or *Vishnu-sūtra* is in the main a collection of ancient aphorisms on the sacred laws of India, and as such it ranks with the other ancient works of this class which have come down to our time¹. It may be styled a *Dharma-sūtra*, though this ancient title of the *Sūtra* works on law has been preserved in the MSS. of those *Smṛitis* only, which have been handed down, like the *Dharma-sūtras* of *Āpastamba*, *Baudhāyana*, and *Hiranyakesin*, as parts of the respective *Kalpa-sūtras*, to which they belong. The size of the *Vishnu-sūtra*, and the great variety of the subjects treated in it, would suffice to entitle it to a conspicuous place among the five or six existing *Dharma-sūtras*; but it possesses a peculiar claim to interest, which is founded on its close connection with one of the oldest Vedic schools, the *Kaṭhas*, on the one hand, and with the famous code of *Manu* and some other ancient law-codes, on the other hand. To discuss these two principal points, and some minor points connected with them, as fully as the limits of an introduction admit of, will be the more necessary, because such a discussion can afford the only safe basis for a conjecture not altogether unsupported regarding the time and place of the original composition of this work, and may even tend to throw some new light on the vexed question as to the origin of the code of *Manu*. Further on I shall have to speak of the numerous interpolations traceable in the *Vishnu-sūtra*, and a few remarks regarding the materials

¹ This was first pointed out by Professor Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 134. His results were confirmed and expanded by the subsequent researches of Dr. Bühler, *Introduction to Bombay Digest*, I, p. xxii; *Indian Antiquary*, V, p. 30; *Kaśmīr Report*, p. 36.

used for this translation, and the principles of interpretation that have been followed in it, may be fitly reserved for the last.

There is no surer way for ascertaining the particular Vedic school by which an ancient Sanskrit law-book of unknown or uncertain origin was composed, than by examining the quotations from, and analogies with, Vedic works which it contains. Thus the Gautama Dharma-sâstra might have originated in any one among the divers Gautama *Karanas* with which Indian tradition acquaints us. But the comparatively numerous passages which its author has borrowed from the *Samhitâ* and from one *Brâhmana* of the *Sâma-veda* prove that it must belong to one of those Gautama *Karanas* who studied the *Sâma-veda*¹. Regarding the code of *Yâgñavalkya* we learn from tradition that a Vedic teacher of that name was the reputed author of the White *Yagur-veda*. But this coincidence might be looked upon as casual, if the *Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti* did not contain a number of Mantras from that Vedic *Samhitâ*, and a number of very striking analogies, in the section on funeral ceremonies particularly, with the *Gṛihya-sûtra* of the *Vâgasaneyins*, the *Kâtiya Gṛihya-sûtra* of *Pâra-skara*². In the case of the *Vishnu-sûtra* an enquiry of this kind is specially called for, because tradition leaves us entirely in the dark as to its real author. The fiction that the laws promulgated in Chapters II-XCVII were communicated by the god *Vishnu* to the goddess of the earth, is of course utterly worthless for historical purposes; and all that it can be made to show is that those parts of this work in which it is started or kept up cannot rival the laws themselves in antiquity.

Now as regards, first, the Vedic Mantras and *Pratikas* (beginnings of Mantras) quoted in this work, it is necessary to leave aside, as being of no moment for the present purpose, i. very well-known Mantras, or, speaking more

¹ See Bühler, Introduction to Gautama (Vol. II of the Sacred Books of the East), pp. xlv-xlviii.

² Bühler, Introduction to Digest, p. xxxii; Stenzler, on *Pâra-skara's Gṛihya-sûtra*, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society; VII, p. 527 seq.

precisely, all such Mantras as are frequently quoted in Vedic works of divers Sâkhâs ; 2. the purificatory texts enumerated under the title of *Sarva-veda-pavitṛāṇi* in LVI. The latter can afford us no help in determining the particular Sâkhâ to which this work belongs, because they are actually taken, as they profess to be, from all the Vedas indiscriminately, and because nearly the whole of Chapter LVI is found in the *Vâsishṭha-smṛiti* as well (see further on), which probably does not belong to the same Veda as this work. Among the former class of Mantras may be included, particularly, the *Gâyatrî*, the *Purushasûkta*, the *Aghamarshaṇa*, the *Kûshmândîs*, the *Vyâhṛitis*, the *Gyeshṭha Sâmans*, the *Rudras*, the *Trinâḍiketa*, the *Trisuparna*, the *Vaishṇava*, *Sâkra*, and *Bârhaspatya* Mantras mentioned in XC, 3, and the Mantra quoted in XXVIII, 51 (= Gautama's 'Retasya'). Among the twenty-two Mantras quoted in Chapters XLVIII, LXIV, LXV (including repetitions, but excluding the *Purushasûkta*, *Gâyatrî*, *Aghamarshaṇa*) there are also some which may be referred to this class, and the great majority of them occur in more than one Veda at the same time. But it is worthy of note that no less than twelve, besides occurring in at least one other Sâkhâ, are either actually found in the *Samhitâ* of the *Kârâyaniya-kathas*, the *Kâṭhaka*¹ (or *Kâraka-sâkhâ*?), or stated to belong to it in the Commentary, while one is found in the *Kâṭhaka* alone, a second in the *Atharva-veda* alone, a third in the *Taittiriya Brâhmaṇa* alone, and a fourth does not occur in any Vedic work hitherto known². A far greater number of Mantras occurs in Chapters XXI, LXVII, LXXIII, LXXIV, LXXXVI, which treat of daily oblations, *Srâddhas*, and the ceremony of setting a bull at liberty. Of all these Mantras, which,—including the *Purushasûkta* and other such well-known Mantras as well as the short invocations addressed to Soma, Agni, and other deities, but excluding the invocations addressed to Vishṇu in the spurious *Sûtra*, LXVII, 2,—are more than a hundred in number, no more than forty or so are found in Vedic

¹ In speaking of this work I always refer to the Berlin MS.

² XLVIII, 10. Cf., however, *Vâgas. Samh.* IV, 12.

works hitherto printed, and in the law-books of Manu, Yāgñavalkya, and others ; but nearly all are quoted, exactly in the same order as in this work, in the *Kārāyaniya-kāthaka Grīhya-sūtra*, while some of them have been traced in the *Kāthaka* as well. And what is even more important, the *Kāthaka Grīhya* does not contain those Mantras alone, but nearly all the Sūtras in which they occur ; and it may be stated therefore, secondly, that the *Vishnu-sūtra* has four long sections, viz. Chapter LXXIII, and Chapters XXI, LXVII, LXXXVI, excepting the final parts, in common with that work, while the substance of Chapter LXXIV may also be traced in it. The agreement between both works is very close, and where they differ it is generally due to false readings or to enlargements on the part of the *Vishnu-sūtra*. However, there are a few cases, in which the version of the latter work is evidently more genuine than that of the former, and it follows, therefore, that the author of the *Vishnu-sūtra* cannot have borrowed his rules for the performance of *Srāddhas* &c. from the *Kāthaka Grīhya-sūtra*, but that both must have drawn from a common source, i. e. no doubt from the traditions current in the *Kattha* school, to which this work is indebted for so many of its Mantras as well.

For these reasons¹ I fully concur in the view advanced by Dr. Bühler, that the bulk of the so-called *Vishnu-smṛiti* is really the ancient *Dharma-sūtra* of the *Kārāyaniya-kāthaka Sākhā* of the Black Yagur-veda. It ranks, like other *Dharma-sūtras*, with the *Grīhya* and *Srauta-sūtras* of its school ; the latter of which, though apparently lost now, is distinctly referred to in the *Grīhya-sūtra* in several places, and must have been in existence at the time when the Commentaries on *Kātyāyana's Srauta-sūtras* were composed, in which it is frequently quoted by the name

¹ For details I may refer the reader to my German paper, *Das Dharmasūtra des Vishnu und das Kāthakagrīhyasūtra*, in the Transactions of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Science for 1879, where the sections corresponding in both works have been printed in parallel columns, the texts from the *Kāthaka Grīhya-sūtra* having been prepared from two of the MSS. of Devapāla's Commentary discovered by Dr. Bühler (*Kasmīr Report*, Nos. 11, 12), one in Devanāgarī, and the other in Sāradā characters.

of *Kāṭha-sūtra* on divers questions concerning *Srauta* offerings, and at the time, when the Kasmīrian Devapāla wrote his Commentary on the *Kāṭhaka Gṛihya-sūtra*, which was, according to the Kasmīrian tradition, as explored by Dr. Bühler, before the conquest of Kasmīr by the Mahomedans. Devapāla, in the Introduction to his work, refers to 'thirty-nine Adhyāyas treating of the *Vaitānika* (= *Srauta*) ceremonies,' by which the *Gṛihya-sūtra* was preceded, from which statement it may be inferred that the *Kāṭhaka Srauta-sūtras* must have been a very voluminous work indeed, as the *Gṛihya-sūtra*, which is at least equal if not superior in extent to other works of the same class, forms but one Adhyāya, the fortieth, of the whole *Kalpa-sūtra*, which, according to Devapāla, was composed by one author. It does not seem likely that the *Vishṇu-sūtra* was composed by the same man, or that it ever formed part of the *Kāṭhaka Kalpa-sūtra*, as the *Dharma-sūtras* of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, and Hiraṇyakeśin form part of the *Kalpa-sūtras* of the respective schools to which they belong. If that were the case, it would agree with the *Gṛihya-sūtra* on all those points which are treated in both works, such as e. g. the terms for the performance of the *Saṃskāras* or sacraments, the rules for a student and for a *Snātaka*, the enumeration and definition of the *Kṛikkharas* or 'hard penances,' the forms of marriage, &c. Now though the two works have on those subjects a number of such rules in common as occur in other works also, they disagree for the most part in the choice of expressions, and on a few points lay down exactly opposite rules, such as the *Vishṇu-sūtra* (XXVIII, 28) giving permission to a student to ascend his spiritual teacher's carriage after him, whereas the other work prescribes, that he shall do so on no account. Moreover, if both works had been destined from the first to supplement one another, they would, instead of having several entire sections in common, exhibit such cross-references as are found e. g. between the Āpastamba *Gṛihya* and *Dharma-sūtras*¹; though the absence of such

¹ Bühler, Introduction to Āpastamba, Sacred Books, II, pp. xi-xiv.

references might be explained, in the case of the Vishnu-sûtra, by the activity of those who brought it into its present shape, and who seem to have carefully removed all such references to other works as the original Dharma-sûtra may have contained. Whatever the precise nature of the relations between this work and the other Sûtra works of the *Kârâyaniya-kâthaka* school may have been, there is no reason for assigning to it a later date than to the *Kâthaka* Srauta and *Grihya*-sûtras, with the latter of which it has so much in common, and it may therefore claim a considerable antiquity, especially if it is assumed, with Dr. Bühler, that the beginning of the Sûtra period differed for each Veda. The Veda of the *Kathas*, the *Kâthaka*, is not separated from the Sûtra literature of this school by an intermediate Brâhmana stage; yet its high antiquity is testified by several of the most eminent grammarians of India from Yâska down to Kaiyata¹. Thus the *Kâthaka* is the only existing work of its kind, which is quoted by the former grammarian (Nirukta X, 5; another clear quotation from the *Kâthaka*, XXVII, 9, though not by name, may be found, Nirukta III, 4), and the latter places the *Kathas* at the head of all Vedic schools, while Patañjali, the author of the *Mahâbhâshya*, assigns to the ancient sage *Katha*, the reputed founder of the *Katha* or *Kâthaka* school of the Black Yagur-veda, the dignified position of an immediate pupil of Vaisampâyana, the fountain-head of all schools of the older or Black Yagur-veda, and mentions, in accordance with a similar statement preserved in the *Râmâyana* (II, 32, 18, 19 ed. Schlegel), that in his own time the '*Kâlâpaka* and the *Kâthaka*' were 'proclaimed in every village²'. The priority of the *Kathas* before all other existing schools of the Yagur-veda may be deduced from the statements of the *Karanavyûha*³, which work assigns to them one of the first places among the divers branches of

¹ See Weber, *Indische Studien* XIII, p. 437 seq.

² *Mahâbhâshya*, Benares edition, IV, fols. 82 b, 75 b.

³ See Weber, *Ind. Stud.* III, p. 256 seq.; Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 369. I have consulted, besides, two Munich MSS. of the *Karanavyûha* (cod. Haug 45).

the *Karakas*, whom it places at the head of all schools of the *Yagur-veda*. Another argument in favour of the high antiquity of the *Kathas* may be derived from their geographical position¹. Though the statements of the *Mahābhāṣya* and *Rāmāyana* regarding the wide-spread and influential position of the *Kathas* in ancient times are borne out by the fact that the *Karanavyūha* mentions three subdivisions of the *Kathas*, viz. the *Kathas* proper, the *Prākya-Kathas*, and the *Kapishthala Kathas*, to which the *Kārāyaniyas* may be added as a fourth, and by the seeming identity of their name with the name of the *Kathai* in the *Pañgāb* on the one hand, and with the first part of the name of the peninsula of *Kattivar* on the other hand, it seems very likely nevertheless that the original home of the *Kathas* was situated in the north-west, i. e. in those regions where the earliest parts of the *Vedas* were composed. Not only the *Kathai*, but the *Kαμβισθολοι* as well, who have been identified with the *Kapishthala Kathas*², are mentioned by Greek writers as a nation living in the *Pañgāb*; and while the *Prākya Kathas* are shown by their name ('Eastern *Kathas*') to have lived to the east of the two other branches of the *Kathas*, it is a significant fact that adherents of the *Kārāyaniya-kāthaka* school survive nowhere but in *Kasmīr*, where all *Brāhmanas* perform their domestic rites according to the rules laid down in the *Gṛhya-sūtra* of this school³. *Kasmīr* is moreover the country where nearly all the yet existing works of the *Kāthaka* school have turned up, including the *Berlin MS.* of the *Kāthaka*, which was probably written by a *Kasmīrian*⁴. It is true that some of the geographical and historical data contained in that work, especially the way in which it mentions the *Pañkālas*, whose ancient name, as shown by the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 5, 4, 7) and *Rig-*

¹ See Weber, *Über das Rāmāyana*, p. 9; *Ind. Stud.* I, p. 189 seq.; III, p. 469 seq.; XIII, pp. 375, 439; *Ind. Litteraturgeschichte*, pp. 99, 332; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 102 seq.

² See, however, Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 333.

³ Bühler, *Kasmīr Report*, p. 20 seq.

⁴ This was pointed out to me by Dr. Bühler.

veda (VIII, 20, 24 ; VIII, 22, 12), was Krivi, take us far off from the north-west, the earliest seat of Âryan civilization, into the country of the Kuru-Pañkâlas in Hindostân proper. But it must be borne in mind that the *Kâthaka*, if it may be identified with the 'Karakasâkhâ,' must have been the Veda of all the *Karakas* except perhaps the *Maitrâyaṇīyas* and *Kapishthalas*, and may have been altered and enlarged, after the *Katthas* and *Karakas* had spread themselves across Hindostân. The *Sûtras* of a *Sâkhâ* which appears to have sprung up near the primitive home of Âryan civilization in India, which was probably the original home of the *Katthas* at the same time, may be far older than those of mere *Sûtra* schools of the Black Yagur-veda, which have sprung up, like the *Âpastamba* school, in South India, i. e. far older than the fourth or fifth century B.C.¹

But sufficient space has been assigned to these attempts at fixing the age of the *Kâthaka-sûtras* which, besides remaining only too uncertain in themselves, can apply with their full force to those parts of the *Vishnu-sûtra* only, which have been traced in the *Kâthaka Grihya-sûtra*. It will be seen afterwards that even these sections, however closely connected with the sacred literature of the *Katthas*, have been tampered with in several places, and it might be argued, therefore, that the whole remainder of the *Vishnu-sûtra*, to which the *Kâthaka* literature offers no parallel, may be a subsequent addition. But the antiquity of the great majority of its laws can be proved by independent arguments, which are furnished by a comparison of the *Vishnu-sûtra* with other works of the same class, whose antiquity is not doubted.

In the foot-notes to my translation I have endeavoured to give as complete references as possible to the analogous passages in the *Smritis* of Manu, *Yâgñavalkya*, *Âpastamba*, and *Gautama*, and in the four *Grihya-sûtras* hitherto printed. A large number of analogous passages might have been traced in the *Dharma-sûtras* of *Vâsishtha*²

¹ See Bühler, *Introd.* to *Âpastamba*, p. xliii.

² See the Benares edition (1878), which is accompanied with a Commentary by *Krishnapandita Dharmadhikârin*. I should have given references to this

and Baudhāyana as well, not to mention Hiraṇyakeśin's Dharma-sūtra, which, according to Dr. Bühler, is nearly identical with the Dharma-sūtra of Āpastamba. Two facts may be established at once by glancing at these analogies, viz. the close agreement of this work with the other Sūtra works in point of form, and with all the above-mentioned works in point of contents. As regards the first point, the Sūtras or prose rules of which the bulk of the Vishṇu-sūtra is composed, show throughout that characteristic laconism of the Sūtra style, which renders it impossible in many cases to make out the real meaning of a Sūtra without the help of a Commentary; and in the choice of terms they agree as closely as possible with the other ancient law-books, and in some cases with the Grīhya-sūtras as well. Numerous verses, generally in the Sloka metre, and occasionally designed as 'Gāthās,' are added at the end of most chapters, and interspersed between the Sūtras in some; but in this particular also the Vishṇu-sūtra agrees with at least one other Dharma-sūtra, the Vāsishṭha-smṛiti, and it contains in its law part, like the latter work, a number of verses in the ancient Trishṭubh metre¹. Four of these Trishṭubhs are found in the Vāsishṭha-smṛiti, and three in Yāska's Nirukta as well, and the majority of the Slokas has been traced in the former work and the other above-mentioned law-books, and in other Smṛitis. In point of contents the great majority both of the metrical and prose rules of the Vishṇu-sūtra agrees with one, or some, or all of the works named above. The Grīhya-sūtras, excepting the Kāthaka Grīhya-sūtra, naturally offer a far smaller number of analogies with it than the Smṛitis, still they exhibit several rules, in the Snātaka-dharmas and otherwise, that have not been traced in any other Smṛiti except the work here translated. Among the Smṛitis again, each single one may be seen

work, the first complete and reliable edition of the Vāsishṭha-smṛiti, in the foot-notes to my translation, but for the fact that it did not come into my hands till the former had gone to the press. For Baudhāyana I have consulted a Munich MS. containing the text only of his Sūtras (cod. Haug 163).

¹ XIX, 23, 24; XXIII, 61; XXIX, 9, 10; XXX, 47 (see Nirukta II, 4; Vāsishṭha II, 8-10); LVI, 27 (see Vāsishṭha XXVIII, 15); LIX, 30; LXXXII, 7; LXXXVI, 16.

from the references to contain a number of such rules, as are only met with in this work, which is a very important fact because, if the laws of the Vishnu-sûtra were found either in all other Smritis, or in one of them only, its author might be suspected of having borrowed them from one of those works. As it is, meeting with analogous passages now in one work, and then in another, one cannot but suppose that the author of this work has everywhere drawn from the same source as the other Sûtrakâras, viz. from ancient traditions that were common to all Vedic schools.

There are, moreover, a number of cases in which this work, instead of having borrowed from other works of the same class, can be shown to have been, directly or indirectly, the source from which they drew, and this fact constitutes a third reason in favour of the high antiquity of its laws. The clearest case of this kind is furnished by the Vâsishtha-smṛiti, with which this work has two entire chapters in common, which are not found elsewhere. I subjoin in a note the text of Vâsishtha XXVIII, 10-15, with an asterisk to those words which contain palpable mistakes (not including blunders in point of metre), for comparison with Chapter LVI of this work in the Calcutta edition, which is exceptionally correct in this chapter and in Chapter LXXXVII, which latter corresponds to Vâsishtha XXVIII, 18-22¹. In both

- ¹ सर्ववेदपवित्राणि वक्ष्याम्यहमतः परम् ।
 येषां जपैश्च होमैश्च पूयन्ते नात्र संशयः ॥१०॥
 अघमर्षणं देवकृतं शुद्धवत्य*स्तरत्समाः ।
 कूष्माण्डानि पावमान्यो दुर्गीसावित्रिरेव (?) च ॥११॥
 *अभिषङ्गाः पदस्तोभाः सामानि व्याहृतीस्तथा (?) ।
 *भारदशानि सामानि गायत्रं रैवतं तथा ॥१२॥
 पुरुषव्रतं च भासं च तथा देवव्रतानि च ।
 अर्त्विगं (?) बार्हस्पत्यं वाक्सूक्तं मध्वचस्तथा ॥१३॥
 शतरूद्रियमष्वशिरस्त्रिसुपर्णं महाव्रतम् ।
 गोमूक्तं चाश्वमूक्तं च इन्द्रशुद्धे (?) च सामनी ॥१४॥
 त्रीण्याज्यदोहानि रघनरं च
 अग्नेर्द्रतं वामदेव्यं बृहच्च ।

chapters Vishnu has mainly prose Sûtras and throughout a perfectly correct text, whereas Vâsishtha has bad Slokas which, supported as they are by the Commentary or by the metre or by both, can only be accounted for by carelessness or clerical mistakes in some cases, and by a clumsy versification of the original prose version preserved in this work in others. Another chapter of the Vishnu-sûtra, the forty-eighth, nowhere meets with a parallel except in the third Prasna of the Dharma-sûtra of Baudhâyana, where it recurs almost word for word. An examination of the various readings in both works shows that in some of the Slokas Baudhâyana has better readings, while in one or two others the readings of Vishnu seem preferable, though the unsatisfactory condition of the MS. consulted renders it unsafe to pronounce a definitive judgment on the character of Baudhâyana's readings. At all events he has a few Vedic Mantras more than Vishnu, which however seem to be very well-known Mantras and are quoted by their Prâtikas only. But he omits the two important Sûtras 9 and 10 of Vishnu, the latter of which contains a Mantra quoted at full, which, although corrupted (see Vâgas. Samh. IV, 12) and hardly intelligible, is truly Vedic in point of language; and he adds on his part a clause at the end of the whole chapter¹, which inculcates the worship of Ganesa or Siva or both, and would be quite sufficient in itself to cast a doubt on the genuineness and originality of his version. It is far from improbable that both Vâsishtha and Baudhâyana may have borrowed

एतानि *जत्रानि (= गीतानि Vishnu LVI, 27) पुनर्नि जन्तू
जातिस्मरत्वं लभते यदीच्छेत् ॥१५॥

Vishnu LVI, 15, 16, the best MSS. read पुरुषव्रते सामनी ॥१५॥ सङ्गिलङ्गम् ॥१६॥ but the Calc. ed. and one London MS. have पुरुषव्रते । भासम् । like Vâsishtha. Of Vishnu LXXXVII the latter has an abridged version, which contains the faulty readings कृष्णमार्गजम् ('the skin of a black antelope,' Comm.) and चतुर्वक्त्रा (as an epithet of the earth = चतुरन्ता Vishnu LXXXVII, 9).

¹ गणान्यपश्यति गणाधिपतिं पश्यति विद्यां पश्यति विद्याधिपतिं पश्यति ।
इत्याह भगवान्बोधायनः ।

the sections referred to directly from an old recension of this work, as Baudhâya has borrowed another chapter of his work from Gautama, while Vâsishtha in his turn has borrowed the same chapter from Baudhâya¹. It may be added in confirmation of this view, that as far as Vâsishtha is concerned, his work is the only *Smṛiti*, as far as I know, which contains a quotation from the 'Kâthaka' (in XXIX, 18). The Dharma-sûtras of Âpastamba and Gautama have nowhere a large number of consecutive Sûtras in common with the Vishnu-sûtra, but it is curious to note that the rule, which the latter (X, 45) quotes as the opinion of 'some' (eke), that a non-Brahmanical finder of a treasure, who announces his find to the king, shall obtain one-sixth of the value, is found in no other law-book except in this, which states (III, 61) that a Sûdra shall divide a treasure-trove into twelve parts, two of which he may keep for himself. Of the metrical law-books, one, the *Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti*, has been shown by Professor Max Müller² to have borrowed the whole anatomical section (III, 84-104), including the simile of the soul which dwells in the heart like a lamp (III, 109, 111, 201), from this work (XCVI, 43-96; XCVII, 9); and it has been pointed out by the same scholar, that the verse in which the author of the former work speaks of the *Âranyaka* and of the *Yoga-sâstra* as of his own works (III, 110) does not occur in the Vishnu-sûtra, and must have been added by the versificator, who brought the *Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti* into its present metrical form. Several other Slokas in *Yâgñavalkya's* description of the human body (III, 99, 105-108), and nearly the whole section on Yoga (Y. III, 111-203, excepting those Slokas, the substance of which is found in this work and in the code of Manu, viz. 131-140, 177-182, 190, 198-201) may be traced to the same source, as may be also the omission of Vishnu's enumeration of the 'six limbs' (XCVI, 90) in the *Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti*, and probably all the minor points on which it differs from this work. Generally speaking, those

¹ See Bühler, Introduction to Gautama, pp. 1-liv.

² Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 331.

passages which have been justly noticed as marking the comparatively late period in which that law-book must have been composed¹: such as the allusions to the astrology and astronomy of the Greeks (Y. I, 80, 295), which render it necessary to refer the metrical redaction of the *Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti* to a later time than the second century A.D.; the whole passage on the worship of *Gaṇeśa* and of the planets (I, 270-307), in which, moreover, a heterodox sect is mentioned, that has been identified with the Buddhists; the philosophical doctrines propounded in I, 349, 350; the injunctions regarding the foundation and endowment of monasteries (II, 185 seq.)—all these passages have no parallel in this work, while it is not overstating the case to say that nearly all the other subjects mentioned in the *Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti* are treated in a similar way, and very often in the same terms, in the *Vishṇu-sūtra* as well. Some of those rules, in which the posteriority of the *Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti* to other law-books exhibits itself, do occur in the *Vishṇu-sūtra*, but without the same marks of modern age. Thus the former has two *Sloka*s concerning the punishment of forgery (II, 240, 241), in which coined money is referred to by the term *nāṇaka*; the *Vishṇu-sūtra* has the identical rule (V, 122, 123; cf. V, 9), but the word *nāṇaka* does not occur in it. *Yâgñavalkya*, in speaking of the number of wives which a member of the three higher castes may marry (I, 57), advocates the Puritan view, that no *Sūdra* wife must be among these; this work has analogous rules (XXIV, 1-4), in which, however, such marriages are expressly allowed. The comparative priority of all those *Sūtras* of *Vishṇu*, to which similar *Sloka*s of *Yâgñavalkya* correspond, appears probable on general grounds, which are furnished by the course of development in this as in other branches of Indian literature; and to this it may be added,

¹ See Stenzler, in the Preface to his edition of *Yâgñavalkya*; Jacobi, on Indian Chronology, in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, XXX, 305 seq., &c. *Vishṇu*'s rules (III, 82) concerning the wording &c. of royal grants, which agree with the rules of *Yâgñavalkya* and other authors, must be allowed a considerable antiquity, as the very oldest grants found in South India conform to those rules. See Burnell, *South Indian Palæography*, 2nd ed., p. 95.

as far as the civil and criminal laws are concerned, that the former enumerates them quite promiscuously, just like the other Dharma-sûtras, with which he agrees besides in separating the law of inheritance from the body of the laws, whereas Yâgñavalkya enumerates all the laws in the order of the eighteen 'titles of law' of Manu and the more recent law-books, though he does not mention the titles of law by name.

However much the Vishnu-sûtra may have in common with the Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti, there is no other law-book with which it agrees so closely as with the code of Manu. This fact may be established by a mere glance at the references in the foot-notes to this translation, in which Manu makes his appearance far more frequently and constantly than any other author, and the case becomes the stronger, the more the nature of these analogies is inquired into. Of Slokas alone Vishnu has upwards of 160 in common with Manu, and in a far greater number of cases still his Sûtras agree nearly word for word with the corresponding rules of Manu. The latter also, though he concurs in a very great number of points with the other law authors as well, agrees with none of them so thoroughly as with Vishnu. All the Smṛitis of Âpastamba, Baudhâyana, Vâsishtha, Yâgñavalkya, and Nârada contain, according to an approximate calculation, no more than about 130 Slokas, that are found in the code of Manu as well. The latter author and Vishnu differ of course on a great many minor points, and an exhaustive discussion of this subject would fill a treatise; I must therefore confine myself to notice some of those differences, which are particularly important for deciding the relative priority of the one work before the other. In a number of Slokas Manu's readings are decidedly older and better than Vishnu's. Thus the latter (XXX, 7) compares the three 'Atigurus' to the 'three gods,' i.e. to the post-Vedic Trimûrti of 'Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva,' as the commentator expressly states, whereas Manu in an analogous Sloka (II, 230) refers to the 'three orders' instead. At the end of the section on inheritance (XVIII, 44) Vishnu mentions among other

indivisible objects 'a book,' *pustakam*; *Manu* (IX, 219) has the same Sloka, but for *pustakam* he reads *prakāshate*. Now *pustaka* is a modern word¹, and *Varāhamihira*, who lived in the sixth century A.D., appears to be the first author, with a known date, by whom it is used. It occurs again, *Vishnu-sūtra* XXIII, 56 (*prokshavēna ka pustakam*), and here also *Manu* (V, 122) has a different reading (*punaḥpākena mrinmayam*). The only difference between *Vishnu-sūtra* XXII, 93 and *Manu* V, 110 consists in the use of singular forms (*te*, *srinu*) in the former work, and of plural forms (*vaḥ*, *srinuta*) in the latter. Now there are a great many other *Smritis* besides the *Manu-smṛiti*, such as e.g. the *Yāgyavalkya* and *Parāśara Smṛitis*, in which the fiction is kept up, that the laws contained in them are promulgated to an assembly of *Rishis*; but there are very few *Smritis* of the least notoriety or importance besides the *Vishnu-sūtra*, in which they are proclaimed to a single person. Other instances in which *Manu*'s readings appear preferable to *Vishnu*'s may be found, LI, 60 (*pretya keha ka nishkrītim*) = *Manu* V, 38 (*pretya ganmani ganmani*); LI, 64 (*iti kathāṅkana*) = *M. V*, 41 (*ity abravīnmanuḥ*); LI, 76 (*tasya*) = *M. V*, 53 (*tayoh*); LIV, 27 (*brāhmanyāt*) = *M. XI*, 193 (*brahmanā*); LVII, 11 (*purastād anukoditām*) = *M. IV*, 248; *Vāsishṭha* XIV, 16; *Āpastamba* I, 6, 19, 14 (*purastād aprakoditām*); LXVII, 45 (*sāyamprātas tva-tithaye*) = *M. III*, 99 (*samprāptāya tva-tithaye*), &c. But these instances do not prove much, as all the passages in question may have been tampered with by the *Vishnuitic* editor, and as in some other cases the version of *Vishnu* seems preferable. Thus 'practised by the virtuous' (*sādhubhis ka nishevitam*, LXXI, 90) is a very common epithet of 'ākāra,' and reads better than *Manu*'s *nibaddham sveshu karmasu* (IV, 155); and *krikkhrātikrikkhram* (LIV, 30) seems preferable to *Baudhāyana*'s and *Manu*'s *krikkhrātikrikkhrau* (XI, 209). What is more important, the *Vishnu-sūtra* does not only contain a number of verses in the ancient *Trishubh* metre, whereas *Manu* has none, but it shows those identical three *Trishubhs* of *Vāsishṭha* and *Yāska*, which *Dr. Bühler*

¹ See *Max Müller*, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 512.

has proved to have been converted into Anushrubh Slokas by Manu (II, 114, 115, 144)¹; and Manu seems to have taken the substance of his three Slokas from this work more immediately, because both he (II, 144) and Vishnu (XXX, 47) have the reading *âvrinoti* for *âtrinatti*, which truly Vedic form is employed both by Vâsishtha and Yâska. The relative antiquity of Vishnu's prose rules, as compared to the numerous corresponding Slokas of Manu, may be proved by arguments precisely similar to those which I have adduced above in speaking of the Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti. As regards those points in the code of Manu, which are usually considered as marks of the comparatively late date of its composition, it will suffice to mention, that the Vishnu-sûtra nowhere refers to South Indian nations such as the Dravidas and Andhras, or to the Yavanas; that it shows no distinct traces of an acquaintance with the tenets of any other school of philosophy except the Yoga and Sâṅkhya systems; that it does not mention female ascetics disparagingly, and in particular does not contain Manu's rule (VIII, 363) regarding the comparatively light punishment to be inflicted for violation of (Buddhist and other) female ascetics; and that it does not inveigh (see XV, 3), like Manu (IX, 64-68), against the custom of Niyoga or appointment of a widow to raise offspring to her deceased husband. It is true, on the other hand, that in many cases Vishnu's rules have a less archaic character than the corresponding precepts of Manu, not only in the Slokas, but in the Sûtra part as well. Thus written documents and ordeals are barely mentioned in the code of Manu (VIII, 114, 115, 168; IX, 232); Vishnu on the other hand, besides referring in divers places to royal grants and edicts, to written receipts and other private documents, and to books, devotes to writings (*lekhyâ*) an entire chapter, in which he makes mention of the caste of Kâyasthas, 'scribes,' and he lays down elaborate rules for the performance of five species of ordeals, to which recourse should be had, according to him, in all suits of some importance. But in nearly all such cases the antiquity of Vishnu's

¹ Introduction to Bombay Digest, I, p. xxviii seq.

rules is warranted to a certain extent by corresponding rules occurring in the *Smṛitis* of Yāgñavalkya and Nārada; and the evidence for the modifications and entire transformations, which the code of Manu must have undergone in a number of successive periods, is so abundant, that the archaic character of many of its rules cannot be considered to constitute a sufficient proof of the priority of the whole code before other codes which contain some rules of a comparatively modern character. To this it must be added that the *Nārada-smṛiti*, though taken as a whole it is decidedly posterior to the code of Manu¹, is designated by tradition as an epitome from another and more bulky recension of the code of Manu than the one which we now possess; and if this statement may be credited, which is indeed rather doubtful, the very particular resemblance between both works in the law of evidence and in the rules regarding property (see LVIII) can only tend to corroborate the assumption that the *Vishnu-sūtra* and the *Manu-smṛiti* must have been closely connected from the first.

This view is capable of further confirmation still by a different set of arguments. The so-called code of Manu is universally assumed now to be an improved metrical edition of the ancient *Dharma-sūtra* of the (*Maitrāyaṇiya*-) *Mānavas*, a school studying the Black *Yagur-veda*; and it has been shown above that the ancient stock of the *Vishnu-sūtra*, in which all the parts hitherto discussed may be included, represents in the main the *Dharma-sūtra* of the *Kârāyaṇiya-kathas*, another school studying the Black *Yagur-veda*. Now these two schools do not only belong both to that Veda, but to the same branch of it, as may be seen from the *Karavyûha*, which work classes both the *Kathas* and *Kârāyaṇiyas* on the one hand, and the *Mānavas*

¹ See the evidence collected in the Preface to my *Institutes of Nārada* (London, 1876), to which the important fact may be added that Nārada uses the word *dînāra*, the Roman denarius. It occurs in a large fragment discovered by Dr. Bühler of a more bulky and apparently older recension of that work than the one which I have translated; and I may be allowed to mention, incidentally, that this discovery has caused me to abandon my design of publishing the Sanskrit text of the shorter recension, as it may be hoped that the whole text of the original work will soon come to light.

together with the six or five other sections of the *Maitrāyaṇīyas* on the other hand, as subdivisions of the *Karaka Sakhā* of the Black Yagur-veda. What is more, there exists a thorough-going parallelism between the literature of those two schools, as far as it is known. To begin with their respective *Samhitās*, it has been shown by L. Schröder¹ that the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* has more in common with the *Kāthaka*, the *Samhitā* of the *Kāthas*, than with any other Veda. As the *Kāthas* are constantly named, in the *Mahābhāshya* and other old works, by the side of the *Kālāpas*, whereas the name of the *Maitrāyaṇīyas* does not occur in any Sanskrit work of uncontested antiquity, it has been suggested by the same scholar that the *Maitrāyaṇīyas* may be the *Kālāpas* of old, and may not have assumed the former name till Buddhism began to prevail in India. However this may be, the principal *Sūtra* works of both schools stand in a similar relation to one another as their *Samhitās*. Some of those *Mantras*, which have been stated above to be common to the *Vishnu-sūtra* and *Kāthaka Grihya* only, and to occur in no other Vedic work hitherto printed, have been traced in the *Mānava Srauta-sūtra*, in the chapter on *Pinda-pitriyagña* (I, 2 of the section on *Prāk-soma*)², and the conclusion is, that if the *Srauta-sūtra* of the *Kāthaka* school were still in existence, it would be found to exhibit a far greater number of analogies with the *Srauta-sūtra* of the *Mānavas*. The *Grihya-sūtra* of this school³ agrees with the *Kāthaka Grihya-sūtra* even more closely than the latter agrees with the *Vishnu-sūtra*, as both works have not only several entire chapters in common (the chapter on the *Vaisvadeva* sacrifice among others, which is found in the *Vishnu-sūtra* also), but concur everywhere in the arrangement of the subject-matter and in the choice of expressions and *Mantras*. The *Brāhmaṇa* stage of Vedic literature is not represented by a separate work in either of the two schools, but a further argument in

¹ On the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*, *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, XXXIII, 177 seq.

² Cod. Haug 53 of the Munich Library.

³ Codd. Haug 55 and 56 of the Munich Library. For details, see my German paper above referred to.

favour of their alleged historical connection may be derived from their respective geographical position. If it has been rightly conjectured above, that the original seats of the *Kaṭhas* were in the north-west, whence they spread themselves over Hindostān, the *Maitrāyanīyas*, though now surviving nowhere except in some villages 'near the Sātpudā mountain, which is included in the Vindhya¹,' must have been anciently their neighbours, as the territory occupied by them extended 'from the Mayūra mountain into Gugarāt,' and reached 'as far as the north-western country' (vāyavyadesa)². Considering all this evidence regarding the original connection between the *Kaṭhas* and *Mānavas*, it may be said without exaggeration, that it would be far more surprising to find no traces of resemblance between their respective Dharma-sūtras, such as we possess them, than to find, as is actually the case, the contrary; and it may be argued, vice versā, that the supposed connection of the two works with the Vedic schools of the *Kaṭhas* and *Mānavas*³ respectively, is confirmed by the kinship existing between these two schools.

In turning now from the ancient parts of the *Vishnu-sūtra* to its more recent ingredients, I may again begin by quoting Professor Max Müller's remarks on this work, which contain the statement, that it is 'enlarged by modern additions written in Slokas⁴.' After him, Dr. Bühler pointed out⁵ that the whole work appears to have been recast by an adherent of *Vishnu*, and that the final and introductory chapters in particular are shown by their very style to have been composed by another author than the body of the

¹ Bhāṭ Dāṭ, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, X, 40.

² See a passage from the *Mahānava*, as quoted by Dr. Bühler, Introduction to *Āpastamba*, p. xxx seq. The same readings are found in a Munich MS. of the *Karāṇavyūha-vyākhyā* (cod. Haug 45). With the above somewhat unclear statement Manu's definition of the limits of *Brahmāvarta* (II, 17) may not unreasonably be compared.

³ The code of Manu has very little in common with the *Mānava Grīhya-sūtra*, both in the Mantras and otherwise. Both *Vishnu* and Manu agree with the *Kāṭhaka* in the use of the curious term *abhinimrukta* or *abhinirmukta*; but the same term is used by *Āpastamba*, *Vāsishtā*, and others.

⁴ Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 134.

⁵ Introduction to Bombay Digest, p. xxii.

work. If the latter remark were in need of further confirmation, it might be urged that the description of Vishnu as 'the boar of the sacrifice' (*yagnavarâha*) in the first chapter is bodily taken from the *Harivamśa* (2226-2237), while most of the epithets given to Vishnu in I, 49-61 and XCVIII, 7-100 may be found in another section of the *Mahâbhârata*, the so-called *Vishnu-sahasranâma*. Along with the introductory and final chapters, all those passages generally are distinctly traceable to the activity of the Vishnuitic editor, in which Vishnu (*Purusha*, *Bhagavat*, *Vâsudeva*, &c.) is mentioned, or his dialogue with the goddess of the earth carried on, viz. I; V, 193; XIX, 24; XX, 16-21; XXII, 93; XXIII, 46; XXIV, 35; XLVII, 10; XLIX; LXIV, 28, 29; LXV; LXVI; LXVII, 2; XC, 3-5, 17-23; XCVI, 97, 98; XCVII, 7-21; XCVIII-C. The short invocation addressed to Vishnu in LXVII, 12 is proved to be ancient by its recurrence in the corresponding chapter of the *Kâthaka Grîhya-sûtra*, and Chapter LXV contains genuine *Kâthaka* Mantras transferred to a Vishnuitic ceremony. Chapter LXVI, on the other hand, though it does not refer to Vishnu by name, seems to be connected with the same Vishnuitic rite, and becomes further suspected by the recurrence of several of its rules in the genuine Chapter LXXIX. The contents of Chapter XCVII, in which it is attempted to reconcile some of the main tenets of the *Sânkhya* system, as propounded in the *Sânkhya-kârikâ*, *Sânkhya-pravâkanabhâshya*, and other works, with the *Vaishnava* creed and with the *Yoga*; the fact that the two *Slokas* in XCVI (97, 98) and part of the *Slokas* in XCVII (15-21) have their parallel in similar *Slokas* of the *Bhagavad-gîtâ* and of the *Bhâgavata-purâna*; the terms *Mahatpati*, *Kapila*, and *Sânkhya-kârya*, used as epithets of Vishnu (XCVIII, 26, 85, 86); and some other passages in the Vishnuitic chapters seem to favour the supposition that the editor may have been one of those members of the Vishnuitic sect of the *Bhâgavatas*, who were conspicuous for their leaning towards the *Sânkhya* and *Yoga* systems of philosophy. The arrangement of the *Vishnu-sûtra* in a hundred chapters is no doubt due to the same person, as the *Commentary* points out that the num-

ber of the epithets given to Vishnu in XCVIII is precisely equal to the number of chapters into which the laws promulgated by him are divided (II-XCVII); though the number ninety-six is received only by including the introductory and final invocations (XCVIII, 6, 101) among the epithets of Vishnu. It seems quite possible, that some chapters were inserted mainly in order to bring up the whole figure to the round number of a hundred chapters, and it is for this reason chiefly that the majority of the following additions, which show no Vishnuitic tendencies, may also be attributed to the Vishnuitic editor.

1. Most or all of the Slokas added at the end of Chapters XX (22-53) and XLIII (32-45) cannot be genuine; the former on account of their great extent and partial recurrence in the Bhagavad-gîtâ¹, Mahâbhârata, and other works of general note, and because they refer to the self-immolation of widows and to Kâla, whom the commentator is probably right in identifying with Vishnu; the latter on account of their rather extravagant character and decidedly Purânîc style, though the Gârûḍa-purâṇa, in its very long description of the hells, offers no strict parallel to the details given here. The verses in which the Brâhmanas and cows are celebrated (XIX, 22, 23; XXIII, 57-61) are also rather extravagant; however, some of them are Trishubhs, and the verses in XIX are closely connected with the preceding Sûtras. The two final Slokas in LXXXVI (19, 20) may also be suspected as to their genuineness, because they are wanting in the corresponding chapter of the Kâtaka Grîhya-sûtra; and a number of other verses in divers places, because they have no parallel in the Smṛiti literature, or because they have been traced in comparatively modern works, such as the Bhagavad-gîtâ, the Pañkatantra, &c. 2. The week of the later Romans and Greeks, and of modern Europe (LXXVIII, 1-7), the self-immolation of widows (XXV, 14; cf. XX, 39), and the Buddhists and Pâsupatas (LXIII, 36) are not mentioned in any ancient Sanskrit work. Besides, the passages in question may be easily removed, especially the Sûtras referring to the seven days of the week, which

¹ Besides the passages quoted in the notes, 50-53 nearly = Bhag.-gîtâ II, 22-25.

form clearly a subsequent addition to the enumeration of the Nakshatras and Tithis immediately following (LXXVIII, 8-50), and the rule concerning the burning of widows (XXV, 14), which is in direct opposition to the law concerning the widow's right to inherit (XVII, 4) and to other precepts regarding widows. That the three terms *kāshâyin*, *pravragîta*, *malina* in LXIII, 36 refer to members of religious orders seems clear, but it may be doubted whether *malina* denotes the *Pâsupatas*, and even whether *kāshâyin* (cf. *pravragîta* XXXVI, 7) denotes the Buddhists, as dresses dyed with *Kashâya* are worn by Brahmanical sects also, and prescribed for students, and for ascetics likewise, by some of the *Grîhya*- and *Dharma-sûtras*. Still the antiquity of the *Sûtra* in question can hardly be defended, because the acquaintance of the Vishnuitic editor with the Buddhistic system of faith is proved by two other *Sûtras* (XCVIII, 40, 41), and because the whole subject of good and evil omens is not treated in any other ancient *Smṛiti*. On the other hand, such terms as *vedanindâ* and *nâstikatâ* (XXXVII, 4, 31, &c.) recur in most *Smṛitis*, and can hardly be referred to the Buddhists in particular. 3. The Tirthas enumerated in LXXXV, some of which are sacred to Vishnu and Siva, belong to all parts of India, and many of them are situated in the Dekhan, which was certainly not included within the limits of the 'Âryāvarta' of the ancient *Dharma-sûtra* (LXXXIV, 4). As no other *Smṛiti* contains a list of this kind, the whole chapter may be viewed as a later addition. 4. The ceremonies described in XC are not mentioned in other *Smṛitis*, while some of them are decidedly Vishnuitic, or traceable in modern works; and as all the *Sûtras* in XC hang closely together, this entire chapter seems also to be spurious. 5. The repetitions in the list of articles forbidden to sell (LIV, 18-22); the addition of the two categories of *atipâtakâni*, 'crimes in the highest degree,' and *prakîrṇakam*, 'miscellaneous crimes' (XXXIII, 3, 5; XXXIV; XLII), to Manu's list of crimes; the frequent references to the Ganges river; and other such passages, which show a modern character, without being traceable in the *Smṛitis* of Yâgyñavalkya and Nârada, may have been added by the Vish-

uitic editor from modern *Smṛitis*, either for the sake of completeness, or in order to make up the required number of chapters. 6. All the passages hitherto mentioned are such as have no parallel in other ancient *Smṛitis*. But the Vishnuitic editor did evidently not confine himself to the introduction of new matter into the ancient Dharma-sūtra. That he did not refrain, occasionally, from altering the original text, has been conjectured above with regard to his readings of some of those Slokas, which are found in the code of Manu as well; and it can be proved quite clearly by comparing his version of the *Vṛishotsarga* ceremony (LXXXVI) with the analogous chapter of the *Kāthaka Grīhya-sūtra*. In one case (LI, 64; cf. XXIII, 50 = M. V, 131) he has replaced the words, which refer the authorship of the Sloka in question to Manu, by an unmeaning term. The superior antiquity of Manu's reading (V, 41) is vouched for by the recurrence of the same passage in the *Grīhya-sūtra* of Sāṅkhāyana (II, 16, 1) and in the *Vāsishṭha-smṛiti* (IV, 6), and the reference to Manu has no doubt been removed by the Vishnuitic editor, because it would have been out of place in a speech of Vishnu. References to sayings of Manu and other teachers and direct quotations from Vedic works are more or less common in all Dharma-sūtras, and their entire absence in this work is apparently due to their systematical removal by the editor. On the other hand, the lists of Vedic and other works to be studied or recited may have been enlarged in one or two cases by him or by another interpolator, namely, XXX, 37 (cf. V, 191), where the Atharva-veda is mentioned after the other Vedas by the name of 'Ātharvāna' (not Atharvāṅgirasas, as in the code of Manu and most other ancient works), and LXXXIII, 7, where *Vyākaraṇa*, 'Grammar,' i.e. according to the Commentary the grammars of Pāṇini and others, is mentioned as distinct from the *Vedāṅgas*. The antiquity of the former passage might indeed be defended by the example of Āpastamba, who, though referring like this work to the 'three Vedas' both separately and collectively, mentions in another place the 'Ātharvāna-veda'.¹ Besides the above works,

¹ See Bühler, Introduction to Āpastamba, p. xxiv.

and those referred to in LVI, the laws of Vishnu name no other work except the Purāṇas, Itihāsas, and Dharmasāstras. 7. As the Vishnuitic editor did not scruple to alter the import of a certain number of passages, the modernisation of the language of the whole work, which was probably as rich in archaic forms and curious old terms as the *Kāthaka Gṛihya-sūtra* and as the *Dharma-sūtra* of Āpastamba, may be likewise attributed to him. As it is, the *Vishnu-sūtra* agrees in style and expressions more closely with the *Smṛitis* of Manu and *Yāgyavalkya* than with any other work, and it is at least not inferior to the former work in the preservation of archaic forms. Thus the code of Manu has seven aorist forms¹, while the *Vishnu-sūtra* contains six, not including those occurring in Vedic Mantras which are quoted by their *Pratikas* only. Of new words and meanings of words the *Vishnu-sūtra* contains also a certain number; they have lately been communicated by me to Dr. von Böhtlingk for insertion in his new Dictionary.

All the points noticed render it necessary to assign a comparatively recent date to the Vishnuitic editor; and if the introduction of the week of the Greeks into the ancient *Dharma-sūtra* has been justly attributed to him, he cannot be placed earlier than the third or fourth century A.D.² The lower limit must be put before the eleventh century, in which the *Vishnu-sūtra* is quoted in the *Mitāksharā* of *Vigñānesvara*. From that time downwards it is quoted in nearly every law digest, and a particularly large number of quotations occurs in *Aparārka's* Commentary on *Yāgyavalkya*, which was composed in the twelfth century³. Nearly all those quotations, as far as they have been examined, are actually found in the *Vishnu-sūtra*; but the whole text is vouched for only by *Nandapandita's* Commentary, called *Vaigayantī*, which was composed in the

¹ Whitney, *Indische Grammatik*, § 826.

² See Jacobi, *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, XXX, 306. The first author with a known date, who shows an acquaintance with the week of the Greeks, is *Varāhamihira* (sixth century A. D.)

³ See Bühler, *Kashmir Report*, p. 52. The MSS. used are from the Dekhan College, Poona.

first quarter of the seventeenth century. The subscriptions in the London MSS. of the *Vaigayanti* contain the statement, which is borne out by the Introduction, that it was composed by Nandapandita, the son of Râmapandita Dharmâdhikârin, an inhabitant of Benares, at the instigation of the Mahârâga Kesavanâyaka, also called Tammasânâyaka, the son of Kodapanâyaka; and a passage added at the end of the work states, more accurately, that Nandasarman (Nandapandita) wrote it at Kâsi (Benares) in the year 1679 of the era of Vikramabhâsvara (= A. D. 1622), by command of Kesavanâyaka, his own king. These statements regarding the time and place of the composition of the *Vaigayanti* are corroborated by the fact that it refers in several cases to the opinions of Haradatta, who appears to have lived in the sixteenth century¹, while Nandapandita is not among the numerous authors quoted in the *Vîramitrodaya* of Mitramisra, who lived in the beginning of the seventeenth century², and who was consequently a contemporary of Nandapandita, if the above statement is correct; and that he attacks in a number of cases the views of the 'Eastern Commentators' (*Prâkyas*), and quotes a term from the dialect of Madhyadesa.

The subjoined translation is based upon the text handed down by Nandapandita nearly everywhere except in some of the Mantras, which have been rendered according to the better readings preserved in the *Kâthaka Gṛihya-sûtra*. The two Calcutta editions of the *Vishnu-sûtra*, the second of which is a mere reprint of the first, will be found to agree in the main with the text here translated. They are doubtless based upon the *Vaigayanti*, as they contain several passages in which portions of Nandapandita's Commentary have crept into the text of the *Sûtras*. But the MS. used for the first Calcutta edition must have been a very faulty one, as both Calcutta editions, besides differing from the best MSS. of the *Vaigayanti* on a very great number of minor points, entirely omit the greater part of Chapter LXXXI

¹ Bühler, Introduction to *Āpastamba*, p. xliii.

² Bühler loc. cit.

(3-22), the genuineness of which is proved by analogous passages in the other *Smṛitis*¹. An excellent copy of the *Vaigayanti* in possession of Dr. Bühler has, together with three London MSS. of that work and one London MS. containing the text only, enabled me to establish quite positively nearly in every case the readings sanctioned by *Nandapandita*. I had hoped to publish a new edition of the text prepared from those MSS., and long ready for the press, before publishing my English version. This expectation has not been fulfilled, but it is hoped that in the mean time this attempt at a translation will be welcome to the students of Indian antiquity, and will facilitate the understanding of the text printed in *Givānanda Vidyāsāgara's* cheap edition, which is probably in the hands of most Sanskrit scholars. The precise nature of the relation in which the text of my forthcoming edition stands to the Calcutta editions may be gathered from the large specimens of the text as given in the best MSS., that have been edited by Dr. Bühler in the *Bombay Digest*, and by myself in two papers published in the *Transactions of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Science*.

Nandapandita has composed, besides the *Vaigayanti*, a treatise on the law of adoption, called *Dattaka-mīmāṃsā*², a commentary on the code of *Parāśara*, a work called *Vidvanmanoharā-smṛitisindhu*, one called *Srāddha-kalpa-latā*, and commentaries on the *Mitāksharā* and on *Ādityākārya's Āsaukanirnaya*. All these works belong to the province of Hindu law, and both his fertility as a writer in that branch of Indian science, and the reputation enjoyed by some of his works even nowadays, must raise a strong presumption in favour of his knowledge of the subject. The

¹ The first edition of the '*Vaishnava Dharmasāstra*' was published in Bengali type by *Bhavanīkaraṇa*; the second, in Devanāgarī type, is contained in *Givānanda Vidyāsāgara's Dharmasāstrasangraha* (1876).

² This work has been published repeatedly at Calcutta and Madras, and translated into English by *Sutherland* (1821), which translation has been reprinted in *Stokes' Hindu Law Books*. The rest of the above list is made up from an enumeration of *Nandapandita's* *71kās* at the end of Dr. Bühler's copy of the *Vaigayanti*, from an occasional remark in the latter work itself (XV, 9), and from Professor *Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS.*

general trustworthiness of his Commentary on the *Vishnu-sûtra* is further confirmed by the frequent references which it contains to the opinions of earlier commentators of that work; and the wide extent of his reading, though he often makes an unnecessary display of it, has been eminently serviceable to him in tracing the connection of certain chapters and Mantras with the *Kâthaka* literature¹. On the other hand, his very learning, combined with a strict adherence to the well-known theory of Hindu commentators regarding the absolute identity between the teaching of all *Smritis*, has frequently misled him into a too extensive method of interpretation. Even in commenting the *Slokas* he assigns in many cases an important hidden meaning to such particles as *ka*, *vâ*, *tathâ*, and others, and to unpretending epithets and the like, which have clearly been added for metrical reasons only². This practice, besides being contrary to common sense, is nowhere countenanced by the authority of Kullûka, in his remarks on the numerous identical *Slokas* found in the code of Manu. With the *Sûtras* generally speaking the case is different: many of them would be nearly or quite unintelligible without the explanatory remarks added in brackets from Nandapandita's Commentary³, and in a number of those cases even, where his method jars upon a European mind, the clauses supplied by him are probably correct⁴. The same may be said of his interpretations of the epithets of *Vishnu*, excepting those which are based on utterly fanciful etymologies⁵.

¹ See the notes on LXV, 2 seq.; LXXIII, 5-9; LXXXVI, 13. In his Commentary on LXVII also Nandapandita states expressly that the description of the *Vairavadeva* is according to the rites of the *Kâthaka-sâkhâ*.

² For instances, see the notes on XX, 45; LXIV, 40.

³ See e. g. Chapter V *passim*.

⁴ Thus nearly all the 'intentionally's' and 'unintentionally's,' &c., as supplied in the section on penances might seem superfluous, or even wrong; but as in several places involuntary crimes are expressly distinguished from those intentionally committed (see e. g. XXVIII, 48, 51; XXXVIII, 7), and as in other cases a clause of this kind must needs be supplied (see XXXIX, 2; LII, 3; LIII, 5, &c.), Nandapandita is probably right in supplying it from other *Smritis* in most remaining cases as well. This method has occasionally carried him too far, when his explanations have not been given in the text.

⁵ See I, 51, 55; XCVIII, 40, 41, 46, &c.

as the style of the introductory and final chapters is as artificial, though in another way, as the Sûtra style. Though, however, in works composed in the latter style, every *ka*, *vâ*, or *iti*, &c., which is not absolutely required by the sense, was probably intended by their authors to convey a special meaning¹, it is a question of evidence in every single case, whether those meanings which Nandapandita assigns to these and other such particles and expletive words are the correct ones. In several cases of this or of a similar kind he is palpably wrong², and in many others the interpretations proposed by him are at least improbable, because the authoritative passages he quotes in support of them are taken from modern works, which cannot have been known to the author of the Vishnu-sûtra. Interpretations of this class have, therefore, been given in the notes only; and they have been omitted altogether in a number of cases where they appeared quite frivolous, or became too numerous, or could not be deciphered completely, owing to clerical mistakes in the MSS. But though it is impossible to agree with some of his general principles of interpretation, or with his application of them, Nandapandita's interpretations of difficult terms and Sûtras are invaluable, and I have never deviated from them in my translation without strong reasons to the contrary, which have in most cases been stated in the notes³. Besides the extracts given in the notes, a few Addenda will be found on p. 312. In compiling the Index of Sanskrit words occurring in this work, which it has been thought necessary to add to the General Index, I have not aimed at completeness except as regards the names of deities and of penances. My forthcoming edition of the Sanskrit text will be accompanied by a full Index of words.

¹ For instances of this in the Dharma-sûtras of Âpastamba and Gautama, see Bühler, Âpast. I, 2, 7, 24; 8, 5; Gaut. V, 5, 14, 17; IX, 44; XIV, 45; XIX, 13-15, 20; XXI, 9, &c.; and see also Dr. Bühler's remarks on *Gnâpaka-sûtras*, Âpast. I, 3, 11, 7; Gaut. I, 31, notes.

² See V, 117; VII, 7; XXVII, 10; LI, 26; LXXI, 88; LXXIII, 9; LXXIV, 1, 2, 7, &c.

³ See e. g. XVII, 22; XVIII, 44; XXIV, 40; XXVIII, 5, 11; LV, 20; LIX, 27, 29; LXIII, 36; LXIV, 18; LXVII, 6-8; XCII, 4; XCVII, 7.

In conclusion I have to express my thanks in the most cordial manner to Dr. Bühler, who has constantly assisted me with his advice in the preparing of this translation, and has kindly lent me his excellent copy of the *Vaigayanti*; and to Dr. von Böhtlingk and Professor Max Müller, who have favoured me with valuable hints on divers points connected with this work. My acknowledgments are due, in the second place, to K. M. Chatfield, Esq., Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, to Dr. von Halm, Chief Librarian of the Royal Library, Munich, to Professor R. Lepsius, Chief Librarian of the Royal Library of Berlin, and to Dr. R. Rost, Chief Librarian of the India Office Library, London, for the valuable aid received from these gentlemen and the great liberality with which they have placed Sanskrit MSS. under their care at my disposal.

VISHNU.

VISHNU.

I.

1. THE night of Brahman being over, and the God sprung from the lotus (Brahman) having woke from his slumber, Vishnu purposing to create living beings, and perceiving the earth covered with water,

2. Assumed the shape of a boar, delighting to sport in water, as at the beginning of each former Kalpa, and raised up the earth (from the water).

3. His feet were the Vedas; his tusks the sacrificial stakes; in his teeth were the offerings; his mouth was the pyre; his tongue was the fire; his hair was the sacrificial grass; the sacred texts were his head; and he was (endowed with the miraculous power of) a great ascetic.

4. His eyes were day and night; he was of superhuman nature; his ears were the two bundles of Kusa grass (for the Ishṭis, or smaller sacrifices, and for the animal offerings); his ear-rings were the ends of those bundles of Kusa grass (used for wiping

I. 1. Regarding the duration of a night of Brahman, see XX, 14. 'Bhūtāni' means living beings of all the four kinds, born from the womb and the rest. (Nand.) The three other kinds consist of those produced from an egg, from sweat, and from a shoot or germ; see Manu I, 43-46.

2. A Kalpa=a day of Brahman; see XX, 13.

the ladle and other sacrificial implements); his nose (the vessel containing) the clarified butter; his snout was the ladle of oblations; his voice was similar in sound to the chanting of the Sâma-veda; and he was of huge size.

5. He was full of piety and veracity; beautiful; his strides and his strength were immense (like those of Vishnu); his large nostrils were penances; his knees the victim; and his figure colossal.

6. His entrails were the (three) chanters of the Sâma-veda¹; his member was the burnt-oblation; his scrotum was the sacrificial seeds and grains; his mind was the altar (in the hut for the wives and domestic uses of the sacrificer); the hindparts (of Vishnu) in his transformation were the Mantras; his blood was the Soma juice.

7. His shoulders were the (great) altar; his smell was that of the (sacrificial cake and other) oblations; his speed was the oblations to the gods and to the manes and other oblations; his body was the hut for the wives and domestic uses of the sacrificer; he was majestic; and instructed with the initiatory ceremonies for manifold sacrifices (lasting one, or two, three, or twelve years, and others).

8. His heart was the sacrificial feet; he was possessed of the (sacrificial and other) great Mantras employed in order to effect the union of the mind with the Supreme; he was of enormous size (like the long sacrifices lasting more than one day); his lovely lips were the beginnings of the two

6. ¹ 'This is because the vital breaths, by which the sound of the voice is effected, pass through them, it having been said (in 4) that the sound of his voice was like the chanting of the Sâma-veda.' (Nand.)

hymns recited at the beginning of the animal sacrifice; his ornaments were the whirlpool of the milk poured into the heated vessel (at the Pravargya ceremony introductory to the Soma-sacrifice).

9. All sorts of sacred texts (the Gâyatri and others) were his path in marching; the mysterious Upanishads (the Vedânta) were his couch; he was accompanied by his consort *Khâyâ* (Lakshmi); he was in size like the *Manisringa* mountain.

10. The lord, the creator, the great Yogin, plunging into the one ocean from love of the world,

11. Raised up, with the edge of his tusks, the earth bounded by the sea together with its mountains, forests, and groves, which was immersed in the water of (the seven oceans now become) one ocean, and created the universe anew.

12. Thus the whole earth, after having sunk into (the lower region called) *Rasâtala*, was in the first place raised in the boar-incarnation by Vishnu, who took compassion upon the living beings.

13, 14. Then, after having raised the earth, the destroyer of *Madhu* placed and fixed it upon its own (former) seat (upon the oceans) and distributed the waters upon it according to their own (former) station, conducting the floods of the oceans into the oceans, the water of the rivers into the rivers, the water of the tanks into the tanks, and the water of the lakes into the lakes.

15. He created the seven (lower regions called) *Pâtâlas*¹ and the seven worlds, the seven *Dvîpas*

15. ¹ The seven *Pâtâlas* are, *Atala*, *Vitala*, *Sutala*, *Mahâtala*, *Rasâtala*, *Talâtala*, and *Pâtâla*; the seven worlds are, *Bhûr-loka*, *Bhuvr-loka*, *Svar-loka*, *Mahar-loka*, *Ganar-loka*, *Tapar-loka*, and *Satya-*

and the seven oceans, and fixed their several limits².

16. (He created) the rulers of the (seven) Dvīpas and the (eight) guardians of the world (Indra and the rest), the rivers, mountains, and trees, the seven *Rīshis*, who know (and practise) the law, the Vedas together with their *Āṅgas*, the Suras, and the Asuras.

17. (He created) *Pisākas* (ogres), *Uragas* (serpents), *Gandharvas* (celestial singers), *Yakshas* (keepers of Kubera's treasures), *Rākshasas* (goblins), and men, cattle, birds, deer and other animals, (in short) all the four kinds of living beings¹, and clouds, rainbows, lightnings, and other celestial phenomena or bodies (such as the planets and the asterisms), and all kinds of sacrifices.

18. Bhagavat, after having thus created, in the

loka; the seven Dvīpas or divisions of the terrestrial world are, *Gambu*, *Plaksha*, *Sālmali*, *Kusa*, *Krauñka*, *Sāka*, and *Pushkara*; each Dvīpa is encircled by one of the seven oceans, viz. the seas of *Lavana* (salt-water), *Ikshu* (syrup), *Sarpiḥ* (butter), *Dadhi* (sour milk), *Dugdha* (milk), *Svādhu* (treacle), and *Udaka* (water). (Nand.) The enumerations contained in the *Vishṇu-purāṇa* and other works differ on two or three points only from that given by Nand.—² Besides the interpretation followed in the text, Nand. proposes a second explanation of the term 'sthānāni,' as denoting *Bhārata-varsha* (India) and the other eight plains situated between the principal mountains.

16. The eight 'guardians of the world' (*Lokapālas*) are, *Indra*, *Agni*, *Yama*, *Sūrya*, *Varuṇa*, *Pavana*, *Kubera*, and *Soma* (M. V, 96). The seven *Rīshis*, according to the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*, are, *Gotama*, *Bharadvāga*, *Viśvāmitra*, *Gamadagni*, *Vasishtha*, *Kasyapa*, and *Atri*. The six *Vedāṅgas* are, *Sikshā* (pronunciation), *Kṛandasa* (metre), *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *Nirukta* (etymology), *Kalpa* (ceremonial), and *Gyotisha* (astronomy). See Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 108, &c.

17. ¹ See 1.

shape of a boar, this world together with all animate and inanimate things in it, went away into a place hidden from the world.

19. *Ganârdana*, the chief of the gods, having become invisible, the goddess of the earth began to consider, 'How shall I be able to sustain myself (henceforth)?'

20. 'I will go to *Kasyapa* to ask: he will tell me the truth. The great Muni has my welfare under constant consideration.'

21. Having thus decided upon her course, the goddess, assuming the shape of a woman, went to see *Kasyapa*, and *Kasyapa* saw her.

22. Her eyes were similar to the leaves of the blue lotus (of which the shaft of *Kâma*, the god of love, is made); her face was radiant like the moon in the autumn season; her locks were as dark as a swarm of black bees; she was radiant; her lip was (red) like the *Bandhugîva* flower; and she was lovely to behold.

23. Her eyebrows were fine; her teeth exceedingly small; her nose handsome; her brows bent; her neck shaped like a shell; her thighs were constantly touching each other; and they were fleshy thighs, which adorned her loins.

24. Her breasts were shining white, firm¹, plump, very close to each other, (decorated with continuous strings of pearls) like the projections on the forehead of *Indra's* elephant, and radiant like the gold (of the two golden jars used at the consecration of a king).

24. ¹ Or 'equal in size,' according to the second of the two explanations which *Nand.* proposes of the term '*samau*.'

25. Her arms were as delicate as lotus fibres; her hands were similar to young shoots; her thighs were resplendent like golden pillars; and her knees were hidden (under the flesh), and closely touching each other.

26. Her legs were smooth and exquisitely proportioned; her feet exceedingly graceful; her loins fleshy; and her waist like that of a lion's cub.

27. Her reddish nails shone (like rubies); her beauty was the delight of every looker-on; and with her glances she filled at every step all the quarters of the sky as it were with lotus-flowers.

28. Radiant with divine lustre, she illuminated all the quarters of the sky with it; her clothing was most exquisite and perfectly white; and she was decorated with the most precious gems.

29. With her steps she covered the earth as it were with lotuses; she was endowed with beauty and youthful charms; and made her approach with modest bearing.

30. Having seen her come near, Kasyapa saluted her reverentially, and said, 'O handsome lady, O earth, radiant with divine lustre, I am acquainted with thy thoughts.

31. 'Go to visit *Ganârdana*, O large-eyed lady; he will tell thee accurately, how thou shalt henceforth sustain thyself.

32. 'For thy sake, O (goddess), whose face is lovely and whose limbs are beautiful, I have found out, by profound meditation, that his residence is in the *Kshiroda* (milk-ocean).'

33. The goddess of the earth answered, 'Yes, (I shall do as you bid me),' saluted Kasyapa rever-

entially, and proceeded to the Kshiroda sea, in order to see Kesava (Vishnu).

34. She beheld (then) the ocean, from which the Amrita arose. It was lovely, like the rays of the moon, and agitated by hundreds of waves produced by stormy blasts of wind.

35. (With its waves) towering like a hundred Himālayas it seemed another terrestrial globe, calling near as it were the earth with its hands, the rolling waves.

36. With those hands it was as it were constantly producing the radiancy of the moon; and every stain of guilt was removed from it by Hari's (Vishnu's) residence within its limits.

37. Because (it was entirely free from sin) therefore it was possessed of a pure and shining frame; its colour was white; it was inaccessible to birds; and its seat was in the lower regions.

38. It was rich in blue and tawny gems (sapphires, coral, and others), and looking therefore as if the atmosphere had descended upon the earth, and as if a number of forests adorned with a multitude of fruits had descended upon its surface.

39. Its size was immense, like that of the skin of (Vishnu's) serpent Sesha. After having seen the milk-ocean, the goddess of the earth beheld the dwelling of Kesava (Vishnu) which was in it:

40. (His dwelling), the size of which cannot be expressed in words, and the sublimity of which is also beyond the power of utterance. In it she saw the destroyer of Madhu seated upon Sesha.

41. The lotus of his face was hardly visible on

37. See 15, note.

account of the lustre of the gems decorating the neck of the snake Sesha; he was shining like a hundred moons; and his splendour was equal to the rays of a myriad of suns.

42. He was clad in a yellow robe (radiant like gold); imperturbable; decorated with all kinds of gems; and shining with the lustre of a diadem resembling the sun in colour, and with (splendid) ear-rings.

43. Lakshmi was stroking his feet with her soft palms; and his attributes (the shell, the discus, the mace, and the lotus-flower) wearing bodies were attending upon him on all sides.

44. Having espied the lotus-eyed slayer of Madhu, she knelt down upon the ground and addressed him as follows:

45. 'When formerly I was sunk into the region of Rasātala, I was raised by thee, O God, and restored to my ancient seat, O Vishnu, thanks to thy benevolence towards living beings.

46. 'Being there, how am I to maintain myself upon it, O lord of the gods?' Having been thus addressed by the goddess, the god enunciated the following answer:

47. 'Those who practise the duties ordained for each caste and for each order, and who act up strictly to the holy law, will sustain thee, O earth; to them is thy care committed.'

48. Having received this answer, the goddess of the earth said to the chief of the gods, 'Communicate to me the eternal laws of the castes and of the orders.

47. Regarding the four castes and the four orders, see II, 1; III, 3.

49. 'I desire to learn them from thee; for thou art my chief stay. Adoration be to thee, O brilliant¹ chief of the gods, who annihilatest the power of the (Daityas and other) enemies of the gods.

50. 'O Nârâyana (son of Nara), O Gagannâtha (sovereign of the world); thou holdest the shell, the discus, and the mace (in thy hands); thou hast a lotus (Brahman) springing from thy navel; thou art the lord of the senses; thou art most powerful and endowed with conquering strength.

51. 'Thou art beyond the cognisance of the senses; thy end is most difficult to know; thou art brilliant; thou holdest the bow Sârnga; thou art the boar¹; thou art terrible; thou art Govinda² (the herdsman); thou art of old; thou art Purushottama (the spirit supreme).

52. 'Thy hair is golden; thy eyes are everywhere; thy body is the sacrifice; thou art free from stain; thou art the "field" (the corporeal frame); thou art the principle of life; thou art the ruler

49. ¹ This is Nand.'s interpretation of the term 'deva,' but it may also be taken in its usual acceptance of 'god.'

51. ¹ This is the third of the three interpretations of the term varâha, which Nand. proposes. According to the first, it would mean 'one who kills his worst or most prominent foes;' according to the second, 'one who gratifies his own desires.' But these two interpretations are based upon a fanciful derivation of varâha from vara and â-han. Of many others among the epithets Nand. proposes equally fanciful etymologies, which I shall pass over unnoticed.—

² This epithet, which literally means 'he who finds or wins cows,' is usually referred to Vishnu's recovering the 'cow,' i.e. the earth, when it was lost in the waters: see Mahâbh. XII, 13228, which verse is quoted both by Nand. and by Saṅkara in his Commentary on the Vishnu-sahasranâma. It originally refers, no doubt, to Vishnu or Kṛishna as the pastoral god.

of the world; thou art lying on the bed of the ocean.

53. 'Thou art Mantra (prayer); thou knowest the Mantras; thou surpassest all conception; thy frame is composed of the Vedas and Vedāṅgas; the creation and destruction of this whole world is effected through thee.

54. 'Thou knowest right and wrong; thy body is law; law springs from thee; desires are gratified by thee; thy powers are everywhere; thou art (imperishable like) *Amṛita* (ambrosia); thou art heaven; thou art the destroyer of Madhu and Kaiṭasa.

55. 'Thou causest the increase of the great; thou art inscrutable; thou art all; thou givest shelter to all; thou art the chief one; thou art free from sin; thou art *Gimūta*; thou art inexhaustible; thou art the creator.

56. 'Thou increasest the welfare (of the world); the waters spring from thee; thou art the seat of intelligence; action is not found in thee; thou presidest over seven chief things¹; thou art the teacher of religious rites; thou art of old; thou art Puru-shottama.

57. 'Thou art not to be shaken; thou art unde-

55. 'The great (*bṛhat*) means time, space, and the like. . . . He is called "all" because he is capable of assuming any shape.' (Nand.) The sense of the term '*gimūta*,' as an epithet of divine beings, is uncertain. According to Nand., it would mean 'he who sprinkles living beings;' but this interpretation is based upon a fanciful derivation, from *gīva* and *mūtrayati*.

56. ¹ This refers either to the seven divisions of a *Sāman*; or to the seven species, of which each of the three kinds of sacrifices, domestic offerings, burnt-offerings, and Soma-sacrifices, consists (cf. Gaut. VIII, 18-20); or to the seven worlds (see 15, note), *Bhūr* and the rest. (Nand.)

caying; thou art the producer of the atoms; thou art kind to faithful attendants; thou art the purifier (of sinners); thou art the protector of all the gods; thou art the protector of the pious.

58. 'Thou art also the protector of those who know the Veda, O Purushottama. I have come, O Gagannâtha, to the immovable Vâkaspati (the lord of holy speech), the lord;

59. 'To him, who is very pious; invincible; Vasusheṇa (who has treasures for his armies); who bestows largesses upon his followers; who is endowed with the power of intense devotion; who is the germ of the ether; from whom the rays (of the sun and moon) proceed;

60. 'To Vâsudeva; the great soul of the universe; whose eyes are like lotuses; who is eternal; the preceptor of the Suras and of the Asuras; brilliant; omnipresent; the great lord of all creatures;

61. 'Who has one body and four faces; who is the producer of (the five grosser elements, ether, air, fire, water, and earth), the producers of the world. Teach me concisely, O Bhagavat, the eternal laws ordained for the aggregate of the four castes,

62. 'Together with the customs to be observed by each order and with the secret ordinances.' The chief of the gods, thus addressed by the goddess of the earth, replied to her as follows:

62. According to Nand., the term *rahasya*, 'secret ordinances or doctrines,' has to be referred either to the laws regarding the occupations lawful for each caste in times of distress (*âpaddharma*, see II, 15), or to the penances (XLVI seq.) The latter interpretation seems to be the more plausible one, with the limitation, however, that *rahasya* is only used to denote the penances for secret faults, which are termed *rahasya* in LV, 1.

63. 'Learn from me, in a concise form, O radiant goddess of the earth, the eternal laws for the aggregate of the four castes, together with the customs to be observed by each order, and with the secret ordinances,

64. 'Which will effect the final liberation of the virtuous persons, who will support thee. Be seated upon this splendid golden seat, O handsome-thighed goddess.

65. 'Seated at ease, listen to me proclaiming the sacred laws.' The goddess of the earth, thereupon, seated at ease, listened to the sacred precepts as they came from the mouth of Vishnu.

II.

1. Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras are the four castes.

2. The first three of these are (called) twice-born.

3. For them the whole number of ceremonies, which begin with the impregnation and end with the ceremony of burning the dead body, have to be performed with (the recitation of) Mantras.

4. Their duties are :

5. For a Brâhmana, to teach (the Veda) ;

6. For a Kshatriya, constant practice in arms ;

7. For a Vaisya, the tending of cattle ;

8. For a Sûdra, to serve the twice-born ;

II. 1. Âpast. I, 1, 1, 3. — 1, 2. M. X, 4 ; Y. I, 10. — 3. M. II, 26 ; Y. I, 10. — 4-9 (14). M. I, 88-91 ; VIII, 410 ; IX, 326-335 ; X, 75-79 ; Y. I, 118-120 ; Âpast. I, 1, 1, 5, 6 ; II, 5, 10, 4-7 ; Gaut. X, 2, 7, 49, 56. — 15. M. X, 81 ; Y. III, 35 ; Gaut. VII, 6. — 16, 17. M. X, 63 ; Y. I, 122 ; Gaut. VIII, 23 ; X, 51. 'This chapter treats of the four castes.' (Nand.)

9. For all the twice-born, to sacrifice and to study (the Veda).

10. Again, their modes of livelihood are :

11. For a Brâhmana, to sacrifice for others and to receive alms ;

12. For a Kshatriya, to protect the world (and receive due reward, in form of taxes) ;

13. For a Vaisya, tillage, keeping cows (and other cattle), traffic, lending money upon interest, and growing seeds ;

14. For a Sûdra, all branches of art (such as painting and the other fine arts) ;

15. In times of distress, each caste may follow the occupation of that next (below) to it in rank.

16. Forbearance, veracity, restraint, purity, liberality, self-control, not to kill (any living being), obedience towards one's Gurus, visiting places of pilgrimage, sympathy (with the afflicted),

17. Straightforwardness, freedom from covetousness, reverence towards gods and Brâhmanas, and freedom from anger are duties common (to all castes).

III.

1. Now the duties of a king are :

2. To protect his people,

14. According to Nand., the use of the term sarva, 'all,' implies that Sûdras may also follow the occupations of a Vaisya, tillage and the rest, as ordained by Devala.

16. The term Guru, 'superior,' generally denotes the parents and the teacher, or Guru in the narrower sense of the term ; see XXXI, 1, 2. It may also include all those who are one's elders or betters ; see XXXII, 1-3.

III. 2, 3. M. VII, 35, 144 ; Gaut. X, 7 ; XI, 9. — 4, 5. M. VII, 69 ; Y. I, 320. — 6. M. VII, 70 ; Y. I, 320 ; Âpast. II, 10, 25, 2. —

3. And to keep the four castes and the four orders¹ in the practice of their several duties.

4. Let the king fix his abode in a district containing open plains, fit for cattle, and abounding in grain;

5. And inhabited by many Vaisyas and Sûdras.

6. There let him reside in a stronghold (the strength of which consists) either in (its being surrounded by) a desert, or in (a throng of) armed

7-10. M. VII, 115; Âpast. II, 10, 26, 4, 5.—11-15. M. VII, 116, 117.—16-21. M. VII, 61, 62; Y. I, 321.—22-25. M. VII, 130-132; Y. I, 327; Âpast. II, 10, 26, 9; Gaut. X, 24, 25.—26. M. VII, 133; Âpast. II, 10, 26, 10.—28. M. VIII, 304; Y. I, 334; Gaut. XI, 11.—29, 30. M. VII, 128; VIII, 398; Y. II, 161. Gaut. X, 26.—31. M. VII, 400; Y. II, 262.—32. M. VII, 138; Gaut. X, 31-33.—33. M. IX, 294; Y. I, 352.—35. M. VII, 122, 184; Y. I, 331, 337.—36, 37. Y. I, 337.—38-41. M. VII, 158-161, 182, 183; Y. I, 344-347.—42. M. VII, 203; Y. J, 342.—43. M. VII, 215.—44. M. VII, 88.—45. M. VII, 89; Y. I, 324; Âpast. II, 10, 26, 2, 3.—47. M. VII, 202.—50-52. M. VII, 50, 51.—55. M. VII, 62; VIII, 39.—56-58. M. VIII, 37, 38; Y. II, 34; Gaut. X, 43, 44.—61. Gaut. X, 45.—62. Y. II, 35.—63. M. VIII, 35.—64. M. VIII, 36.—65. M. VIII, 27, 28; Gaut. X, 48.—66, 67. M. VIII, 40; Y. II, 36; Âpast. II, 10, 26, 8; Gaut. X, 46, 47.—68. Gaut. X, 17.—70. M. VII, 78; Y. I, 312; Gaut. XI, 12.—71. M. VII, 54, 60; Y. I, 311.—72. M. VIII, 1; Y. II, 1.—73. M. VIII, 9; Y. II, 3; Gaut. XIII, 96.—74. M. VIII, 12-19; Y. II, 2; Âpast. II, 11, 29, 5.—75. Gaut. XI, 15.—76, 77. M. VII, 38.—77, 78. Y. I, 308, 313.—78, M. VII, 79.—79, 80. M. VII, 134; Y. I, 338; Âpast. II, 10, 25, 11; Gaut. X, 9, 10.—81. Âpast. II, 10, 26, 1.—81, 82. Y. I, 317-319.—84. M. VII, 82; Y. I, 314.—85. M. VII, 220.—87, 88. M. VII, 217, 218.—89. M. VII, 146.—91, 92. M. VII, 16; VIII, 126; Y. I, 367; Gaut. X, 8.—94. M. VIII, 335; Y. I, 357; Âpast. II, 11, 28, 13.—95. M. VII, 25.—96. M. VII, 32; Y. I, 333.—97. M. VII, 33. Chapters III-XVIII contain the section on vyavahâra, 'jurisprudence.' (Nand.)

3. ¹ Of student, householder, hermit, and ascetic.

5. 'And there should be many virtuous men in it, as stated by Manu, VII, 69.' (Nand.)

men, or in fortifications (of stone, brick, or others), or in water (enclosing it on all sides), or in trees, or in mountains (sheltering it against a foreign invasion).

7. (While he resides) there, let him appoint chiefs (or governors) in every village ;

8. Also, lords of every ten villages ;

9. And lords of every hundred villages ;

10. And lords of a whole district.

11. If any offence has been committed in a village, let the lord of that village suppress the evil (and give redress to those that have been wronged).

12. If he is unable to do so, let him announce it to the lord of ten villages ;

13. If he too is unable, let him announce it to the lord of a hundred villages ;

14. If he too is unable, let him announce it to the lord of the whole district.

15. The lord of the whole district must eradicate the evil to the best of his power.

16. Let the king appoint able officials for the working of his mines, for the levying of taxes and of the fares to be paid at ferries, and for his elephants and forests.

17. (Let him appoint) pious persons for performing acts of piety (such as bestowing gifts on the indigent, and the like) ;

18. Skilled men for financial business (such as examining gold and other precious metals) ;

11. See 67 and Dr. Bühler's note on Âpast. II, 10, 26, 8.

16. The term *nâgavana*, which has been translated as a *Dvandva* compound, denoting elephants and forests, may also be taken to mean 'forests in which there are elephants;' or *nâga* may mean 'situated in the mountains' or 'a mountain fort.' (Nand.)

18. Or, 'he must appoint men skilled in logic as his advisers in knotty points of argument.' (Nand.)

19. Brave men for fighting ;
20. Stern men for acts of rigour (such as beating and killing) ;
21. Eunuchs for his wives (as their guardians).
22. He must take from his subjects as taxes a sixth part every year of the grain ;
23. And (a sixth part) of all (other) seeds ;
24. Two in the hundred, of cattle, gold, and clothes ;
25. A sixth part of flesh, honey, clarified butter, herbs, perfumes, flowers, roots, fruits, liquids and condiments, wood, leaves (of the Palmyra tree and others), skins, earthen pots, stone vessels, and anything made of split bamboo.
26. Let him not levy any tax upon Brâhmanas.
27. For they pay taxes to him in the shape of their pious acts.
28. A sixth part both of the virtuous deeds and of the iniquitous acts committed by his subjects goes to the king.
29. Let him take a tenth part of (the price of) marketable commodities (sold) in his own country ;
30. And a twentieth part of (the price of) goods (sold) in another country.
31. Any (seller or buyer) who (fraudulently) avoids a toll-house (situated on his road), shall lose all his goods.

23. This rule relates to Syâmâka grain and other sorts of grain produced in the rainy season. (Nand.)

25. 'Haradatta says that "a sixth part" means "a sixtieth part." But this is wrong, as shown by M. VII, 131.' (Nand.) Haradatta's false interpretation was most likely called forth by Gaut. X, 27.

32. Artizans (such as blacksmiths), manual labourers (such as carpenters), and Śūdras shall do work for the king for a day in each month.

33. The monarch, his council, his fortress, his treasure, his army, his realm, and his ally are the seven constituent elements of a state.

34. (The king) must punish those who try to subvert any one among them.

35. He must explore, by means of spies, both the state of his own kingdom and of his foe's.

36. Let him show honour to the righteous ;

37. And let him punish the unrighteous.

38. Towards his (neighbour and natural) enemy, his ally (or the power next beyond his enemy), a neutral power (situated beyond the latter), and a power situated between (his natural enemy and an aggressive power) ¹ let him adopt (alternately), as the occasion and the time require, (the four modes of obtaining success, viz.) negotiation, division, presents, and force of arms.

39. Let him have resort, as the time demands, to (the six measures of a military monarch, viz.) making alliance and waging war, marching to battle and sitting encamped, seeking the protection (of a more powerful king) and distributing his forces.

32. According to Nand., the particle *kā*, 'and,' implies that servile persons, who get their substance from their employers, are also implied. See Manu VII, 138.

35. The particle *kā*, according to Nand., is used in order to include the kingdoms of an ally and of a neutral prince.

38. ¹ The term *madhyama* has been rendered according to Nand.'s and Kullūka's (on M. VII, 155) interpretation of it. Kullūka, however, adds, as a further characteristic, that it denotes a prince, who is equal in strength to one foe, but no match for two when allied.

40. Let him set out on an expedition in the months of *Kaitra* or *Mârgasirsha* ;

41. Or when some calamity has befallen his foe.

42. Having conquered the country of his foe, let him not abolish (or disregard) the laws of that country.

43. And when he has been attacked by his foe, let him protect his own realm to the best of his power.

44. There is no higher duty for men of the military caste, than to risk their life in battle.

45. Those who have been killed in protecting a cow, or a *Brâhmaṇa*, or a king, or a friend, or their own property, or their own wedded wife, or their own life, go to heaven.

46. Likewise, those (who have been killed) in trying to prevent mixture of castes (caused by adulterous connections).

47. A king having conquered the capital of his foe, should invest there a prince of the royal race of that country with the royal dignity.

48. Let him not extirpate the royal race ;

49. Unless the royal race be of ignoble descent.

50. He must not take delight in hunting, dice, women, and drinking ;

51. Nor in defamation and battery.

52. And let him not injure his own property (by bootless expenses).

53. He must not demolish (whether in his own town, or in the town of his foe conquered by him,

40. The particle *vâ* indicates, according to Nand., that he may also set out in the month *Phâlguna*.

or in a fort) doors which had been built there before his time (by a former king).

54. He must not bestow largesses upon unworthy persons (such as dancers, eulogists, bards, and the like).

55. Of mines let him take the whole produce.

56. Of a treasure-trove he must give one half to the Brāhmaṇas;

57. He may deposit the other half in his own treasury.

58. A Brāhmaṇa who has found a treasure may keep it entire.

59. A Kshatriya (who has found a treasure) must give one fourth of it to the king, another fourth to the Brāhmaṇas, and keep half of it to himself.

60. A Vaisya (who has found a treasure) must give a fourth part of it to the king, one half to the Brāhmaṇas, and keep the (remaining fourth) part to himself.

61. A Sūdra who has found a treasure must divide it into twelve parts, and give five parts to the king, five parts to the Brāhmaṇas, and keep two parts to himself.

62. Let the king compel him who (having found a treasure) does not announce it (to the king) and is found out afterwards, to give up the whole.

63. Of a treasure anciently hidden by themselves let (members of) all castes, excepting Brāhmaṇas, give a twelfth part to the king.

64. The man who falsely claims property hidden by another to have been hidden by himself, shall be

63. This rule refers to a treasure, which has been found by some one and announced to the king. The original owner is bound to prove his ownership. (Nand.) See M. VIII, 35.

condemned to pay a fine equal in amount to the property falsely claimed by him.

65. The king must protect the property of minors, of (blind, lame or other) helpless persons (who have no guide), and of women (without a guardian).

66. Having recovered goods stolen by thieves, let him restore them entire to their owners, to whatever caste they may belong.

67. If he has been unable to recover them, he must pay (their value) out of his own treasury.

68. Let him appease the onsets of fate by ceremonies averting evil omens and propitiatory ceremonies;

69. And the onsets of his foe (let him repel) by force of arms.

70. Let him appoint as Purohita (domestic priest) a man conversant with the Vedas, Epics, the Institutes of Sacred Law, and (the science of) what is useful in life, of a good family, not deficient in limb, and persistent in the practice of austerities.

71. And (let him appoint) ministers (to help and advise him) in all his affairs, who are pure, free from covetousness, attentive, and able.

72. Let him try causes himself, accompanied by well-instructed Brâhmanas.

73. Or let him entrust a Brâhmana with the judicial business.

74. Let the king appoint as judges men of good

70. 'The science of what is useful in life' comprises the fine arts, except music, and all technical knowledge.

74. According to Nand., the particle *ka* indicates that the judges should be well acquainted, likewise, with the sacred revelation,

families, for whom the ceremonies (of initiation and so forth) have been performed, and who are eager in keeping religious vows, impartial towards friend and foe, and not likely to be corrupted by litigants either by (ministering to their) lustful desires or by (stimulating them to) wrath or by (exciting their) avarice or by other (such practices).

75. Let the king in all matters listen to (the advice of) his astrologers.

76. Let him constantly show reverence to the gods and to the Brâhmaṇas.

77. Let him honour the aged;

78. And let him offer sacrifices;

79. And he must not suffer any Brâhmaṇa in his realm to perish with want;

80. Nor any other man leading a pious life.

81. Let him bestow landed property upon Brâhmaṇas.

82. To those upon whom he has bestowed (land) he must give a document, destined for the information of a future ruler, which must be written upon a piece of (cotton) cloth, or a copper-plate, and must contain the names of his (three) immediate ancestors, a declaration of the extent of the land, and an imprecation against him who should appropriate the

and intent upon performing their daily study of the Veda, as ordained by Yâgñavalkya, II, 2.

75. According to Nand., the particle *ka* indicates that the king's ministers should also consult the astrologers.

76. 'The particle *ka* is used here in order to imply that the king should bestow presents upon the Brâhmaṇas, as ordained by Manu, VII, 79.' (Nand.) See Introduction.

82. The repeated use of the particle *ka* in this Sûtra signifies that the document in question should also contain the name of the

donation to himself, and should be signed with his own seal.

83. Let him not appropriate to himself landed property bestowed (upon Bráhma~~n~~as) by other (rulers).

84. Let him present the Bráhma~~n~~as with gifts of every kind.

85. Let him be on his guard, whatever he may be about.

86. Let him be splendid (in apparel and ornaments).

87. Let him be conversant with incantations dispelling the effects of poison and sickness.

88. Let him not test any aliments, that have not been tried before (by his attendants, by certain experiments).

89. Let him smile before he speaks to any one.

90. Let him not frown even upon (criminals) doomed to capital punishment.

91. Let him inflict punishments, corresponding to the nature of their offences, upon evil-doers.

donor, the date of the donation, and the words, written in the donor's own hand, 'What has been written above, by that is my own will declared.' The term *dānak~~k~~hedopavar~~n~~anam*, 'containing a declaration of the punishment awaiting the robber of a grant,' may also mean, 'indicating the boundaries (such as fields and the like) of the grant.' The seal must contain the figure of a flamingo, boar, or other animal. (Nand.) Numerous grants on copper-plates, exactly corresponding to the above description, have been actually found in divers parts of India. See, particularly, Dr. Burnell's *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*.

83. According to Nand., the particle *ka* is used in order to include in this prohibition a grant made by himself.

86. Nand. proposes a second interpretation of the term *sudar~~s~~ana* besides the one given above, 'he shall often show himself before those desirous of seeing him.'

92. Let him inflict punishments according to justice (either personally or through his attendants).

93. Let him pardon no one for having offended twice.

94. He who deviates from his duty must certainly not be left unpunished by the king.

95. Where punishment with a black hue and a red eye advances with irresistible might, the king deciding causes justly, there the people will prosper.

96. Let a king in his own domain inflict punishments according to justice, chastise foreign foes with rigour, behave without duplicity to his affectionate friends, and with lenity to Brâhmaṇas.

97. Of a king thus disposed, even though he subsist by gleanings, the fame is far spread in the world, like a drop of oil in the water.

98. That king who is pleased when his subjects are joyful, and grieved when they are in grief, will obtain fame in this world, and will be raised to a high station in heaven after his death.

IV.

1. The (very small mote of) dust which may be discerned in a sun-beam passing through a lattice is called *trasareṇu* (trembling dust).

2. Eight of these (*trasareṇus*) are equal to a nit.

3. Three of the latter are equal to a black mustard-seed.

4. Three of these last are equal to a white mustard-seed.

5. Six of these are equal to a barley-corn.

6. Three of these equal a *Kṛishṇala*.

IV. 1-14. M. VIII, 132-138; Y. I, 361-365.

6. *Kṛishṇala* (literally, 'seed of the Guṇḍā creeper') is another

7. Five of these equal a Mâsha.
8. Twelve of these are equal to half an Aksha.
9. The weight of half an Aksha, with four Mâshas added to it, is called a Suvarna.
10. Four Suvarnas make a Nishka.
11. Two Kṛishnalas of equal weight are equal to one Mâshaka of silver.
12. Sixteen of these are equal to a Dharana (of silver).
13. A Karsha (or eighty Raktikâs) of copper is called Kârshâpana.
14. Two hundred and fifty (copper) Panas are declared to be the first (or lowest) amercement, five hundred are considered as the middlemost, and a thousand as the highest.

V.

1. Great criminals should all be put to death.

name for Raktikâ or Ratî, the lowest denomination in general use. According to Prinsep (Useful Tables, p. 97) it equals 1.875 grains = 0.122 grammes of the metrical system. According to Thomas (see Colebrooke's Essays, ed. by Cowell, I, p. 529, note) it equals 1.75 grains.

7-10. These names refer to weights of gold.

V. 2, 3. M. VIII, 124; IX, 239, 241; Gaut. XII, 46, 47.—3-7. M. IX, 237.—8. M. IX, 241; VIII, 380.—9, 11. M. IX, 232.—12, 13. M. VIII, 320, 321.—18. M. VIII, 371.—19. M. VIII, 279; Y. II, 215; Âpast. II, 10, 27, 14; Gaut. XII, 1.—20-22. M. VIII, 281, 282; Âpast. II, 10, 27, 15; Gaut. XII, 7.—23. M. VIII, 270; Âpast. II, 10, 27, 14.—24. M. VIII, 272.—25. M. VIII, 271.—26-28. M. VIII, 273-275.—27. Y. II, 204.—29, 30. Y. II, 210.—31-33. Y. II, 211.—35. M. VIII, 269.—36. M. VIII, 268; Gaut. XII, 12.—40, 41. M. VIII, 382-385.—40, 44. Y. II, 286, 289.—45. M. VIII, 224.—47. M. VIII, 225.—49. Y. II, 297.—50, 52. M. VIII, 296-298; Y. II, 225, 226.—55-58. M. VIII, 285; Y. II, 227-229.—60, 61. M. VIII, 280.—60-73. Y. II, 216-221.—66-68. M. VIII, 283, 284.—74. M. IX, 274.—

2. In the case of a Brāhmaṇa no corporal punishment must be inflicted.

3. A Brāhmaṇa must be banished from his own country, his body having been branded.

75. M. VIII, 287; Y. II, 222.—77. M. VIII, 325.—79. M. VIII, 320.—81, 82. M. VIII, 322.—83, 84. M. VIII, 326–329.—85, 86. M. VIII, 330; Gaut. XII, 18.—89, 90. Y. II, 270.—94. M. VIII, 392; Y. II, 263.—96, 97. M. VIII, 393.—98–103. Y. II, 296.—104. Y. II, 234.—106, 107. M. IX, 282.—108. Y. II, 223.—110. Y. II, 224.—111. Y. II, 236.—113. M. VIII, 389; Y. II, 237.—115–123. Y. II, 232, 235, 236, 239–241.—124–126. Y. II, 246, 250.—127. Y. II, 254.—127, 128. Colebrooke, Dig. III, 3, XXII.—129. Y. II, 255.—130. M. VIII, 399; Y. II, 261.—131. Y. II, 263.—132. M. VIII, 407.—134, 135. Y. II, 202.—136. M. IX, 277; Y. II, 274.—137, 138. M. VIII, 235; Y. II, 164.—137–139. Colebrooke, Dig. III, 4, XIV.—140. Y. II, 159.—141. Gaut. XII, 19.—142–145. Y. II, 159, 160.—142–144. Gaut. XII, 22–25.—140–146. Colebrooke, Dig. III, 4, XLV, L.—146. M. VIII, 241; Y. II, 161; Gaut. XII, 19.—147, 148. M. VIII, 238, 240; Y. II, 162; Gaut. XII, 21.—147–149. Colebrooke, Dig. III, 4, XXI.—150. M. VIII, 242; Y. II, 163.—151. M. VIII, 412; Y. II, 183; Colebrooke, Dig. III, 1, LVIII.—152. Y. II, 183.—153, 154. M. VIII, 215; Y. II, 193; Āpast. II, 11, 28, 2, 3.—153–159. Colebrooke, Dig. III, 1, LXXX.—155, 156. Y. II, 197.—160. M. IX, 71; Y. I, 65.—162. M. IX, 72; Y. I, 66.—163. M. VIII, 389.—162, 163. Colebrooke, Dig. IV, 1, LX.—164, 165. M. VIII, 202; Y. II, 170.—166. Y. II, 168.—167, 168. Y. II, 187.—169–171. M. VIII, 191.—172. M. IX, 291; Y. II, 155.—174. M. IX, 285; Y. II, 297.—175–177. M. IX, 284; Y. II, 242.—178. Y. II, 232.—179. M. VIII, 123; Y. II, 81; Āpast. II, 11, 29, 8; Gaut. XIII, 23.—180. Y. I, 338.—183. Colebrooke, Dig. I, 3, CXXX.—189. M. VIII, 350.—190. M. VIII, 351.—194. M. VIII, 126; Y. I, 367.—195. M. VIII, 128; Y. II, 243, 305.—196. M. VIII, 386.

1. The crimes by the commission of which a man becomes a Mahāpatakin, 'mortal sinner,' will be enumerated below, XXXV.

2. The use of the particle *ka* implies, according to Nand. and a passage of Yama quoted by him, that, besides branding him, the criminal should be shorn, his deed publicly proclaimed, and himself mounted upon an ass and led about the town.

4. For murdering another Brâhmana, let (the figure of) a headless corpse be impressed on his forehead;

5. For drinking spirits, the flag of a seller of spirituous liquor;

6. For stealing (gold), a dog's foot;

7. For incest, (the mark of) a female part.

8. If he has committed any other capital crime, he shall be banished, taking with him all his property, and unhurt.

9. Let the king put to death those who forge royal edicts;

10. And those who forge (private) documents;

11. Likewise poisoners, incendiaries, robbers, and killers of women, children, or men;

12. And such as steal more than ten Kumbhas of grain,

13. Or more than a hundred Mâshas of such things as are usually sold by weight (such as gold and silver);

14. Such also as aspire to sovereignty, though being of low birth;

15. Breakers of dikes;

10. The use of the particle *ka* indicates that this rule includes those who corrupt the king's ministers, as stated by Manu, IX, 232. (Nand.)

11. Nand. infers from the use of the particle *ka*, and from a passage of Kâtyâyana, that false witnesses are also intended here.

12. Nand. here refers *ka* to women who have committed a capital offence, as mentioned by Yâgñavalkya (II, 278). A Kumbha is a measure of grain equal to twenty Dronas, or a little more than three bushels and three gallons. Nand. mentions, as the opinion of some, that 1 Kumbha = 2 Dronas. For other computations of the amount of a Kumbha, see Colebrooke's Essays, I, 533 seq.

13. Regarding the value of a Mâsha, see IV, 7, 11.

15. Nand. infers from the use of the particle *ka* and from a

16. And such as give shelter and food to robbers,
17. Unless the king be unable (to protect his subjects against robbers);

18. And a woman who violates the duty which she owes to her lord, the latter being unable to restrain her.

19. With whatever limb an inferior insults or hurts his superior in caste, of that limb the king shall cause him to be deprived.

20. If he places himself on the same seat with his superior, he shall be banished with a mark on his buttocks.

21. If he spits on him, he shall lose both lips;

22. If he breaks wind against him, his hindparts;

23. If he uses abusive language, his tongue.

24. If a (low-born) man through pride give instruction (to a member of the highest caste) concerning his duty, let the king order hot oil to be dropped into his mouth.

25. If a (low-born man) mentions the name or caste of a superior revilingly, an iron pin, ten inches long, shall be thrust into his mouth (red hot).

26. He who falsely denies the sacred knowledge, the country, or the caste (of such), or who says

passage of Manu (IX, 280), that robbers who forcibly enter the king's treasury, or the arsenal, or a temple, are likewise intended here.

17. In the case to which this Sûtra refers, the villagers may satisfy the demands of the robbers with impunity, as they are obliged to do so out of regard for their own safety. (Nand.)

20. The particle *ā* indicates here that if he urinates against a superior his organ shall be cut off. (Nand.) See M. VIII, 282.

26. This Sûtra has been rendered in accordance with Kullûka's gloss on M. VIII, 273, Nand.'s interpretation of it being palpably wrong.

that his religious duties have not been fulfilled by (or that the initiatory and other sacramental rites have not been performed for) him, shall be fined two hundred *Panas*.

27. If a man is blind with one eye, or lame, or defective in any similar way, and another calls him so, he shall be fined two *Kârshâpanas*, though he speaks the truth.

28. He shall be fined a hundred *Kârshâpanas* for defaming a Guru.

29. He shall pay the highest amercement for imputing to another (a great crime) entailing loss of caste;

30. The second amercement for (imputing to another) a minor offence (such as the slaughter of a cow);

31. The same for reviling a *Brâhmaṇa* versed in the three Vedas, or an old man, or a (whole) caste or corporation (of judges or others);

32. For reviling a village or district, the lowest amercement;

33. For using insulting language (such as 'I shall visit your sister,' or 'I shall visit your daughter'), a hundred *Kârshâpanas*;

34. For insulting a man by using bad language regarding his mother (such as 'I shall visit your mother' or the like speeches), the highest amercement.

35. For abusing a man of his own caste, he shall be fined twelve *Panas*.

36. For abusing a man of a lower caste, he shall be fined six (*Panas*).

32. Nand. infers from the use of the particle *ka* that 'a family' is also intended here.

37. For insulting a member of the highest caste or of his own caste (he having been insulted by him) at the same time, the same fine is ordained ;

38. Or (if he only returns his insult, a fine amounting to) three Kârshâpapas.

39. The same (punishment is ordained) if he calls him bad names.

40. An adulterer shall be made to pay the highest amercement if he has had connection with a woman of his own caste ;

41. For adultery with women of a lower caste, the second amercement ;

42. The same (fine is ordained) for a bestial crime committed with a cow.

43. He who has had connection with a woman of one of the lowest castes, shall be put to death.

44. For a bestial crime committed with cattle (other than cows) he shall be fined a hundred Kârshâpapas.

45. (The same fine is ordained) for giving a (blemished) damsel in marriage, without indicating her blemish (whether the bride be sick, or no longer a maid, or otherwise faulty) ;

46. And he shall have to support her.

47. He who says of an unblemished damsel, that she has a blemish (shall pay) the highest amercement.

48. For killing an elephant, or a horse, or a camel, or a cow, (the criminal) shall have one hand, and one foot, lopped off.

43. The lowest castes (antyâh), according to Ângiras, are the following seven, *Kandâlas*, *Svapakas*, *Kshattrîs*, *Sûtas*, *Vaidehakas*, *Mâgadhas*, and *Âyogavas*.

49. A seller of forbidden meat (such as pork, shall be punished in the same way).

50. He who kills domestic animals, shall pay a hundred Kârshâpanas.

51. He shall make good their value to the owner of those animals.

52. He who kills wild animals, shall pay five hundred Kârshâpanas.

53. A killer of birds, or of fish, (shall pay) ten Kârshâpanas.

54. A killer of insects shall pay one Kârshâpana.

55. A feller of trees yielding fruit (shall pay) the highest amercement.

56. A feller of trees yielding blossoms only (shall pay) the second amercement.

57. He who cuts creepers, shrubs, or climbing plants (shall pay) a hundred Kârshâpanas.

58. He who cuts grass (shall pay) one Kârshâpana.

59. And all such offenders (shall make good) to the owners (of the trees or plants cut down by them) the revenue which they yield.

60. If any man raises his hand (against his equal in caste, with intent to strike him, he shall pay) ten Kârshâpanas ;

61. If he raises his foot, twenty ;

62. If he raises a piece of wood, the first amercement ;

63. If he raises a stone, the second amercement ;

64. If he raises a weapon, the highest amercement.

65. If he seizes him by his feet, by his hair, by

53. Nand. infers from a passage of Kâtyâyana that the particle *ka* is used here in order to include serpents.

his garment, or by his hand, he shall pay ten *Panas* as a fine.

66. If he causes pain to him, without fetching blood from him, (he shall pay) thirty-two *Panas* ;

67. For fetching blood from him, sixty-four.

68. For mutilating or injuring a hand, or a foot, or a tooth, and for slitting an ear, or the nose, the second amercement (is ordained).

69. For rendering a man unable to move about, or to eat, or to speak, or for striking him (violently, the same punishment is ordained).

70. For wounding or breaking an eye, or the neck, or an arm, or a bone, or a shoulder, the highest amercement (is ordained).

71. For striking out both eyes of a man, the king shall (confine him and) not dismiss him from jail as long as he lives ;

72. Or he shall order him to be mutilated in the same way (i. e. deprived of his eyes).

73. Where one is attacked by many, the punishment for each shall be the double of that which has been ordained for (attacks by) a single person.

74. (The double punishment is) likewise (ordained) for those who do not give assistance to one calling for help, though they happen to be on the spot, or (who run away) after having approached it.

75. All those who have hurt a man, shall pay the expense of his cure.

76. Those who have hurt a domestic animal (shall also pay the expense of his cure).

77. He who has stolen a cow, or a horse, or a camel, or an elephant, shall have one hand, and one foot, cut off ;

78. He who has stolen a goat, or a sheep, (shall have) one hand (cut off).

79. He who steals grain (of those sorts which grow in the rainy season), shall pay eleven times its value as a fine ;

80. Likewise, he who steals grain (of those sorts, which grow in winter and spring, such as rice and barley).

81. A stealer of gold, silver, or clothes, at a value of more than fifty Mâshas, shall lose both hands.

82. He who steals a less amount than that, shall pay eleven times its value as a fine.

83. A stealer of thread, cotton, cow-dung, sugar, sour milk, milk, butter-milk, grass, salt, clay, ashes, birds, fish, clarified butter, oil, meat, honey, basket-work, canes of bamboo, earthenware, or iron pots, shall pay three times their value as a fine.

84. (The same fine is ordained for stealing) dressed food.

85. For stealing flowers, green (grain), shrubs, creepers, climbing plants or leaves, (he shall pay) five *Krishnâlas*.

86. For stealing pot-herbs, roots, or fruits (the same punishment is ordained).

87. He who steals gems, (shall pay) the highest amercement.

88. He who steals anything not mentioned above, (shall make good) its value (to the owner).

89. Thieves shall be compelled to restore all stolen goods to the owners.

90. After that, they shall suffer the punishment that has been ordained for them.

91. He who does not make way for one for

whom way ought to be made, shall be fined twenty-five Kârshâpanas.

92. (The same fine is ordained) for omitting to offer a seat to (a guest or others) to whom it ought to be offered.

93. For neglecting to worship such as have a claim to be worshipped, (the same fine is ordained) ;

94. Likewise, for neglecting to invite (at a *Srâdha*) a Brâhmana, one's neighbour ;

95. And for offering him no food, after having invited him.

96. He who does not eat, though he has received and accepted an invitation, shall give a gold Mâshaka as a fine ;

97. And the double amount of food to his host.

98. He who insults a Brâhmana by offering him uneatable food (such as excrements and the like, or forbidden food, such as garlic, must pay) sixteen Suvarnas (as a fine).

99. (If he insults him by offering him) such food as would cause him to be degraded (were he to taste it, he must pay) a hundred Suvarnas.

100. (If he offers him) spirituous liquor, he shall be put to death.

101. If he insults a Kshatriya (in the same way), he shall have to pay half of the above amercement ;

102. If he insults a Vaisya, half of that again ;

103. If he insults a Sûdra, the first amercement.

104. If one who (being a member of the *Kandâla* or some other low caste) must not be touched, inten-

93. Those persons 'have a claim to be worshipped' who are worthy to receive the Madhuparka or honey-mixture. (Nand.) See M. III, 119, 120; Y. I, 110; Âpast. II, 4, 8, 5-9; Gaut. V, 27; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 125.

tionally defiles by his touch one who (as a member of a twice-born caste) may be touched (by other twice-born persons only), he shall be put to death.

105. If a woman in her courses (touches such a person), she shall be lashed with a whip.

106. If one defiles the highway, or a garden, or the water (by voiding excrements) near them (or in any other way), he shall be fined a hundred *Panas* ;

107. And he must remove the filth.

108. If he demolishes a house, or a piece of ground (a court-yard or the like), or a wall or the like, he shall have to pay the second amercement ;

109. And he shall have it repaired (at his own cost).

110. If he throws into another man's house (thorns, spells, or other) such things as might hurt some one, he shall pay a hundred *Panas*.

111. (The same punishment is ordained) for falsely denying the possession of common property ;

112. And for not delivering what has been sent (for a god or for a *Brâhmana*).

113. (The same punishment is) also (ordained) for father and son, teacher (and pupil), sacrificer and officiating priest, if one should forsake the other, provided that he has not been expelled from caste.

114. And he must return to them (to the parents and the rest).

115. (The same punishment is) also (ordained) for hospitably entertaining a *Sûdra* or religious ascetic at an oblation to the gods or to the manes ;

116. And for following an unlawful occupation

115. According to Nand., the particle *ka* indicates here, that the same punishment is ordained for him who visits a widow by his own accord, as mentioned by *Yâgñavalkya* (II, 234).

(such as studying the Vedas without having been initiated);

117. And for breaking open a house on which (the king's) seal is laid;

118. And for making an oath without having been asked to do so (by the king or a judge);

119. And for depriving cattle of their virility.

120. The fine for the witnesses in a dispute between father and son shall be ten *Panas*.

121. For him who acts as surety for either of the two parties in such a contest, the highest amercement (is ordained).

122. (The same punishment is ordained) for forging a balance, or a measure;

123. Also, for pronouncing them incorrect, although they are correct.

124. (The same punishment is) also (ordained) for selling adulterated commodities;

125. And for a company of merchants who prevent the sale of a commodity (which happens to be abroad) by selling it under its price.

126. (The same punishment is ordained) for those (members of such a company) who sell (an article belonging to the whole company for more than it is worth) on their own account.

127. He who does not deliver to the purchaser a commodity (sold), after its price has been paid to him, shall be compelled to deliver it to him with interest;

117. Nand. considers the particle *ka* to imply that the exchange of sealed goods for others shall be punished in the same way. But this assertion rests upon a false reading (*samudraparivarta* for *samudgaparivarta*) of Y. II, 247, which passage Nand. quotes in support of his view.

128. And he shall be fined a hundred *Panas* by the king.

129. If there should be a loss upon a commodity purchased, which the purchaser refuses to accept (though it has been tendered to him), the loss shall fall upon the purchaser.

130. He who sells a commodity on which the king has laid an embargo, shall have it confiscated.

131. A ferry-man who takes a toll payable (for commodities conveyed) by land shall be fined ten *Panas*.

132. Likewise, a ferry-man, or an official at a toll-office, who takes a fare or toll from a student, or *Vânaprastha* (hermit), or a *Bhikshu* (ascetic or religious mendicant), or a pregnant woman, or one about to visit a place of pilgrimage ;

133. And he shall restore it to them.

134. Those who use false dice in gaming shall lose one hand.

135. Those who resort to (other) fraudulent practices in gaming shall lose two fingers (the thumb and the index).

136. Cutpurses shall lose one hand.

137. Cattle being attacked, during day-time, by wolves or other ferocious animals, and the keeper not going (to repel the attack), the blame shall fall upon him ;

138. And he shall make good to the owner the value of the cattle that has perished.

139. If he milks a cow without permission, (he shall pay) twenty-five *Kârshâpanas* (as a fine).

131. The toll mentioned here is the duty on marketable commodities mentioned above, III, 29, 30. (Nand.)

140. If a female buffalo damages grain, her keeper shall be fined eight Māshas.

141. If she has been without a keeper, her owner (shall pay that fine).

142. (For mischief done by) a horse, or a camel, or an ass (the fine shall be the same).

143. (For damage done by) a cow, it shall be half.

144. (For damage done by) a goat, or a sheep, (it shall be) half of that again.

145. For cattle abiding (in the field), after having eaten (grain), the fine shall be double.

146. And in every case the owner (of the field) shall receive the value of the grain that has been destroyed.

147. There is no offence if the damage has been done near a highway, near a village, or (in a field adjacent to) the common pasture-ground for cattle ;

148. Or (if it has been done) in an uninclosed field ;

149. Or if the cattle did not abide long ;

150. Or if the damage has been done by bulls that have been set at liberty, or by a cow shortly after her calving.

151. He who commits members of the highest (or Brāhmaṇa) caste to slavery, shall pay the highest amercement.

152. An apostate from religious mendicity shall become the king's slave.

153. A hired workman who abandons his work before the term has expired shall pay the whole amount (of the stipulated wages) to his employer ;

154. And he shall pay a hundred Panas to the king.

155. What has been destroyed through his want of care, (he must make good) to the owner ;

156. Unless the damage have been caused by an accident.

157. If an employer dismisses a workman (whom he has hired) before the expiration of the term, he shall pay him his entire wages ;

158. And (he shall pay) a hundred *Panas* to the king ;

159. Unless the workman have been at fault.

160. He who, having promised his daughter to one suitor, gives her in marriage to another, shall be punished as a thief ;

161. Unless the (first) suitor have a blemish.

162. The same (punishment is ordained for a suitor) who abandons a faultless girl ;

163. (And for a husband who forsakes) a (blameless) wife.

164. He who buys unawares in open market the property of another man (from one not authorised to sell it) is not to blame ;

165. (But) the owner shall recover his property.

166. If he has bought it in secret and under its price, the purchaser and the vendor shall be punished as thieves.

167. He who embezzles goods belonging to a corporation (of *Brāhmanas*, and which have been sent to them by the king or by private persons), shall be banished.

168. He who violates their established rule (shall) also (be banished).

169. He who retains a deposit shall restore the commodity deposited to the owner, with interest.

170. The king shall punish him as a thief.

171. (The same punishment is ordained for him) who claims as a deposit what he never deposited.

172. A destroyer of landmarks shall be compelled to pay the highest amercement and to mark the boundary anew with landmarks.

173. He who (knowingly) eats forbidden food effecting loss of caste shall be banished.

174. He who sells forbidden food (such as spirituous liquor and the like), or food which must not be sold, and he who breaks an image of a deity, shall pay the highest amercement ;

175. Also, a physician who adopts a wrong method of cure in the case of a patient of high rank (such as a relative of the king's) ;

176. The second amercement in the case of another patient ;

177. The lowest amercement in the case of an animal.

178. He who does not give what he has promised, shall be compelled to give it and to pay the first amercement.

179. To a false witness his entire property shall be confiscated.

180. (The same punishment is ordained) for a judge who lives by bribes.

181. He who has mortgaged more than a bull's hide of land to one creditor, and without having redeemed it mortgages it to another, shall be corporally punished (by whipping or imprisonment).

171. According to Nand., the particle *ka* indicates that those who state the nature or amount of a deposit wrongly are also intended here.

173. Thus according to Nand., who says expressly that the causative form cannot here mean causing to eat, because the punishment for the latter offence has been mentioned in Sūtra 98.

182. If the quantity be less, he shall pay a fine of sixteen Suvarṇas.

183. That land, whether little or much, on the produce of which one man can subsist for a year, is called the quantity of a bull's hide.

184. If a dispute should arise between two (creditors) concerning (a field or other immovable property) which has been mortgaged to both at the same time, that mortgagee shall enjoy its produce who holds it in his possession, without having obtained it by force.

185. What has been possessed in order and with a legitimate title (such as purchase, donation, and the like), the possessor may keep; it can never be taken from him.

186. Where (land or other) property has been held in legitimate possession by the father (or grandfather), the son's right to it, after his death, cannot be contested; for it has become his own by force of possession.

187. If possession has been held of an estate by three (successive) generations in due course, the fourth in descent shall keep it as his property, even without a written title.

188. He who kills (in his own defence a tiger or other) animal with sharp nails and claws, or a (goat or other) horned animal (excepting cows), or a (boar or other) animal with sharp teeth, or an assassin, or an elephant, or a horse, or any other (ferocious animal by whom he has been attacked), commits no crime.

189. Any one may unhesitatingly slay a man who attacks him with intent to murder him, whether his spiritual teacher, young or old, or a Brāhmaṇa,

or even (a Brāhmaṇa) versed in many branches of sacred knowledge.

190. By killing an assassin who attempts to kill, whether in public or in private, no crime is committed by the slayer: fury recoils upon fury.

191. Assassins should be known to be of seven kinds: such as try to kill with the sword, or with poison, or with fire, such as raise their hand in order to pronounce a curse, such as recite a deadly incantation from the Atharva-veda, such as raise a false accusation which reaches the ears of the king,

192. And such as have illicit intercourse with another man's wife. The same designation is given to other (evil-doers) who deprive others of their worldly fame or of their wealth, or who destroy religious merit (by ruining pools, or other such acts), or property (such as houses or fields).

193. Thus I have declared to thee fully, O Earth, the criminal laws, enumerating at full length the punishments ordained for all sorts of offences.

194. Let the king dictate due punishments for other offences also, after having ascertained the class and the age (of the criminal) and the amount (of the damage done or sum claimed), and after having consulted the Brāhmaṇas (his advisers).

195. That detestable judge who dismisses without punishment such as deserve it, and punishes such as deserve it not, shall incur twice as heavy a penalty as the criminal himself.

196. A king in whose dominion there exists neither thief, nor adulterer, nor calumniator, nor robber, nor murderer, attains the world of Indra.

VI.

1. A creditor shall receive his principal back from his debtor exactly as he had lent it to him.

2. (As regards the interest to be paid), he shall take in the direct order of the castes two, three, four, or five in the hundred by the month (if no pledge has been given).

3. Or let debtors of any caste pay as much interest as has been promised by themselves.

4. After the lapse of one year let them pay interest according to the above rule, even though it have not been agreed on.

5. By the use of a pledge (to be kept only) interest is forfeited.

VI. 2. M. VIII, 142; Y. II, 37.—1, 2. Colebrooke, Dig. I, 2, XXXI.—3. M. VIII, 157; Y. II, 38.—4. Colebrooke, Dig. I, 2, LII.—5. M. VIII, 143; Y. II, 59; Gaut. XII, 32; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 2, LXXVIII.—6. Y. II, 59; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 3, LXXXII.—7. M. VIII, 151; Gaut. XII, 31; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 3, CX.—8. Colebrooke loc. cit.—9. Colebrooke, Dig. I, 3, CVII.—10. Y. II, 44; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 2, LXXVII.—11—15. M. VIII, 151; Y. II, 39; Gaut. XII, 36; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 2, LXIV.—16, 17. Colebrooke, Dig. I, 2, LXX.—18, 19. M. VIII, 50, 176; Y. II, 40; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 6, CCLII.—20, 21. M. VIII, 139; Y. II, 42; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 6, CCLXXVII.—22. Y. II, 20.—24, 25. Y. II, 94; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 6, CCLXXXIII.—26. Y. II, 93; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 6, CCLXXXVI.—27. Y. II, 50; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 5, CLXVIII.—28. Colebrooke, Dig. I, 5, CLXVIII.—29. Gaut. XII, 40.—29, 30. Y. II, 51; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 5, CCXX.—31—33. Y. II, 46; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 5, CCVIII.—34—36. M. VIII, 166; Y. II, 45; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 5, CLXXXV.—37. Y. II, 48.—38, 39. M. VIII, 166, 167; Y. II, 45; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 5, CXCI.—41. M. VIII, 158, 160; Y. II, 53; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 4, CXLIV.—42, 43. Y. II, 55, 56; Colebrooke, Dig. I, 4, CLVI, CLXI.

1, 2. Colebrooke loc. cit. seems to have translated a different reading.

6. The creditor must make good the loss of a pledge, unless it was caused by fate or by the king.

7. (The pledge must) also (be restored to the debtor) when the interest has reached its maximum amount (on becoming equal to the principal, and has all been paid).

8. But he must not restore an immovable pledge without special agreement (till the principal itself has been paid).

9. That immovable property which has been delivered, restorable when the sum borrowed is made good, (the creditor) must restore when the sum borrowed has been made good.

10. Property lent bears no further interest after it has been tendered, but refused by the creditor.

11. On gold the interest shall rise no higher than to make the debt double ;

12. On grain, (no higher than to make it) three-fold ;

13. On cloth, (no higher than to make it) four-fold ;

14. On liquids, (no higher than to make it) eight-fold ;

15. Of female slaves and cattle, the offspring (shall be taken as interest).

16. On substances from which spirituous liquor

7. Colebrooke loc. cit. connects this Sûtra with the next. My rendering rests on Nand.'s interpretation.

8. Nand. cites as an instance of an agreement of this kind one made in the following form, ' You shall have the enjoyment of this or that mango grove as long as interest on the principal lent to me has not ceased to accrue.'

is extracted, on cotton, thread, leather, weapons, bricks, and charcoal, the interest is unlimited.

17. On such objects as have not been mentioned it may be double.

18. A creditor recovering the sum lent by any (lawful) means shall not be reproved by the king.

19. If the debtor, so forced to discharge the debt, complains to the king, he shall be fined in an equal sum.

20. If a creditor sues before the king and fully proves his demand, the debtor shall pay as a fine to the king a tenth part of the sum proved ;

21. And the creditor, having received the sum due, shall pay a twentieth part of it.

22. If the whole demand has been contested by the debtor, and even a part of it only has been proved against him, he must pay the whole.

23. There are three means of proof in case of a demand having been contested, viz. a writing, witnesses, and proof by ordeal.

24. A debt contracted before witnesses should be discharged in the presence of witnesses.

25. A written contract having been fulfilled, the writing should be torn.

26. Part only being paid, and the writing not being at hand, let the creditor give an acquittance.

27. If he who contracted the debt should die, or

17. Nand. infers from a passage of Kâtyâyana that this rule refers to gems, pearls, coral, gold, silver, cotton, silk, and wool.

18. The 'lawful means' are mediation of friends and the four other modes of compelling payment of an unliquidated demand. (Nand.) See M. VIII, 49.

22. 'The particle *api* indicates that he must pay a fine to the king besides, as ordained by Yâgñavalkya II, 11.' (Nand.)

become a religious ascetic, or remain abroad for twenty years, that debt shall be discharged by his sons or grandsons;

28. But not by remoter descendants against their will.

29. He who takes the assets of a man, leaving or not leaving male issue, must pay the sum due (by him);

30. And (so must) he who has the care of the widow left by one who had no assets.

31. A woman (shall) not (be compelled to pay) the debt of her husband or son;

32. Nor the husband or son (to pay) the debt of a woman (who is his wife or mother);

33. Nor a father to pay the debt of his son.

34. A debt contracted by parceners shall be paid by any one of them who is present.

35. And so shall the debt of the father (be paid) by (any one of) the brothers (or of their sons) before partition.

36. But after partition they shall severally pay according to their shares of the inheritance.

37. A debt contracted by the wife of a herdsman, distiller of spirits, public dancer, washer, or hunter shall be discharged by the husband (because he is supported by his wife).

38. (A debt of which payment has been previously) promised must be paid by the householder;

39. And (so must he pay that debt) which was

38, 39. Regarding these two Sûtras see Jolly, *Indisches Schuldrecht*, in the Transactions of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, 1877, p. 309, note.

contracted by any person for the behoof of the family.

40. He who on receiving the whole amount of a loan, promises to repay the principal on the following day (or some other date near at hand), but from covetousness does not repay it, shall give interest for it.

41. Suretiship is ordained for appearance, for honesty, and for payment; the first two (sureties, and not their sons), must pay the debt on failure of their engagements, but even the sons of the last (may be compelled to pay it).

42. When there are several sureties (jointly bound), they shall pay their proportionate shares of the debt; but when they are bound severally, the payment shall be made (by any of them), as the creditor pleases.

43. If the surety, being harassed by the creditor, discharges the debt, the debtor shall pay twice as much to the surety.

VII.

1. Documents are of three kinds :

2. Attested by the king, or by (other) witnesses, or unattested.

3. A document is (said to be) attested by the king when it has been executed (in a court of judicature), on the king ordering it, by a scribe, his

42. In the first case the agreement is made in the following form, 'I shall pay so and so much to you, in the way agreed on.' In the second case the sum is not divided between the sureties, and each of them liable for the whole debt therefore. (Nand.)

VII. 4. Y. II, 84-88. — 5-7. Y. II, 89. — 6. M. VIII, 168. — 12. Y. II, 92.

servant, and has been signed by his chief judge, with his own hand.

4. It is (said to be) attested by witnesses when, having been written anywhere, and by any one, it is signed by witnesses in their own hands.

5. It is (said to be) unattested when it has been written (by the party himself) with his own hand.

6. Such a document, if it has been caused to be written by force, makes no evidence.

7. Neither does any fraudulent document (make evidence);

8. Nor a document (which), though attested, (is vitiated) by the signature of a witness bribed (by one party) or of bad character;

9. Nor one written by a scribe of the same description;

10. Nor one executed by a woman, or a child, or a dependant person, or one intoxicated or insane, or one in danger or in bodily fear.

11. (That instrument is termed) proof which is not adverse to peculiar local usages, which defines clearly the nature of the pledge given¹, and is free from confusion in the arrangement of the subject matter and (in the succession of) the syllables.

12. If the authenticity of a document is contested, it should be ascertained by (comparing with it other)

7. According to Nand., the particle *ka* is used here in order to include documents that have been executed by a person intoxicated, by one under duress, by a female, by a child, by force, and by intimidation (see Nārada IV, 61). Most of these categories are, however, mentioned in Sūtra 10.

11. ¹I have translated the reading *vyaktādhividhilakṣaṇam*, which, though not occurring in the text of any MS., is mentioned by Nand., and is found in an identical passage of the Institutes of Nārada (see Nārada IV, 60, and Appendix, p. 123).

letters or signs (such as the flourish denoting the word *Srī* and the like) or documents executed by the same man, by (enquiring into) the probabilities of the case, and by (finding out such writings as show) a mode of writing similar (to that contained in the disputed document).

13. Should the debtor, or creditor, or witness, or scribe be dead, the authenticity of the document has to be ascertained by (comparing with it other) specimens of their handwriting.

VIII.

1. Now follow (the laws regarding) witnesses.

2. The king cannot be (made a witness); nor a learned *Brâhmaṇa*; nor an ascetic; nor a gamester; nor a thief; nor a person not his own master; nor a woman; nor a child; nor a perpetrator of the acts called *sâhasa*¹ (violence); nor one over-aged (or more than eighty years old); nor one intoxicated or insane; nor a man of bad fame; nor an outcast;

VIII. 2, 3, 5. M. VIII, 64-67; Y. II, 70, 71. — 4, 5. Gaut. XIII, 5. — 6. M. VIII, 72; Y. II, 72; Gaut. XIII, 9. — 8. M. VIII, 62, 63; Y. II, 68, 69; Âpast. II, 11, 29, 7; Gaut. XIII, 2. — 9. M. VIII, 77; Y. II, 72. — 10, 11. Y. II, 17. — 14. M. VIII, 81; Âpast. II, 11, 29, 10; Gaut. XIII, 7. — 15, 16. M. VIII, 104-106; Y. II, 83. — 15. Gaut. XIII, 24. — 18. M. VIII, 25, 26; Y. II, 13-15. — 19. M. VIII, 87; Y. II, 73; Âpast. II, 11, 29, 7; Gaut. XIII, 12. — 20-23. M. VIII, 88. — 24-26. M. VIII, 89, 90; Y. II, 73-75. — 37. M. VIII, 107; Y. II, 77; Gaut. XIII, 6. — 38. Y. II, 79. — 39. M. VIII, 73; Y. II, 78. — 40. M. VIII, 117.

2. ¹ There are three kinds of *sâhasa*. (Nand.) They are, in the enumeration of *Nârada*, 1. spoiling fruits or the like; 2. injuring more valuable articles; 3. offences directed against the life of a human being, and approaching another man's wife. See *Nârada* XIV, 4-6.

nor one tormented by hunger or thirst; nor one oppressed by a (sudden) calamity (such as the death of his father or the like), or wholly absorbed in evil passions;

3. Nor an enemy or a friend; nor one interested in the subject matter; nor one who does forbidden acts; nor one formerly perjured; nor an attendant;

4. Nor one who, without having been appointed, comes and offers his evidence;

5. Nor can one man alone be made a witness.

6. In cases of theft, of violence, of abuse and assault, and of adultery the competence of witnesses must not be examined too strictly.

7. Now (those who are fit to be) witnesses (shall be enumerated):

8. Descendants of a noble race, who are virtuous and wealthy, sacrificers, zealous in the practice of religious austerities, having male issue, well versed in the holy law, studious, veracious, acquainted with the three Vedas, and aged (shall be witnesses).

9. If he is endowed with the qualities just mentioned, and approved by both (parties), one man alone can also be made a witness.

10. In a dispute between two litigants, the witnesses of that party have to be examined from which the plaint has proceeded.

11. Where the claim has been refuted as not

5. According to Nand., who argues from a passage of Nārada (5, 37), the use of the particle *kā* implies here, that two witnesses are also not sufficient. But the MSS. of Nārada exhibit a different reading of the passage in question, which reading is supported by the *Vīramitrodaya*.

8. The particle *kā* is used here, according to Nand., who argues from a passage of Yāgñavalkya (II, 68), in order to include liberality among the qualities required in a witness,

agreeing with the facts (as e. g. the sum claimed having been repaid by the debtor), there the witnesses of the defendant have to be examined as well.

12. An appointed witness having died or gone abroad, those who have heard his deposition may give evidence.

13. (The evidence of) witnesses is (of two kinds): either of what was seen, or of what was heard.

14. Witnesses are free from blame if they give true evidence.

15. Whenever the death of a member of any of the four castes (would be occasioned by true evidence, they are free from blame) if they give false evidence.

16. In order to expiate the sin thus committed, (such a witness), if he belongs to a twice-born caste, must pour an oblation in the fire, consecrating it with the texts called *Kûshmândî*.

17. If he is a *Sûdra*, he must feed ten cows for one day.

18. A false witness may be known by his altered looks, by his countenance changing colour, and by his talk wandering from the subject.

19. Let the judge summon the witnesses, at the time of sunrise, and examine them after having bound them by an oath.

20. A *Brâhmaṇa* he must address thus, 'Declare.'

21. A *Kshatriya* he must address thus, 'Declare the truth.'

16. *Vâgasan. Samh.* XX, 14-16, or *Taitt. Ârany.* X, 3-5. Nand. considers the term *Kûshmândî* to be used in a general sense here, so as to include all the other texts mentioned in an analogous passage of *Manu* (VIII, 106).

22. A Vaisya he must address thus, 'Thy kine, grain, and gold (shall yield thee no fruit, if thou wert to give false evidence).'

23. A Sûdra he must address thus, 'Thou shalt have to atone for all (possible) heavy crimes (if thou wert to give false evidence).'

24. Let him exhort the witnesses (with the following speeches):

25. 'Whatever places (of torture) await (the killer of a Brâhmaṇa and other) great criminals and (the killer of a cow and other) minor offenders, those places of abode are ordained for a witness who gives false evidence;

26. 'And the fruit of every virtuous act he has done, from the day of his birth to his dying day, shall be lost to him.

27. 'Truth makes the sun spread his rays.

28. 'Truth makes the moon shine.

29. 'Truth makes the wind blow.

30. 'Truth makes the earth bear (all that is upon it).

31. 'Truth makes waters flow.

32. 'Truth makes the fire burn.

33. 'The atmosphere exists through truth.

34. 'So do the gods.

35. 'And so do the offerings.

36. 'If veracity and a thousand horse-sacrifices

22, 23. Nand.'s interpretation of these two Sûtras, which has been followed above, does not agree with Kullûka's, of M. VIII, 88. But in another passage of Manu (VIII, 113), where the same terms recur, he interprets them like Nand.

36. This Sloka is also found in the Mahâbhârata I, 3095 &c., in the Mârkaṇḍeya-purâṇa VIII, 42, in the Hitopadeśa IV, 129, and, in a somewhat modified form, in the Râmâyana II, 61, 10. See Böhlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 731 &c.

are weighed against each other, (it is found that) truth ranks even higher than a thousand horse-sacrifices.

37. 'Those who, though acquainted with the facts, and appointed to give evidence, stand mute, are equally criminal with, and deserve the same punishment as, false witnesses.' (After having addressed them) thus, let the king examine the witnesses in the order of their castes.

38. That plaintiff whose statement the witnesses declare to be true, shall win his suit; but he whose statement they declare to be wrong, shall certainly lose it.

39. If there is contradictory evidence, let the king decide by the plurality of witnesses; if equality in number, by superiority in virtue; if parity in virtue, by the evidence of the best among the twice-born.

40. Whenever a perjured witness has given false evidence in a suit, (the king) must reverse the judgment; and whatever has been done, must be considered as undone.

IX.

1. Now follows (the rule regarding) the performance of ordeals.

39. Nand. takes the term *dvigottama*, 'the best among the twice-born,' as an equivalent for 'Brāhmaṇas.' Kullūka (on M. VIII, 73) refers it to 'twice-born men, who are particularly active in the discharge of their religious duties.'

IX. 2. Y. II, 96, 99. — 11. M. VIII, 114, 115; Y. II, 95. — 20-22. Y. II, 95, 96, 99. — 23. Y. II, 98. — 33. Y. II, 97. The whole section on ordeals (IX-XIV) agrees very closely with the corresponding section of the Institutes of Nārada (5, 107-9, 8).

2. In cases of a criminal action directed against the king, or of violence¹ (they may be administered) indiscriminately.

3. In cases of (denial of) a deposit or of (alleged) theft or robbery they must be administered each according to the value (of the property claimed).

4. In all such cases the value (of the object claimed) must be estimated in gold.

5. Now if its value amounts to less than one *Krishnala*, a *Sûdra* must be made to swear by a blade of *Dûrvâ* grass, (which he must hold in his hand);

6. If it amounts to less than two *Krishnalas*, by a blade of *Tila*;

7. If it amounts to less than three *Krishnalas*, by a blade of silver;

8. If it amounts to less than four *Krishnalas*, by a blade of gold;

9. If it amounts to less than five *Krishnalas*, by a lump of earth taken from a furrow;

10. If it amounts to less than half a *Suvarna*, a *Sûdra* must be made to undergo the ordeal by sacred libation;

11. If it exceeds that amount, (the judge must administer to him) any one of the (other) ordeals, viz. the ordeal by the balance, by fire, by water, or by poison, considering duly (the season, &c.)

12. If the amount (of the matter in contest) is twice as high (as in each of the last-mentioned cases), a *Vaisya* must (in each case) undergo that ordeal which has (just) been ordained (for a *Sûdra*);

13. A *Kshatriya* (must undergo the same ordeals), if the amount is thrice as high;

2. ¹ See VIII, 2, note.

14. A Brâhmana, if it is four times as high. He is, however, not subject to the ordeal by sacred libation.

15. No judge must administer the (ordeal by) sacred libation to a Brâhmana;

16. Except if it be done as a preliminary proof of his dealing fairly in some future transaction.

17. Instead of (administering the ordeal by) sacred libation to a Brâhmana (in suits regarding an object, the value of which amounts to less than two Suvarṇas), let the judge cause him to swear by a lump of earth taken from a furrow.

18. To one formerly convicted of a crime (or of perjury) he must administer one of the ordeals, even though the matter in contest be ever so trifling.

19. But to one who is known (and esteemed) among honest men and virtuous, he must not (administer any ordeal), even though the matter in contest be ever so important.

20. The claimant must declare his willingness to pay the fine (which is due in case of his being defeated);

21. And the defendant must go through the ordeal.

22. In cases of a criminal action directed against the king, or of violence (an ordeal may be administered) even without (the claimant) promising to pay the fine (due in case of defeat in ordinary suits).

23. To women, Brâhmanas, persons deficient in an organ of sense, infirm (old) men, and sick persons, the (ordeal by the) balance must be administered.

24. But it must not be administered to them while a wind is blowing.

25. The (ordeal by) fire must not be administered to lepers, to infirm persons, or to blacksmiths;

26. Nor must it ever be administered in autumn or summer.

27. The (ordeal by) poison must not be administered to lepers, bilious persons, or Brâhmanas;

28. Nor during the rainy season.

29. The (ordeal by) water must not be administered to persons afflicted with phlegm or (another) illness, to the timid, to the asthmatic, nor to those who gain their subsistence from water (such as fishermen and the like);

30. Nor during (the two cold seasons) Hemanta and Śisira (or from middle of November to middle of March);

31. The (ordeal by) sacred libation must not be administered to atheists;

32. Nor when the country is afflicted with disease or pestilence.

33. Let the judge summon the defendant at the time of sunrise, after having fasted on the previous day and bathed in his clothes, and make him go through all the ordeals in the presence of (images of) the gods and of the (assessors and other) Brâhmanas.

X.

1. Now follows the (rule regarding the ordeal by) balance.

29. Nand. infers from a text of Nārada (not found in his Institutes), that the plural is made use of in this Sūtra in order to include women, children, sickly, old, and feeble persons.

32. According to Nand., the particle *ka* is used here in order to include fire, wind, grasshoppers, and other plagues.

X. 5, 6. Y. II, 100.

2. The transverse beam, by which the balance is to be suspended, should be fastened upon two posts, four Hastas above the ground (each), and should be made two Hastas long.

3. The beam of the balance should be made of strong wood (such as that of the Khadira or Tinduka trees), five Hastas long, and the two scales must be suspended on both sides of it, (and the whole suspended upon the transverse beam by means of an iron hook).

4. A man out of the guild of goldsmiths, or of braziers, should make it equal on both sides.

5. Into the one scale the person (who is to be tried by this ordeal) should be placed, and a stone (or earth or bricks) or some other (equivalent) of the same weight into the other.

6. The equivalent and the man having been made equal in weight and (the position of the scales) well marked, the man should be caused to descend from the balance.

2. One Hasta, 'cubit,' the modern 'hath,' equals two Vitasti, 'spans,' and 24 Aṅgulas, 'digits,' the modern Aṅgul. See Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 122.

3. See the plate of balance, according to the statements of Indian legislators, in Professor Stenzler's Essay, 'Über die ind. Gottesurtheile,' *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, IX.

4. Nand. infers from the use of the plural number and from a passage of Pitāmaha and Nārada (see the Institutes of the latter, 5, 122), that merchants may also be appointed for this purpose.

6. Nand. refers the term *sukhṇitau kṛtvā* to the man and to the equivalent, both having to be marked 'with the king's seal or in some other way, in order that no one may suspect the weight of the equivalent or of the man to have been increased or lessened by the addition or removal of other objects, or of clothes, ornaments, and the like.' 'Others' explain the term in the way in which it has been rendered above.

7. Next (the judge) should adjure by (the following) imprecations the balance

8. And the person appointed to look after the weighing:

9. 'Those places of torture which have been prepared for the murderer of a Brâhmana, or for a false witness, the same places are ordained for a person appointed to look after the weighing, who acts fraudulently in his office.

10. 'Thou, O balance (*dhaṭa*), art called by the same name as holy law (*dharma*); thou, O balance, knowest what mortals do not comprehend.

11. 'This man, being arraigned in a cause, is weighed upon thee. Therefore mayest thou deliver him lawfully from this perplexity.'

12. Thereupon the judge should have him placed into the one scale again. If he rises in it, he is freed from the charge according to law.

13. In case of the strings bursting, or of the splitting of the transverse beam, the man should be placed in the scale once more. Thus the facts will be ascertained positively, and a just sentence be the result.

XI.

1. Now follows the (rule regarding the ordeal by) fire.

2. He must make seven circles, sixteen *Aṅgulas*¹ in breadth each, the intervals being of the same breadth.

3. Thereupon he must place seven leaves of the

XI. 2-9. Y. II, 103, 105-107. — 11. Y. II, 104.

2. ¹ See X, 2, note.

3. Nand. takes the term *tataḥ*, 'thereupon,' to imply that he

holy fig-tree into the hands of the person (about to perform the ordeal), who must turn his face towards the east and stretch out both arms.

4. Those (leaves) and his hands he must bind together with a thread.

5. Then he must place into his hands a ball made of iron, red-hot, fifty Palas in weight, and smooth.

6. Having received this, the person must proceed through the (seven) circles, without either walking at a very hurried pace, or lingering on his way.

7. Finally, after having passed the seventh circle, he must put down the ball upon the ground.

8. That man whose hands are burnt ever so little, shall be deemed guilty; but if he remains wholly unburnt, he is freed from the charge.

9. If he lets the ball drop from fear, or if there exists a doubt as to whether he is burnt or not, let him take the ball once more, because the proof has not been decided.

10. At the beginning (of the whole ceremony) the judge shall cause the person to rub some rice in his hands, and shall mark (with red sap, or the like, the already existing scars, eruptions of the skin, &c., which will thus have become visible). Then the judge, after having addressed the iron ball (with the following prayer), shall place it in his hands :

must previously examine the hands of the person about to perform the ordeal and mark existing scars or eruptions of the skin, as prescribed in Sûtra 10.

4. The particle *ka* implies, according to Nand., that he must further place seven *Samî* leaves, unbroken grains, *Dûrvâ* leaves, and grain smeared with sour milk upon his hands, as ordained in a passage of *Pitâmaha*.

11. 'Thou, O fire, dwellest in the interior of all creatures, like a witness. O fire, thou knowest what mortals do not comprehend.

12. 'This man being arraigned in a cause, desires to be cleared from guilt. Therefore mayest thou deliver him lawfully from this perplexity.'

XII.

1. Now follows the (rule regarding the ordeal by water.

2. (The defendant must enter) water which is free from mud, aquatic plants, (crabs and other) vicious animals, (porpoises or other) large rapacious animals living in water, fish, leeches, and other (animals or plants).

3. The water having been addressed with the Mantras (mentioned hereafter), he must enter it, seizing the knees of another man, who must be free from friendship or hatred, and must dive into the water up to his navel.

4. At the same time another man must discharge an arrow from a bow, which must neither be too strong nor too weak.

5. That arrow must be fetched quickly by another man.

6. He who is not seen above the water in the mean time is proclaimed innocent. But in the contrary case he is (declared) guilty, even though one limb of his only has become visible.

7. 'Thou, O water, dwellest in the interior of all creatures, like a witness. O water, thou knowest what mortals do not comprehend.

8. 'This man being arraigned in a cause, desires to be cleared from guilt. Therefore mayest thou deliver him lawfully from this perplexity.'

XIII.

1. Now follows the (rule regarding the ordeal by) poison.

2. All (other) sorts of poison must be avoided (in administering this ordeal),

3. Except poison from the *Sringa* tree, which grows on the Himâlayas.

4. (Of that) the judge must give seven grains, mixed with clarified butter, to the defendant (while reciting the prayer hereafter mentioned).

5. If the poison is digested easily, without violent symptoms, he shall recognise him as innocent, and dismiss him at the end of the day.

6. 'On account of thy venomous and dangerous nature thou art destruction to all living creatures; thou, O poison, knowest what mortals do not comprehend.

7. 'This man being arraigned in a cause, desires to be cleared from guilt. Therefore mayest thou deliver him lawfully from this perplexity.'

XIV.

1. Now follows the (rule regarding the ordeal by) sacred libation.

2. Having invoked terrible deities (such as Durgâ, the Âdityas or others, the defendant) must drink three handfuls of water in which (images of) those deities have been bathed,

XIII. 3, 5-7. Y. II, 110, 111.

XIV. 2, 4, 5. Y. II, 112, 113.

3. Uttering at the same time the words, 'I have not done this,' with his face turned towards the deity (in question).

4. He to whom (any calamity) happens within a fortnight or three weeks (such as) an illness, or fire, or the death of a relative, or a heavy visitation by the king,

5. Should be known to be guilty; otherwise (if nothing adverse happens to him), he is freed from the charge. A just king should honour (with presents of clothes, ornaments, &c.) one who has cleared himself from guilt by an ordeal.

XV¹.

1. Now there are twelve kinds of sons.

2. The first is the son of the body, viz. he who is begotten (by the husband) himself on his own lawfully wedded wife.

3. The second is the son begotten on a wife, viz. one begotten by a kinsman allied by funeral oblations, or¹ by a member of the highest caste, on an appointed (wife or widow).

XV. 1-29. M. IX, 127, 136, 158-181; Y. II, 127-132; Gaut. XXVIII, 18, 19, 32, 33; Colebrooke, Dig. V, 4, CLXXXV; V, 4, CCXXV. — 28-30. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 4, CCXCIX. — 30. M. IX, 163. — 31. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 3, CXXI. — 32-34. M. IX, 201-203; Y. II, 140, 141; Gaut. XXVIII, 43, 44. — 32. Âpast. II, 6, 14, 1. — 34-38. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 5, CCCXXVII. — 40. M. IX, 180; Y. II, 132. — 41, 42. M. IX, 182, 183. — 44. M. IX, 138; Colebrooke, Dig. V, 4, CCCII. — 45-47. M. IX, 106, 137, 139. Of Chapters XV and XVII an excellent translation has been published by Dr. Bühler in the Bombay Digest (I,¹ 338-343). I have followed him literally almost throughout.

3. ¹ I have translated the reading *voṭpāditaḥ*, which was no doubt

4. The third is the son of an appointed daughter.

5. She is called an appointed daughter, who is given away by her father with the words, 'The son whom she bears be mine.'

6. A damsel who has no brother is also (in every case considered) an appointed daughter, though she has not been given away according to the rule of an appointed daughter.

7. The son of a twice-married woman is the fourth.

8. She who, being still a virgin, is married for the second time is called twice married (*punarbhû*).

9. She also is called twice married (*punarbhû*) who, though not legally married more than once, has lived with another man before her lawful marriage.

the reading of *Nandapanâita*, as he paraphrases the whole clause as follows, 'begotten by an elder or younger brother of the husband; on failure of such, by a kinsman allied by funeral oblations; on failure of him, by one belonging to the same gotra (race) as the husband; on failure of him, by one descended from the same *Rîshi* ancestors as he; on failure of him, by a member of the highest caste, i.e. a *Brâhmana*.' The above reading is also found in the London MS. of the text and in the two Calcutta editions. Dr. Bühler's MS., in which Nand.'s Commentary on this chapter is wanting, has *gotpâdita*, and he translates accordingly, 'begotten by a kinsman . . . , who belongs to the highest caste.' The same reading is found in a quotation contained in *Gagannâtha* and *Colebrooke's Dig. loc. cit.* (I quote from a very good though fragmentary Bengali MS. in my possession), where, however, this clause runs as follows, *niyuktâyâm savarnena gotpâdita*, 'begotten by a man of equal class on a widow duly appointed,' *Colebrooke*. The other *Smritis* do not speak of the appointment of others than kinsmen to beget a son on a widow, or wife of a eunuch, &c., unless *Yâgyavalkya's* words (II, 128) *sagotrenetarena vâ*, 'by a Sagotra or by another,' may be rendered, contrary to *Vignânesvara's* interpretation, by 'a kinsman or one who is no kinsman.'

10. The son of an unmarried damsel is the fifth.

11. (He is called so who is) born by an unmarried daughter in the house of her father.

12. And he belongs to the man who (afterwards) marries the mother.

13. The son who is secretly born in the house is the sixth.

14. He belongs to him in whose bed he is born.

15. The son received with a bride is the seventh.

16. He (is called so who) is the son of a woman married while she was pregnant.

17. And he belongs to the husband (of the pregnant bride).

18. The adopted son (dattaka) is the eighth.

19. And he belongs to him to whom he is given by his mother or father.

20. The son bought is the ninth.

21. And he belongs to him by whom he is bought.

22. The son self-given is the tenth.

23. And he belongs to him to whom he gave himself.

24. The son cast away is the eleventh.

25. (He is called so) who was forsaken by his father or mother (or by both).

26. And he belongs to him by whom he is received.

27. The son born by any woman whomsoever¹ is the twelfth.

27. ¹ Yatra kva \acute{a} nanotpādita, 'born wherever,' means, according to Nand., 'begotten anyhow, but otherwise than the above-mentioned sons, upon a woman, whether one's own wife, or another man's wife, whether equal in caste or not, whether legally married to the

28. Amongst these (sons) each preceding one is preferable (to the one next in order).

29. And he takes the inheritance (before the next in order).

30. And let him maintain the rest.

31. He should marry unmarried (sisters) in a manner correspondent with the amount of his property.

32. Outcasts, eunuchs, persons incurably diseased, or deficient (in organs of sense or actions, such as blind, deaf, dumb, or insane persons, or lepers) do not receive a share.

33. They should be maintained by those who take the inheritance.

34. And their legitimate sons receive a share.

35. But not the children of an outcast;

36. Provided they were born after (the commission of) the act on account of which the parents were outcasted.

37. Neither do children begotten (by husbands of

begetter or not, whether still a virgin or not,' &c. But he adds a very lengthy discussion, the upshot of which is, that the term *yatra kvañanotpâdita* is applicable to adopted sons only, who, although they are considered as the sons of the adopter, or of the legitimate husband of the woman, upon whom they were begotten by another, may also become heirs to the begetter, in case he has no other son. 'Or this term refers to the son of a *Sûdra* concubine, whom *Manu* calls *Pârasava*' (M. IX, 178). The latter interpretation agrees with the one proposed by Dr. Bühler, who identifies the *yatra kvañanotpâdita* with the '*Nishâda* and *Pârasava* of other lawyers,' especially of *Baudhâyana* (II, 2, 22), and with the view taken by *Gagannâtha*, who thinks that the *Saudra* (son of a *Sûdra* woman) is meant.

32. 'The particle *tu*, "but," indicates that those who have entered the order of ascetics must also be understood here.' (Nand.)

34. 'The particle *ka* indicates that sons begotten on their wives (*Kshetragas*) shall also receive a share.' (Nand.)

an inferior caste) on women of a higher caste receive a share.

38. Their sons do not even receive a share of the wealth of their paternal grandfathers.

39. They should be supported by the heirs.

40. And he who inherits the wealth, presents the funeral oblation (to the deceased).

41. Amongst wives of one husband also the son of one is the son of all (and must present funeral oblations to them after their death).

42. Likewise, amongst brothers begotten by one (father, the son of one is the son of all, and must present funeral oblations to them all).

43. Let a son present the funeral oblations to his father, even though he inherit no property.

44. Because he saves (*trâyate*) his father from the hell called Put, therefore (a male child) is called put-tra (protector from Put, son) by Svayambhû himself.

45. He (the father) throws his debt on him (the son); and the father obtains immortality, if he sees the face of a living son.

46. Through a son he conquers the worlds, through a grandson he obtains immortality, and through the son's grandson he gains the world of the sun.

47. No difference is made in this world between the son of a son and the son of a daughter; for even a daughter's son works the salvation of a childless man, just like a son's son.

44. 'Svayambhû means the Veda.' (Nand.)

XVI.

1. On women equal in caste (to their husbands) sons are begotten, who are equal in caste (to their fathers).

2. On women of lower caste than their husbands sons are begotten, who follow the caste of their mothers.

3. On women of higher caste than their husbands sons are begotten, who are despised by the twice-born.

4. Among these, the son of a Sûdra with a Vaisya woman is called Âyogava.

5. The Pukkasa and Mâgadha are sons of a Vaisya and Sûdra respectively with a Kshatriya woman.

6. The *Kandâla*, *Vaidehaka*, and *Sûta* are the sons of a Sûdra, Vaisya, and Kshatriya respectively with a Brâhmana woman.

7. Besides these, there are innumerable other mixed castes produced by further intermixture between those that have been mentioned.

8. Âyogavas must live by artistic performances (such as public wrestling, dancing, and the like).

9. Pukkakas must live by hunting.

10. Mâgadhas must live by calling out in public the good qualities (of saleable commodities).

11. *Kandâlas* must live by executing criminals sentenced to death.

XVI. 1. M. X, 5; Y. I, 90; Âpast. II, 6, 13, 1. — 4-6. M. X, 11, 12; Y. I, 93, 94; Gaut. IV, 17. — 7. M. X, 31. — 8-15. M. X, 47-53. — 17. M. X, 57. — 18. M. X, 62.

10. According to Manu (X, 47) the Mâgadhas are to live by traffic.

12. Vaidehakas must live by keeping (dancing girls and other public) women and profiting by what they earn.

13. Sûtas must live by managing horses.

14. *Kandâlas* must live out of the town, and their clothes must be the mantles of the deceased. In this their condition is different (from, and lower than, that of the other mixed castes).

15. All (members of mixed castes) should have intercourse (of marriage, and other community) only between themselves.

16. (In the lower castes also) the son inherits the property of his father.

17. All members of those mixed castes, whether their descent has been kept secret or is generally known, may be found out by their acts.

18. Desertion of life, regardless of reward, in order to save a *Brâhmana*, or a cow, or for the sake of a woman or child, may confer heavenly bliss even upon (members of those) base castes.

XVII.

1. If a father makes a partition with his sons, he may dispose of his self-acquired property as he thinks best.

XVII. 1. Y. II, 114. — 2. Y. II, 121. — 3. M. IX, 216; Y. II, 122; Gaut. XXVIII, 29; Colebrooke, Dig. V, 2, CII. — 4-16. M. IX, 185-189; Y. II, 135-137; Âpast. II, 6, 14, 2-5; Gaut. XXVIII, 21. — 4-13, 15. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 8, CCCCXVII; V, 8, CCCCLIX. — 17. M. IX, 211, 212; Y. II, 138; Gaut. XXVIII, 28. — 18. M. IX, 194, 195; Y. II, 143, 144; Colebrooke, Dig. V, 9, CCCCLVII. — 19. M. IX, 196; Y. II, 145. — 20. M. IX, 197; Y. II, 145. — 21. M. IX, 192; Y. II, 145; Gaut. XXVIII, 24; Colebrooke, Dig. V, 9, CCCXCIV. — 22. M. IX, 200; Colebrooke, Dig. V, 9, CCCCLXXIII. — 23. Y. II, 120.

2. But in regard to wealth inherited of the paternal grandfather, the ownership of father and son is equal.

3. (Sons), who have separated from their father, should give a share to (a brother) who is born after partition.

4. The wealth of a man who dies without male issue goes to his wife ;

5. On failure of her, to his daughter ;

6. On failure of her, to his father ;

7. On failure of him, to his mother ;

8. On failure of her, to his brother ;

9. On failure of him, to his brother's son ;

10. On failure of him, to the relations called Bandhu ;

11. On failure of them, to the relations called Sakulya ;

12. On failure of them, to a fellow-student ;

13. On failure of him, it goes to the king, with the exception of a Brâhmaṇa's property.

14. The property of a Brâhmaṇa goes to (other) Brâhmaṇas.

8. 'On failure of brothers the sister inherits.' (Nand.)

9. 'On failure of a brother's son the sister's son inherits.' (Nand.)

10. Bandhu means *Sapinda* (allied by funeral oblations). The inheritance goes first to the *Sapindas* on the father's side in the following order: (the brother's son), the brother's grandson, the grandfather, his son, grandson, and great-grandson, the great-grandfather, his son, grandson, and great-grandson. Then follow the mother's *Sapindas* in the same order. (Nand.)

11. Sakulya means distant kinsmen, beginning with the fifth in descent and ascent. On failure of such, the inheritance goes to the spiritual teacher ; on failure of him, to a pupil of the deceased, as ordained by Âpastamba (II, 6, 14, 3) ; and on failure of him, to a fellow-student, as stated in Sûtra 12. (Nand.)

15. The wealth of a (deceased) hermit shall be taken by his spiritual teacher;

16. Or his pupil (may take it).

17. But let a reunited coparcener take the share of his reunited coparcener who has died (without issue), and a uterine brother that of his uterine brother, and let them give (the shares of their deceased coparceners and uterine brothers) to the sons of the latter.

18. What has been given to a woman by her father, mother, sons, or brothers, what she has received before the sacrificial fire (at the marriage ceremony), what she receives on supersession, what has been given to her by her relatives, her fee (Sulka), and a gift subsequent, are called 'woman's property' (Stridhana).

19. If a woman married according to (one of the first) four rites, beginning with the Brâhma rite, dies without issue, that (Stridhana) belongs to her husband.

20. (If she has been married) according to (one of) the other (four reprehensible rites), her father shall take it.

18. 'Sulka, "fee," denotes the price or value of a house or other valuable object presented to the bride by her father; or it means the fee paid for her by the bridegroom.' (Nand.) The latter interpretation is evidently the correct one. The bride's 'fee' (see Gaut. XXVIII, 25), from being originally the price due to the parents or guardian of the bride for surrendering her to the bridegroom, became in after times a wedding present, which the bride received from the bridegroom either directly or through her parents. This is the only way to account for the Sulka being enumerated among the constituent parts of Stridhana in this place. See also I. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, §§ 77, 566; Mayr, *Indisches Erbrecht*, 170 seq.; Jolly, *Stellung der Frauen*, 23, note.

19, 20. See XXIV, 17-27.

21. If she dies leaving children, her wealth goes in every case to her daughter.

22. Ornaments worn by women when their husbands were alive, the heirs shall not divide among themselves; if they divide them, they become outcasts.

23. (Coparceners) descended from different fathers must adjust their shares according to the fathers. Let each take the wealth due to his father, no other (has a right to it).

XVIII.

1. If there are four sons of a Brâhmana (springing from four different wives) of the four castes, they shall divide the whole estate of their father into ten parts.

2. Of these, let the son of the Brâhmana wife take four parts;

3. The son of the Kshatriya wife, three parts;

4. The son of the Vaisya wife, two parts;

5. The son of the Sûdra wife, a single part.

22. My rendering of this Sloka is based upon Kullûka's interpretation of the identical passage of Manu (IX, 200), which is supported by Vigñânesvara (Mitâksharâ I, 4, 19 in Colebrooke's version), Mâdhava (Burnell, Dâya-Vibhâga 51), Varadarâga (Burnell, Varadarâga's Vyavahâranirṇaya 49), and others. Nand. proposes a different interpretation, on which rests Dr. Bühler's rendering, 'Those ornaments, which the wives usually wear, should not be divided by the heirs whilst the husbands are alive.'

XVIII. 1-5. M. IX, 149, 151-153; Y. II, 125. — 11, 25-27. Y. II, 125. — 1-31, 38-40. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 3, CLIII. — 32-37. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 3, CLXXII; V, 2, LXXXVI; V, 1, LIV. — 36. Y. II, 114; Âpast. II, 6, 14, 1. — 41. M. IX, 210. — 42, 43. M. IX, 208, 209; Y. II, 118, 119. — 44. M. IX, 219; Gaut. XXVIII, 46, 47. — 43, 44. Colebrooke, Dig. V, 2, XCI; V, 5, CCCLXIII.

6. Again, if there are three sons of a Brâhmana (by wives of different castes), but no son by a Sûdra (wife) among them, they shall divide the estate into nine parts.

7. (Of these) let them take, each in the order of his caste, shares amounting to four, three, and two parts of the whole respectively.

8. (If there are three sons by wives of different castes, but) no Vaisya among them, they shall divide the estate into eight parts, and take four parts, three parts, and one part respectively.

9. (If there are three sons, but) no Kshatriya among them, they shall divide it into seven parts, and take four parts, two parts, and a single part respectively.

10. If there is no Brâhmana among them, they shall divide it into six parts, and take three parts, two parts, and a single part respectively.

11. If there are sons of a Kshatriya by a Kshatriya, a Vaisya, and a Sûdra wife, the mode of division shall be the same (i. e. the estate shall be divided into six parts, &c.)

12. Again, if there are two sons of a Brâhmana, the one belonging to the Brâhmana and the other to the Kshatriya caste, they shall divide the estate into seven parts; and of these the Brâhmana son shall take four parts;

13. The Kshatriya son, three parts.

14. Again, if there are two sons of a Brâhmana, and the one belongs to the Brâhmana and the other to the Vaisya caste, the estate shall be divided into six parts; and of these, the Brâhmana shall take four parts;

15. The Vaisya, two parts.

16. Again, if there are two sons of a Brâhmana, and the one belongs to the Brâhmana and the other to the Sûdra caste, they shall divide the estate into five parts ;

17. And of these, the Brâhmana shall take four parts ;

18. The Sûdra, a single part.

19. Again, if there are two sons of a Brâhmana or a Kshatriya, and the one belongs to the Kshatriya and the other to the Vaisya caste, they shall divide the estate into five parts ;

20. And of these, the Kshatriya shall take three parts ;

21. The Sûdra, one part.

22. Again, if there are two sons of a Brâhmana or a Kshatriya, and the one belongs to the Kshatriya, the other to the Vaisya caste, they shall divide the estate into four parts ;

23. And of these, the Kshatriya shall take three parts ;

24. The Sûdra, a single part.

25. Again, if there are two sons of a Brâhmana or a Vaisya or a Sûdra, and the one belongs to the Vaisya, the other to the Sûdra caste, they shall divide the estate into three parts ;

26. And of these, the Vaisya shall take two parts ;

27. The Sûdra, a single part.

28. If a Brâhmana has an only son, he shall take the whole estate, provided he be a Brâhmana, Kshatriya, or Vaisya.

29. If a Kshatriya has (an only son who is) either a Kshatriya or a Vaisya, (the rule shall be the same.)

30. If a Vaisya has (an only son who is) a Vaisya, (the rule shall also be the same);

31. (And so shall the only) son of a Sûdra (be sole heir) to his Sûdra (father).

32. A Sûdra, who is the only son of a father belonging to a twice-born caste, shall inherit one half of his property;

33. The other half shall devolve in the same way as the property of one who died without leaving issue.

34. Mothers shall receive shares proportionate to their sons' shares;

35. And so shall unmarried daughters.

36. Sons, who are equal in caste (to their father), shall receive equal shares.

37. A best part (the twentieth part of the inheritance, &c.) shall be given to the eldest, as his additional share.

38. If there are two sons by a Brâhmana wife, and one son by a Sûdra wife, the estate shall be divided into nine parts; and of these, the two sons of the Brâhmana wife shall take eight parts, the one son of the Sûdra wife, a single part.

39. If there are two sons by a Sûdra, and one son by a Brâhmana wife, the estate shall be divided into six parts; and of these, the son of the Brâhmana wife shall take four parts, and the two sons of the Sûdra wife together shall take two parts.

40. Upon the same principles the shares have to be adjusted in other cases also.

33. See XVII, 4 seq.

34. 'That is to say, a Brâhmana wife shall take four parts, a Kshatriya wife, three parts,' &c. (Nand.)

37. See Gaut. XXVIII, 5.

41. If (brothers), who after a previous division of the estate live again together as parceners, should make a second partition, the shares must be equal in that case, and the eldest has no right to an additional share.

42. What a brother has acquired by his own efforts, without using the patrimony, he must not give up (to his brothers or other co-heirs), unless by his own free will ; for it was gained by his own exertion.

43. And if a man recovers (a debt or other property), which could not before be recovered by his father, he shall not, unless by his own free will, divide it with his sons ; for it is an acquisition made by himself.

44. Apparel, vehicles¹ (carriages or riding-horses), and ornaments (such as are usually worn according to the custom of the caste), prepared food, water (in a well or pool), females (slaves or mistresses of the deceased), property destined for pious uses or sacrifices, a common pasture-ground², and a book, are indivisible.

42. The term *svayamihitalabdham* has been translated according to Kullûka (on M. IX, 208). Nand. interprets this Sloka thus, 'What a brother has acquired by his own efforts, and what has been given to him, at his desire (by friends or others), he must not give up,' &c.

43. Here again I have followed Kullûka (on M. IX, 209), and deviated from Nand.'s interpretation, who renders this Sloka as follows, 'If a man recovers property, &c., or if he gains property by himself (by his learning or valour, &c.) . . .'

44. ¹ The term *pattra* has been rendered above in accordance with the first interpretation proposed by Nand., and with Kullûka's interpretation (on M. IX, 219). *Vigñânesvara* (in his comment upon the same passage of Manu) refers it to written documents, such especially as relate to a debt to be paid to the deceased ; and

XIX.

1. He must not cause a member of a twice-born caste to be carried out by a *Sûdra* (even though he be a kinsman of the deceased);

2. Nor a *Sûdra* by a member of a twice-born caste.

3. A father and a mother shall be carried out by their sons (who are equal in caste to their parents).

4. But *Sûdras* must never carry out a member of a twice-born caste, even though he be their father.

5. Those *Brâhmanas* who carry out (or follow the corpse of) a (deceased) *Brâhmaṇa* who has no relatives shall attain a mansion in heaven.

6. Those who have carried out a dead relative and burnt his corpse, shall walk round the pile from left to right, and then plunge into water, dressed in their clothes.

7. After having offered a libation of water to the deceased, they must place one ball of rice on blades of *Kusa* grass, (and this ceremony has to be repeated on each subsequent day, while the period of impurity lasts.)

8. Then, having changed their dress, they must

this interpretation is mentioned by Nand. also. But there is no reason why an unliquidated demand should not be divided; and written documents are only twice referred to in the code of Manu (VIII, 168, and IX, 232).—² In translating the term *prākāra* I have again followed Kullūka loc. cit.; see also Petersburg Dictionary s. v. Nand. interprets this term as denoting 'a path leading to or from the house.'

XIX. 1. M. V, 104. — 2. Y. III, 26. — 6. M. V, 103; Y. III, 26. — 7, 8. Y. III, 7, 12, 13. — 14-17. M. V, 73; Y. III, 16. "Chapters XIX-XXXII contain the section on *Ākāra*, "Holy Usage." (Nand.)

bite Nimba leaves between their teeth, and having stepped upon the stone threshold, they must enter the house.

9. Then they must throw unbroken grains into the fire.

10. On the fourth day they must collect the bones that have been left.

11. And they must throw them into water from the Ganges.

12. As many bones of a man are contained in the water of the Ganges, so many thousands of years will he reside in heaven.

13. While the term of impurity lasts, they must continually offer a libation of water and a ball of rice to the deceased.

14. And they must eat food which has been bought, or which they have received unsolicited.

15. And they must eat no meat.

16. And they must sleep on the ground.

17. And they must sleep apart.

18. When the impurity is over, they must walk forth from the village, have their beards shaved, and having cleansed themselves with a paste of sesamum, or with a paste of mustard-seed, they must change their dress and re-enter the house.

19. There, after reciting a propitiatory prayer, they must honour the Brâhmanas.

13. The duration of the impurity varies according to the caste &c. of the deceased. See XXII.

14. The particle *ka*, according to Nand., indicates that factitious salt must also not be used by them, as stated in a *Smṛiti*.

15. Nand. refers the particle *ka* to an implied prohibition to eat fish, which he quotes from a text of Gautama (not found in his *Institutes*).

20. The gods are invisible deities, the Brâhmanas are visible deities.

21. The Brâhmanas sustain the world.

22. It is by the favour of the Brâhmanas that the gods reside in heaven ; a speech uttered by Brâhmanas (whether a curse or a benediction) never fails to come true.

23. What the Brâhmanas pronounce, when highly pleased (as, if they promise sons, cattle, wealth, or some other boon to a man), the gods will ratify ; when the visible gods are pleased, the invisible gods are surely pleased as well.

24. The mourners, who lament the loss of a relative, shall be addressed by men gifted with a tranquil frame of mind with such consolatory speeches as I shall now recite to thee, O Earth, who art cherished to my mind.

XX.

1. The northern progress of the sun is a day with the gods.

2. The southern progress of the sun is (with them) a night.

3. A year is (with them) a day and a night ;

4. Thirty such are a month ;

5. Twelve such months are a year.

6. Twelve hundred years of the gods are a Kaliyuga.

XX. 1-3. M. I, 67. — 6-9. M. I, 69, 70. — 10. M. I, 71. — 11. M. I, 79. — 12-14. M. I, 72. — 30. Y. III, 11.

6. The Kaliyuga itself consists of a thousand years only ; but it is both preceded and followed by a twilight lasting a hundred years. It is similar with the three other Yugas. (Nand.)

7. Twice as many (or two thousand four hundred) are a Dvâpara (Yuga).

8. Thrice as many (or three thousand six hundred) are a Tretâ (Yuga).

9. Four times as many (or four thousand eight hundred) are a *Kṛita* Yuga.

10. (Thus) twelve thousand years make a *Katur-yuga* (or period of four Yugas).

11. Seventy-one *Katuryugas* make a *Manvantara* (or period of a Manu).

12. A thousand *Katuryugas* make a *Kalpa*.

13. And that is a day of the forefather (Brahman).

14. His night also has an equal duration.

15. If so many such nights and days are put together that, reckoned by the month and by the year, they make up a period of a hundred years (of Brahman) it is called the age of one Brahman.

16. A day of *Purusha* (*Vishnu*) is equal in duration to the age of one Brahman.

17. When it ends, a *Mahâkalpa* is over.

18. The night following upon it is as long.

19. The days and nights of *Purusha* that have gone by are innumerable ;

20. And so are those that will follow.

21. For *Kâla* (time) is without either beginning or end.

22. Thus it is, that in this *Kâla* (time), in whom there is nothing to rest upon, and who is everlasting, I can espy nothing created in which there is the least stability.

23. The sands in the Ganges and (the waters pouring down from the sky) when *Indra* sends rain

21. ' *Kâla* means *Vishnu* in this place.' (Nand.)

can be counted, but not the number of 'Forefathers' (Brahmans) who have passed away.

24. In each Kalpa, fourteen chiefs of the gods (Indras) go to destruction, as many rulers of the world (kings), and fourteen Manus.

25. And so have many thousands of Indras and hundred thousands of princes of the Daityas (such as *Hiranyakasipu*, *Hiranyāksha*, and others) been destroyed by *Kāla* (time). What should one say of human beings then?

26. Many royal *Rishis* too (such as *Sagara*), all of them renowned for their virtues, gods and Brahmanical *Rishis* (such as *Kasyapas*) have perished by the action of *Kāla*.

27. Those even who have the power of creating and annihilating in this world (the sun, moon, and other heavenly bodies) continually perish by the act of *Kāla*; for *Kāla* (time) is hard to overcome.

28. Every creature is seized upon by *Kāla* and carried into the other world. It is the slave of its actions (in a former existence). Wherefore then should you wail (on its death)?

29. Those who are born are sure to die, and those who have died are sure to be born again. This is inevitable, and no associate can follow a man (in his passage through mundane existence).

30. As mourners will not help the dead in this world, therefore (the relatives) should not weep, but perform the obsequies to the best of their power.

31. As both his good and bad actions will follow

27. Here also *Kāla*, the god of time, is another name for *Vishnu*. (Nand.)

29. The same proverb occurs in the *Rāmāyana* II, 84, 21, and in the *Bhagavadgītā* II, 27. See Böhlingk, *Ind. Sprüche*, 2383.

him (after death) like associates, what does it matter to a man whether his relatives mourn over him or no?

32. But as long as his relatives remain impure, the departed spirit finds no rest, and returns to visit (his relatives), whose duty it is to offer up to him the funeral ball of rice and the water libation.

33. Till the *Sapindikarana*¹ has been performed, the dead man remains a disembodied spirit (and is afflicted with hunger and thirst). Give rice and a jar with water to the man who has passed into the abode of disembodied spirits.

34. Having passed into the abode of the manes (after the performance of the *Sapindikarana*) he enjoys in the shape of celestial food his portion of the *Srâddha* (funeral oblation); offer the *Srâddha*, therefore, to him who has passed into the abode of the manes.

35. Whether he has become a god, or stays in hell, or has entered the body of an animal, or of a human being, he will receive the *Srâddha* offered to him by his relatives.

36. The dead person and the performer of the *Srâddha* are sure to be benefitted by its performance. Perform the *Srâddha* always, therefore, abandoning bootless grief.

37. This is the duty which should be constantly discharged towards a dead person by his kinsmen; by mourning a man will neither benefit the dead nor himself.

38. Having seen that no help is to be had from this world, and that his relations are dying (one after

33. ¹ See XXI, 12.

the other), you must choose virtue for your only associate, O ye men.

39. Even were he to die with him, a kinsman is unable to follow his dead relative: all excepting his wife are forbidden to follow him on the path of Yama.

40. Virtue alone will follow him, wherever he may go; therefore do your duty unflinchingly in this wretched world.

41. To-morrow's business should be done to-day, and the afternoon's business in the forenoon; for death will not wait, whether a person has done it or not.

42. While his mind is fixed upon his field, or traffic, or his house, or while his thoughts are engrossed by some other (beloved) object, death suddenly carries him away as his prey, as a she-wolf catches a lamb.

43. Kâla (time) is no one's friend and no one's enemy: when the effect of his acts in a former existence, by which his present existence is caused, has expired, he snatches a man away forcibly.

44. He will not die before his time has come, even though he has been pierced by a thousand shafts; he will not live after his time is out, even though he has only been touched by the point of a blade of Kusa grass.

45. Neither drugs, nor magical formulas, nor

39. This is an allusion to the custom of Satee. (Nand.) See XXV, 14.

41. This proverb is found in the Mahâbhârata also (XII, 6536, &c.) See Böhlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 6595.

43. This proverb is also found in the Mahâbhârata XI, 68, and Râmâyana IV, 18, 28, and other works. See Böhlingk, 3194.

45. 'Neither will presents of gold (to Brâhmanas) or other such

burnt-offerings, nor prayers will save a man who is in the bonds of death or old age.

46. An impending evil cannot be averted even by a hundred precautions; what reason then for you to complain?

47. Even as a calf finds his mother among a thousand cows, an act formerly done is sure to find the perpetrator.

48. Of existing beings the beginning is unknown, the middle (of their career) is known, and the end again unknown; what reason then for you to complain?

49. As the body of mortals undergoes (successively the vicissitudes of) infancy, youth, and old age, even so will it be transformed into another body (hereafter); a sensible man is not mistaken about that.

50. As a man puts on new clothes in this world, throwing aside those which he formerly wore, even so the self of man puts on new bodies, which are in accordance with his acts (in a former life).

51. No weapons will hurt the self of man, no fire burn it, no waters moisten it, and no wind dry it up.

52. It is not to be hurt, not to be burnt, not to be moistened, and not to be dried up; it is imperishable, perpetual, unchanging, immovable, without beginning.

acts of liberality save him, as the use of the particle *ka* implies.' (Nand.)

47. This proverb is also found in the *Mahābhārata* XII, 6760, *Pañkatantra* II, 134, and other works. See Böhlingk, *Ind. Sprüche*, 5114.

48. This proverb is also found in the *Bhagavadgītā* II, 28. See Böhlingk, *Ind. Sprüche*, 704.

50. Regarding transmigration, see below, XLIV, XLV.

53. It is (further) said to be immaterial, passing all thought, and immutable. Knowing the self of man to be such, you must not grieve (for the destruction of his body).

XXI.

1. Now then¹, (on the day) after the impurity is over, let him bathe duly (during the recitation of Mantras), wash his hands and feet duly, and sip water duly, (and having invited some Brāhmanas), as many as possible, who must cleanse themselves in the same way and turn their faces towards the north, let him bestow presents of perfumes, garlands, clothes, ornaments, and other things (a lamp, frankincense, and the like) upon them, and hospitably entertain them.

2. At the Ekoddishṭa (or Srāddha for one recently deceased) let him alter the Mantras¹ so as to refer to (the) one person (deceased)².

XXI. 1-11. Âsv. IV, 7; Pār. III, 10, 48-53; Sāṅkh. IV, 2; M. III, 247; Y. III, 250, 251, 255. — 12-23. Sāṅkh. IV, 3; V, 9; Y. I, 252-254. Regarding the parallel passages of the Kâṭhaka Grīhya-sūtra, see the Introduction.

1. ¹ Having said, in the previous Chapter (XX, 30), that "the obsequies should be performed," he now goes on to describe that part of the obsequies which has not yet been expounded, viz. the "first Srāddha." (Nand.)

2. ¹ The Mantras here referred to are those contained in the description of the Pārvana and other ordinary Srāddhas in Chapter LXXIII. Thus, the Mantra, 'This is your (share), ye manes' (LXXIII, 12, 13), has to be altered into, 'This is thy (share), father;' and so on. Devapāla, in his Commentary on the Kâṭhaka Grīhya-sūtra, gives an accurate statement of all the modifications which the ordinary Mantras have to undergo at the Ekoddishṭa. — ² Nand. states that not only the Mantras, but the whole ritual should be modified. The nature of the latter modifications is stated by Yāgñavalkya loc. cit. and by Sāṅkhāyana loc. cit.

3. Close to the food left (by the Brâhmanas) let him offer a ball of rice, at the same time calling out his name and (that of) his race.

4. The Brâhmanas having taken food and having been honoured with a gift, let him offer, as imperishable food, water to the Brâhmanas, after having called out the name and Gotra of the deceased; and let him dig three trenches, each four *Āṅgulas* in breadth, their distance from one another and their depth also measuring (four *Āṅgulas*), and their length amounting to one *Vitasti* (or twelve *Āṅgulas*).

5. Close by the trenches let him light three fires, and having strewed grass round them, let him make three oblations (of boiled rice) in each (fire, saying),

6. 'Svadhâ and reverence to Soma, accompanied by the manes.

7. 'Svadhâ and reverence to Agni, who conveys the oblations addressed to the manes.

8. 'Svadhâ and reverence to Yama *Āṅgiras*.'

9. Then let him offer balls of rice as (ordained) before (in *Sûtra* 3) on the three mounds of earth (adjacent to the three trenches).

10. After having filled the three trenches with

3. This must be done with the Mantra, 'This is for you.' (Nand.) Regarding this Mantra, see note on *Sûtra* 10.

4. The 'imperishable water,' *akshayyodakam*, derives its name from the Mantra, with which it is delivered, expressing the wish that the meal 'may give imperishable satisfaction' (*akshayyam astu*). This is the explanation which Nand. gives of the term *akshayyodakam* in his gloss on LXXIII, 27. In his comment on the present *Sûtra* he says that the 'imperishable water' must be presented with the (further?) Mantras, 'Let arrive' and 'Be satisfied.' See Y. I, 251; *Sâṅkh.* IV, 2, 5, 6.

10. The whole Mantra runs as follows, 'This is for you, father,

rice, sour milk, clarified butter, honey, and meat, let him mutter (the Mantra), 'This is for you.'

11. This ceremony he must repeat monthly, on the day of his death.

12. At the close of the year let him give food to the Brāhmanas, after having fed the gods first, in honour of the deceased and of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather.

13. At (the Ekoddish/a belonging to) this ceremony let him perform the burnt-offering, the invitation, and (the offering of) water for washing the feet.

14. Then he must pour the water for washing the feet and the Arghya (water libation) destined for the deceased person into the three vessels containing the water for washing the feet, and the three other vessels containing the Arghya of his three ancestors. At the same time he must mutter

and for those after you.' But in the present case (at a 'first Śrāddha') the name of the deceased has to be substituted for the word 'father.' (Nand.) Although Nand. quotes this Mantra from Āśvalāyana's *Srauta-sūtra*, it seems probable that the author of the *Vishnu-sūtra* took it from the *Kāṇva* (IX, 6 of the Berlin MS.)

11. The *Sūtras* following next refer to the *Sapindikarana* or 'ceremony of investing a dead person with the rights of a *Sapinda*.'

12. 'He must invite six Brāhmanas altogether, four as representatives of the deceased person and of his three ancestors, two for the offering to be addressed to the *Viśvedevās*. The Brāhmana, who represents the deceased person, must be fed according to the rule of the *Ekoddish/a*, and the three Brāhmanas, who represent the three ancestors, must be fed according to the rule of the *Pārvaṇa Śrāddha*, as laid down in Chapter LXXIII.' (Nand.)

13. The import of this *Sūtra* is, that those three ceremonies must not be omitted in the present case, as is otherwise the case at an *Ekoddish/a*. (Nand.)

14. ¹ The following is a translation of the whole of this Mantra,

(the two Mantras), 'May earth unite thee¹,' and 'United your minds².'

15. Near the leavings he must make (and put) four balls of rice.

16. Let him show out the Brâhmanas, after they have sipped water duly and have been presented by him with their sacrificial fee.

17. Then let him knead together the ball of the deceased person with the three balls (of the three ancestors), as (he has mixed up) his water for washing the feet and his Arghya (with theirs).

18. Let him do the same (with the balls placed) near the three trenches.

19. Or (see Sûtra 12) the Sapinda-karana must be performed on the thirteenth, after the monthly Srâddha has been performed on the twelfth¹ day.

20. For Sûdras it should be performed on the twelfth day, without Mantras.

21. If there be an intercalary month in that year, he must add one day to the (regular days of the) monthly Srâddha.

22. The ceremony of investing women with the relationship of Sapinda has to be performed in the same manner. Later, he must perform a Srâddha every year, while he lives, (on the anniversary of the deceased relative's death)¹.

which is quoted at full in the Kâthaka Grîhya-sûtra, 'May Prithivî (the earth), Vâyu (air), Agni (fire), and Pragâpati (the lord of creatures) unite thee with thy ancestors, and may you ancestors unite with him.' Regarding the particular ancestors implied here, see below, LXXV. — ² Rîg-veda X, 191, 4.

19. ¹ I.e. on that day on which the period of impurity expires. (Nand.)

22. ¹ The meaning is, that he must give him food and water, as prescribed in 23. (Nand.)

23. He, for whom the ceremony of investing him with the relationship of *Sapinda* is performed after the lapse of a year, shall be honoured by the gift, (on each day) of that year, of food and a jar with water to a *Brâhmana*.

XXII.

1. The impurity of a *Brâhmana* caused by the birth or death of *Sapindas* lasts ten days.

2. In the case of a *Kshatriya* (it lasts) twelve days.

3. In the case of a *Vaisya* (it lasts) fifteen days.

4. In the case of a *Sûdra* (it lasts) a month.

5. The relationship of *Sapinda* ceases with the seventh man (in descent or ascent).

6. During the period of impurity oblations (to the *Visvedevâs*), gifts and receiving of alms, and study have to be interrupted.

XXII.1-4. M. V, 83; Y. III, 18, 22; Âpast. I, 5, 16, 18; Gaut. XIV, 1-4. — 5. M. V, 60; Âpast. II, 6, 15, 2; Gaut. XIV, 13. — 25. M. V, 66; Y. III, 20; Gaut. XIV, 17. — 27. Y. III, 23; Gaut. XIV, 44. — 28. M. V, 69; Y. III, 1. — 29, 30. M. V, 67; Y. III, 23. — 35. M. V, 79; Y. III, 20; Gaut. XIV, 6. — 36, 37. Gaut. XIV, 7, 8. — 38. M. V, 79; Y. III, 20. — 39-41. M. V, 75, 76; Y. III, 21; Gaut. XIV, 19. — 42. M. V, 80; Y. III, 24. — 43. Y. III, 25. — 44. M. V, 80, 81; Y. III, 24; Gaut. XIV, 20. — 45. M. V, 82; Y. III, 25. — 46. M. V, 81; Gaut. XIV, 20. — 47. M. V, 89; Y. III, 21, 27; Gaut. XIV, 10-12. — 48-55. M. V, 93-95; Y. III, 27-29. — 48, 49. Gaut. XIV, 45, 46. — 56. M. V, 89; Y. III, 21; Gaut. XIV, 12. — 63-65. M. V, 103; Y. III, 26; Gaut. XIV, 31. — 67. M. V, 144. — 69. M. V, 85; Y. III, 30; Âpast. II, 1, 2, 8, 9; Gaut. XIV, 30. — 70. M. V, 87. — 75. M. V, 145; Y. I, 196; Âpast. I, 5, 16, 14; Gaut. I, 37. — 81. M. V, 135. — 82. M. XI, 95. — 84. M. XI, 96. — 85. M. V, 65. — 86. M. V, 91. — 87. M. V, 88. — 88-93. M. V, 105-110; Y. III, 31-34.

7. No one must eat the food of one impure (unless he be a *Sapinda* of his).

8. He who eats but once the food of *Brâhmanas* or others, while they are impure, will remain impure as long as they.

9. When the (period of) impurity is over, he must perform a penance (as follows):

10. If a twice-born man has eaten (the food) of a member of his own caste, while the latter was impure, he must approach a river and plunge into it, mutter the (hymn of) *Aghamarshana*¹ three times, and, after having emerged from the water, must mutter the *Gâyatri*² one thousand and eight times.

11. If a *Brâhmaṇa* has eaten the food of a *Kshatriya*, while the latter was impure, he is purified by performing the same penance and by fasting (on the previous day).

12. (The same penance is ordained for) a *Kshatriya* who has eaten the food of a *Vaisya*, while the latter was impure.

13. (The same penance is ordained for) a *Brâhmaṇa* (who has eaten the food) of an impure *Vaisya*; but he must fast besides during the three (previous) days.

14. If a *Kshatriya* or a *Vaisya* (have eaten the food) of a *Brâhmaṇa* or a *Kshatriya* respectively, who were impure, they must approach a river and mutter the *Gâyatri* five hundred times.

15. A *Vaisya*, who has eaten the food of a *Brâhmaṇa*, while the latter was impure, must (go to a river and) mutter the *Gâyatri* one hundred and eight times.

10. ¹ *Rig-veda* X, 190. — ² *Rig-veda* III, 62, 10.

16. A twice-born man (who has eaten the food) of a Sûdra, while the latter was impure, must (go to a river and) perform the Prâgâpatya (penance).

17. A Sûdra (who has eaten the food) of an impure man of a twice-born caste must bathe (in a river).

18. A Sûdra (who has eaten the food) of another Sûdra, while the latter was impure, must bathe (in a river) and drink Pañkagavya.

19. Wives and slaves in the direct order of the castes (i.e. who do not belong to a higher caste than their lord) remain impure as long as their lord.

20. If their lord is dead (or if they live apart from him, they remain impure) as long as (members of) their own caste.

21. If Sapindas of a higher caste (are born or have died) the period of impurity has for their lower caste relations the same duration as for members of the higher caste.

22. A Brâhmana (to whom) Sapindas of the Kshatriya, Vaisya, or Sûdra castes (have been born or have died) becomes pure within six nights, or three nights, or one night, respectively.

23. A Kshatriya (to whom Sapindas of the) Vaisya or Sûdra castes (have been born or have died) is purified within six and three nights, respectively.

24. A Vaisya (to whom Sapindas of the) Sûdra caste (have been born or have died) becomes pure within six nights.

16. Regarding the Prâgâpatya penance, see below, XLVI, 10.

18. The Pañkagavya, or five productions of a cow, consist of milk, sour milk, butter, urine, and cow-dung.

25. In a number of nights equal to the number of months after conception, a woman is purified from an abortion.

26. The relatives of children that have died immediately after birth (before the cutting of the navel-string), and of still-born children, are purified at once.

27. (The relatives) of a child that has died before having teethed (are also purified) at once.

28. For him no ceremony with fire is performed, nor offering of water.

29. For a child that has teethed but has not yet been shorn, purity is obtained in one day and night;

30. For a child that has been shorn but not initiated, in three nights;

31. From that time forward (i.e. for initiated persons) in the time that has been mentioned above (in Sûtra 1 seq.)

32. In regard to women, the marriage ceremony is (considered as their) initiation.

33. For married women there is no impurity for the relatives on the father's side.

34. If they happen to stay at their father's house during childbirth or if they die there, (their distant relatives are purified) in one night, and their parents (in three nights).

35. If, while the impurity caused by a birth lasts,

26. 'The meaning is, that the relatives of such children do not become impure.' (Nand.)

28. 'The meaning is, that he must not be burnt.' (Nand.)

32. The import of this Sûtra is this, that the full period of impurity is ordained on the death of women also, in case they were married, as the marriage ceremony takes with them the place of the initiation of males.

another impurity caused by childbirth intervenes, it ends when the former impurity terminates.

36. If it intervenes when one night (only of the period of impurity remains, the fresh impurity terminates) two days later.

37. If it intervenes when one watch (only of the last night remains, the impurity ends) three days later.

38. The same rule is observed if a relative dies during a period of impurity caused by the death (of another relative).

39. If a man, while staying in another country, hears of the birth or death (of a relative), he becomes purified after the lapse of the period still wanting (to the ten days).

40. If the period of impurity, but not a whole year, has elapsed, (he is purified in one night).

41. After that time (he is purified) by a bath.

42. If his teacher or maternal grandfather has died, (he is purified) in three nights.

43. Likewise, if sons other than a son of the body have been born or have died, and if wives who had another husband before have been delivered of a child or have died.

40. 'Although the general term impurity is used in this Sûtra, it refers to impurity caused by a death only.' (Nand.)

42. 'The use of the particle *ka* implies, that this rule extends to the death of a maternal grandmother, as ordained in the *Shaḍa-ritismṛti*.' (Nand.)

43. The twelve kinds of sons have been enumerated above, XV, 2-27. Of these, the three species of adopted sons, the son bought, and the son cast off cannot cause impurity, because their sonship dates from a period subsequent to their birth; but their offspring may cause impurity. (Nand.) *Parapūrvās*, or 'wives who had another husband before,' are either of the *punarbhū* or of the *svairiṇi* kind. (Nand.) See XV, 8, 9, and Nārada XII, 46-54.

44. (He becomes pure) in one day, if the wife or son of his teacher, or his Upâdhyâya (sub-teacher¹), or his maternal uncle, or his father-in-law, or a brother-in-law, or a fellow-student, or a pupil has died.

45. The impurity has the same duration (as in the cases last mentioned), if the king of that country in which he lives has died.

46. Likewise, if a man not his Sapinda has died at his house.

47. The relatives of those who have been killed by (falling from) a precipice, or by fire, or (have killed themselves by) fasting, or (have been killed by) water, in battle, by lightning, or by the king (on account of a crime committed by them), do not become impure;

48. Nor do kings (become impure) while engaged in the discharge of their duties (such as the protection of their subjects, the trial of lawsuits, &c.)

49. Devotees fulfilling a vow (also do not become impure);

50. Nor do sacrificers engaged in a sacrificial ceremony;

51. Nor workmen (such as carpenters or others) while engaged in their work;

52. Nor those who perform the king's orders, if the king wishes them to be pure.

53. Nor (can impurity arise) during the installation of the monument of a deity, nor during

44. ¹ See XXIX, 2.

49. The term *vratin*, 'a devotee fulfilling a vow,' may be referred to students as well, who, however, become impure by the death of their parents. (Nand.)

53. A marriage ceremony is said to have actually begun when the Nândîmukha, or Srâddha preliminary to marriage, has taken place. (Nand.)

a marriage ceremony, if those ceremonies have actually begun ;

54. Nor when the whole country is afflicted with a calamity ;

55. Nor in times of great public distress (such as an epidemic or a famine).

56. Suicides and outcasts do not cause impurity or receive offerings of water.

57. On the death-day of an outcast a female slave of his must upset a pot with water with her feet, (saying, ' Drink thou this.')

58. He who cuts the rope by which (a suicide) has hung himself, becomes pure by performing the *Taptakrikkhṛa* (' hot penance ').

59. So does he who has been (in any way) concerned with the funeral of a suicide ;

60. And he who sheds tears for such.

61. He who sheds tears for any deceased person together with the relations of the latter (becomes pure) by a bath.

62. If he has done so, before the bones (of the deceased) had been collected, (he becomes pure) by bathing with his apparel.

63. If a member of a twice-born caste has followed the corpse of a dead *Sūdra*, he must go to a river, and having plunged into it, mutter the *Aghamarshana* three times, and then, after having emerged from it, mutter the *Gâyatrī* one thousand and eight times.

64. (If he has followed) the corpse of a dead member of a twice-born caste, (the same expiation

55. Giving or taking alms does not effect impurity in such cases. (Nand.)

is ordained, but he must mutter the *Gâyatri*) one hundred and eight times only.

65. If a *Sûdra* has followed the corpse of a member of a twice-born caste, he must bathe.

66. Members of any caste, who have come near to the smoke of a funeral pile, must bathe.

67. (Bathing is also ordained) after sexual intercourse, bad dreams (of having been mounted upon an ass, or the like), when blood has issued from the throat, and after having vomited or been purged ;

68. Also, after tonsure of the beard ;

69. And after having touched one who has touched a corpse (a carrier of a corpse), or a woman in her courses, or a *Kândâla* (or other low-caste persons, such as *Svapakas*), or a sacrificial post ;

70. And (after having touched) the corpse of a five-toed animal, except of those kinds that may be eaten¹, or their bones still moist with fat.

71. In all such ablutions he must not wear his (defiled) apparel without having washed it before.

72. A woman in her courses becomes pure after four days by bathing.

73. A woman in her courses having touched another woman in her courses, who belongs to a lower caste than she does, must not eat again till she is purified.

74. If she has (unawares) touched a woman of her own caste, or of a higher caste than her own, she becomes pure at once, after having taken a bath.

75. Having sneezed, having slept, having eaten,

70. ¹ See LI, 6.

75. Nand. argues from a passage of *Yâgñavalkya* (I, 196) and from texts of *Âpastamba* (not found in his *Dharma-sûtra*) and of *Praketas*, that the particle *kā* refers to repeated sipping of water.

going to eat or to study, having drunk (water), having bathed, having spat, having put on his garment, having walked on the high road, having discharged urine or voided excrements, and having touched the bones no longer moist with fat of a five-toed animal, he must sip water ;

76. Likewise, if he has talked to a *Kāṇḍāla* or to a *Mlekkha* (barbarian).

77. If the lower part of his body, below the navel, or one of his fore-arms, has been defiled by one of the impure excretions of the body, or by one of the spirituous liquors or of the intoxicating drinks (hereafter mentioned), he is purified by cleansing the limb in question with earth and water.

78. If another part of his body (above the navel) has been defiled, (he becomes pure by cleansing it) with earth and water, and by bathing.

79. If his mouth has been defiled (he becomes pure) by fasting, bathing, and drinking *Pañkagavya*;

80. Likewise, if his lip has been defiled.

81. Adeps, semen, blood, dandruff, urine, fæces, ear-wax, nail-parings, phlegm, tears, rheum, and sweat are the twelve impure excretions of the body.

82. Distilled from sugar, or from the blossoms of the *Madhūka* (*Mādhvī* wine¹), or from flour: these three kinds of spirituous liquor have to be discerned; as one, so are all: none of them must be tasted by the twice-born.

83. Again, distilled from the blossoms of the

76. Regarding the meaning of *Mlekkha*, see LXXXIV, 4.

82, 83. ¹ How the *Mādhvī*, *Mādhūka*, and *Mādhvīka* wines differ from one another, does not become clear. Nand. explains the term *Mādhūka* as denoting an extract from *Madhūka* blossoms (*bassia latifolia*), and *Mādhvī* and *Mādhvīka* as two different preparations from *Madhu*. Now *Madhu* might be rendered by 'honey;'

Madhûka tree (Mâdhûka wine), from molasses, from the fruits of the *Taṅka* (or *Kapittha* tree), of the jujube tree, of the *Khargûra* tree, or of the bread-fruit tree, from wine-grapes, from Madhûka blossoms (Mâdhvika wine), Maireya, and the sap of the coconut tree :

84. These ten intoxicating drinks are unclean for a Brâhmaṇa ; but a Kshatriya and a Vaisya commit no wrong in touching (or drinking) them.

85. A pupil having performed (on failure of other mourners) the funeral of his dead Guru, becomes pure after ten nights, like those (kinsmen) who carry out the dead.

86. A student does not infringe the rules of his order by carrying out, when dead, his teacher, or his sub-teacher, or his father, or his mother, or his Guru.

87. A student must not offer a libation of water to a deceased relative (excepting his parents) till the term of his studentship has expired ; but if, after its expiration, he offers a libation of water, he becomes pure after three nights.

88. Sacred knowledge (see 92), religious austerities (see 90), fire (see XXIII, 33), holy food (*Pañ-kagavya*), earth (see 91), the mind, water (see 91), smearing (with cow-dung and the like, see XXIII, 56), air (see XXIII, 41), (the morning and evening prayers and other) religious acts, the sun

but Kullûka, in his comment on the term Mâdhvî (M. XI, 95), states expressly that it means 'Madhûka blossom,' and Hârîta (as quoted by Nand.) says that Mâdhûka, Mâdhvî and Mâdhvika are all preparations from Madhu, i.e. Madhûka blossoms. Maireya, according to the lexicographer Vâṭaspati, as quoted by Nand., is an intoxicating drink prepared from the flowers of the *grislea tomentosa*, mixed with sugar, grain, and water, or, according to the reading of the *Sabdakalpadruma* (see the Petersburg Dictionary), with sorrel,

(see XXIII, 40), and time (by the lapse of the ten days of impurity and the like) are purifiers of animate objects.

89. Of all pure things, pure food is pronounced the most excellent ; for he who eats pure food only, is truly pure, not he who is only purified with earth and water.

90. By forgiveness of injuries the learned are purified ; by liberality, those who have done forbidden acts ; by muttering of prayers, those who have sinned in secret ; by religious austerities, those who best know the Veda.

91. By water and earth is purified what should be purified (because it has been defiled) ; a river is purified by its current (carrying away all slime and mud) ; a woman, whose thoughts have been impure, by her menses ; and the chief among the twice-born (the Brâhmanas), by renouncing the world.

92. Bodies (when defiled) are purified by water ; the mind is purified (from evil thoughts) by truth ; the soul (is purified or freed from worldly vanity) by sacred learning and austerities ; the understanding (when unable to resolve some doubt), by knowledge.

93. Thus the directions for purifying animate bodies have been declared to thee ; hear now the rules for cleaning all sorts of inanimate objects.

XXIII.

1. What has been defiled by the impure excretions of the body, by spirits, or by intoxicating drinks, is impure in the highest degree.

XXIII. 2. Âpast. I, 5, 17, 10 ; Gaut. I, 29. — 4. Y. I, 185 ; Gaut. I, 29, 31. — 5. M.V, 123 ; Gaut. I, 34. — 7-11. M.V, 111, 112, 116, 117 ; Y. I, 182, 183. — 7, 8. Gaut. I, 29, 30. — 13-

2. All vessels made of iron (or of other metals or of composition metals such as bell-metal and the like), which are impure in the highest degree, become pure by exposure to the fire.

3. Things made of gems or stones or water-shells, (such as conch-shells or mother-of-pearl, become pure) by digging them into the earth for seven days.

4. Things made of horns (of rhinoceroses or other animals), or of teeth (of elephants or other animals), or of bone (of tortoises or other animals, become pure) by planing them.

5. Vessels made of wood or earthenware must be thrown away.

6. Of a garment, which has been defiled in the highest degree, let him cut off that part which, having been washed, is changed in colour.

7. Objects made of gold, silver, water-shells, or gems, when (they are only defiled by leavings of food and the like, and) not smeared (with greasy substances), are cleansed with water.

8. So are stone cups and vessels used at Soma-sacrifices (when not smeared).

15. M.V, 118, 119; Y. I, 184, 182. — 16. M.V, 122. — 17. M. V, 126; Y. I, 191. — 18. M.V, 118. — 19-22. M.V, 120; Y. I, 186, 187. — 25, 26. M.V, 114; Y. I, 190. — 27. M.V, 115; Y. I, 185; Âpast. I, 5, 17, 12; Gaut. I, 29. — 28. Y. I, 185. — 30. M.V, 115; Y. I, 190. — 33. M.V, 122; Y. I, 187. — 38, 39. M.V, 125, 126. — 38. Y. I, 189. — 40. Y. I, 194. — 41. Y. I, 197. — 47-52. M.V, 127-133. — 53-55. M.V, 141-143. — 53. Y. I, 195; Âpast. I, 5, 16, 12; Gaut. I, 38, 41. — 55. Gaut. I, 28. — 56, 57. M.V, 122, 124; Y. I, 188.

7. The defilement in the highest degree having been treated of in the six preceding Sûtras, he now goes on to discuss the various cases of lesser defilement. (Nand.)

8-11. Regarding the shape of the sacrificial implements men-

9. Sacrificial pots, ordinary wooden ladles, and wooden ladles with two collateral excavations (used for pouring clarified butter on a sacrificial fire) are cleansed with hot water (when not smeared).

10. Vessels used for oblations (of butter, fruits, and the like are cleansed) by rubbing them with the hand (with blades of *Kusa* grass) at the time of the sacrifice.

11. Sword-shaped pieces of wood for stirring the boiled rice, winnowing baskets, implements used for preparing grain, pestles and mortars (are cleansed) by sprinkling water over them.

12. So are beds, vehicles, and seats (when defiled even by the touch of a *Sûdra*)¹.

13. Likewise, a large quantity (of anything).

14. Grain, skins (of antelopes, &c.), ropes, woven cloth, (fans and the like) made of bamboo, thread, cotton, and clothes (which have only just come from the manufactory, or which are dyed with saffron and will not admit of washing for that reason, are cleansed in the same way, when there is a large quantity of them);

15. Also, pot-herbs, roots, fruits, and flowers;

16. Likewise, grass, firewood, dry cow-dung (used as fuel), and leaves (of the *Madhûka*, *Palâsa*, or other trees).

tioned in these *Sûtras*, see the plates in Professor Max Müller's paper, 'Die Todtenbestattung bei den Brahmanen,' in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, IX, LXXVIII-LXXX.

12. ¹ This *Sûtra* and the following ones relate to defilement caused by touch. (Nand.)

13. 'I.e. more than one man can carry, as *Baudhâyana* says.' (Nand.)

14. The use of the particle *ka* implies that resin and other objects mentioned by *Devala* must be included in this enumeration. (Nand.)

17. The same (when smeared with excrements and the like, are cleansed) by washing.

18. And so (have the objects mentioned in Sûtra 14, if defiled without being smeared, to be cleansed by washing), when there is only a small quantity of them ;

19. Silk and wool, with saline earths ;

20. (Blankets or plaids) made of the hair of the mountain-goat, with the fruits of the soap plant ;

21. Clothes made of the bark of trees ¹, with Bèl fruit ;

22. Linen cloth, with white mustard ;

23. Likewise, things made of horns, bone, or teeth ;

24. (Rugs or covers) made of deer's hair, with lotus-seeds ;

25. Vessels of copper, bell-metal, tin, and lead, with acidulated water ;

26. Vessels of white copper and iron, with ashes ;

27. Wooden articles, by planing ;

28. Vessels made of fruits (such as cocoa-nuts, bottle-gourds, and Bèl fruits), by (rubbing them with) cows' hair.

29. Many things in a heap, by sprinkling water over them ;

30. Liquids (such as clarified butter, milk, &c.), by straining them ;

17. ' All the objects mentioned in Sûtras 12-16 must be washed, but so as to avoid injuring them, in case they have been defiled by excrements or other such impure substances.' (Nand.)

21. ¹The term *amsupa* has been rendered in accordance with Nand.'s interpretation, which agrees with Vignâneshvara's (on Y. I, 186). Kullûka (on M. V, 120 ; see the Petersburg Dictionary) appears to refer it to two different sorts of clothes.

30-37. These Sûtras relate to defilement caused by insects, &c. (Nand.)

31. Lumps of sugar and other preparations from the sugar-cane¹, stored up in large quantities (exceeding a *Drona*) and kept in one's own house², by water and fire³;

32. All sorts of salt, in the same manner;

33. Earthen vessels (if smeared with excrements and the like), by a second burning;

34. Images of gods (if smeared), by cleansing them in the same way as the material (of which they are made is generally cleansed), and then installing them anew (in their former place).

35. Of undressed grain let him remove so much only as has been defiled, and the remainder let him pound in a mortar and wash.

36. A quantity of prepared grain exceeding a *Drona* is not spoiled by being defiled (by dogs, crows, and other unclean animals).

37. He must throw away thus much of it only as has been defiled, and must sprinkle over the remainder water, into which a piece of gold has been dropped, and over which the *Gâyatri* has been pronounced, and must hold it up before a goat (or before a horse) and before the fire.

31. ¹ Such as raw sugar, candied sugar, &c.—² If there is no large quantity of them, they require to be sprinkled with water only; and if they are kept elsewhere than in the house, as if they are exposed for sale in a fair, they require no purification at all.—³ They must be encircled with fire, and sprinkled with water afterwards. (Nand.)

32. Nand. mentions as the main species of salt, rock-salt, sea-salt, sochal-salt, and *Sāmbhala*-salt. The last term refers perhaps to salt coming from the famous salt-lake of *Sākambharī* or *Shambar* in *Rāgputana*.

37. 'A quantity less than a *Drona* having been defiled must be thrown away, as stated by *Parāśara*.' (Nand.) One *Drona* = 4 *Āḍhaka*s = 1024 *Mushās* or handfuls. The meaning of *Āḍhaka*,

38. That (food) which has been nibbled by a bird (except a crow or other such birds that must not be eaten or touched), smelt at by a cow, trodden or sneezed on, or defiled by (human) hair, or by insects or worms, is purified by earth scattered over it.

39. As long as the scent or moisture, caused by any unclean substance, remains on the defiled object, so long must earth and water be constantly applied in all purifications of inanimate objects.

40. A goat and a horse are pure, as regards their mouths, but not a cow, nor the impure excretions of a man's body; roads are purified by the rays of the moon and of the sun, and by the winds.

41. Mire and water upon the high road, that has been touched by low-caste people, by dogs, or by crows, as well as buildings constructed with burnt bricks, are purified by the wind.

42. For everybody let him (the Âkârya or spiritual guide) carefully direct the performance of purificatory ceremonies, with earth and water, when he has been defiled in the highest degree.

43. Stagnant water, even if a single cow only has quenched her thirst with it, is pure, unless it is quite filled with (hair or other) unclean objects; it is the same with water upon a rock (or upon the top of a mountain).

44. From a well, in which a five-toed animal (whether man or beast, but not one of the five-toed

however, according to Nand's observation, varies in different countries. See Colebrooke's *Essays*, I, 533 seq.

38. In explanation of the term *amedhya*, 'unclean substance,' Nand. quotes the following passage of Devala, 'Human bones, a corpse, excrements, semen, urine, the menstrual discharge, adeps, sweat, the rheum of the eyes, phlegm, and spirituous liquors are called unclean substances.'

animals whose flesh may be eaten)¹ has died, or which has been defiled in the highest degree, he must take out all the waters and dry up the remainder with a cloth.

45. If it is a well constructed with burnt bricks (or stones), he must light a fire and afterwards throw *Pañkagavya* into it, when fresh water is coming forth.

46. For small reservoirs of water and for ponds the same mode of purification has been prescribed as for wells, O Earth; but large tanks (excepting *Tirthas*) are not defiled (by dead animals, &c.).

47. The gods have declared, as peculiar to *Brāhmaṇas*, three causes effecting purity: if an (existing) impurity has not been perceived by them; if they sprinkle the object (supposed to be impure) with water; and if they commend it, in doubtful cases, with their speech (saying, 'This or that shall be pure').

48. The hand of a (cook or other) artizan, things exposed for sale in a shop (though they may have passed through the hands of many customers), food given to a *Brāhmaṇa* (by other *Brāhmaṇas*, or by *Kshatriyas*, &c., but not by *Sūdras*), and all manufactories or mines (of sugar, salt, and the like, but not distilleries of spirituous liquor), are always pure.

49. The mouth of a woman is always pure (for the purpose of a kiss); a bird is pure on the fall of fruit (which he has pecked); a sucking calf (or child), on the flowing of the milk; a dog, on his catching the deer.

50. Flesh of an animal which has been killed by dogs is pronounced pure; and so is that of an

44. ¹ See LI, 6.

animal slain by other carnivorous creatures (such as tigers) or by huntsmen such as *Kandâlas* (*Svapakas*, *Kshattris*, or other low-caste men).

51. The cavities above the navel must be considered as pure; those below it are impure; and so are all excretions that fall from the body.

52. Flies, saliva dropping from the mouth, a shadow, a cow, an elephant, a horse, sun-beams, dust, the earth, air, fire, and a cat are always pure.

53. Such drops as fall from the mouth of a man upon any part of his body do not render it impure, nor do hairs of the beard that enter his mouth, nor remnants of his food adhering to his teeth.

54. Drops which trickle on the feet of a man holding water for others to sip it, are considered as equal to waters springing from the earth: by them he is not soiled.

55. He who is anyhow touched by anything impure, while holding things in his hands, is purified by sipping water, without laying the things on the ground.

51. There are, according to Indian views, nine cavities or apertures of the body: the mouth, the two ears, the two nostrils, the two eyes, and the organs of excretion and generation. The two last are impure, the rest are pure.

55. Nand. and Kullûka (on M. V, 143) explain that *hasta*, 'hand,' here means 'arm,' as it would be impossible to sip water without using the hand. The former adds that, if the things are being carried with the hand, they must be placed in the cavity formed by the fore-arm. He refutes the opinion of the 'Eastern Commentators,' who, arguing from another *Smṛiti*, contend that the things have to be placed on the ground and to be sprinkled with water; and he further tries to account for the seemingly contradictory rules propounded by *Vâsishṭha* (Benares ed., III, 43) and *Gautama* (I, 28) by explaining that a large quantity of things should be laid on the ground, and a small quantity placed upon

56. A house is purified by scouring it with a broom and plastering the ground with cow-dung, and a manuscript or book by sprinkling water over it. Land is cleansed by scouring, by plastering it with cow-dung,

57. By sprinkling¹, by scraping, by burning, or by letting cows (or goats) pass (a day and a night) on it. Cows are auspicious purifiers, upon cows depend the worlds,

58. Cows alone make sacrificial oblations possible (by producing sacrificial butter), cows take away every sin. The urine of cows, their dung, clarified butter, milk, sour milk, and Goroṭanâ :

59. Those six excellent (productions) of a cow are always propitious. Drops of water falling from the horns of a cow are productive of religious merit, and have the power to expiate all sins (of those who bathe in, or rub themselves with, them).

60. Scratching the back of a cow destroys all guilt, and giving her to eat procures exaltation in heaven.

some other limb, and further, that food should always be placed on the ground, but that a garment, a stick, and the like should be kept in the hand. Compare Dr. Bühler's note on Gaut. loc. cit. It may be remarked, incidentally, that Nand. quotes the reading *ukṭhish/o* × *nidhâya* in the passage of Gautama referred to.

56. 'The term *pustaka* refers to MSS. or books, whether made of palm leaves, or of prepared hemp, or of prepared reeds (*sara*). (Nand.) It may be that Nand. means by the last term a sort of paper, though paper is usually called by its Arabian name (*kâgad*) in Indian works. See regarding the materials used for writing in ancient India, Burnell's *Palæography*, p. 84 seq. (2nd ed.)

57. ¹The term *seka*, 'sprinkling,' either refers to the earth being sprinkled by rain, or to *Pañṭagavya* being poured over it. (Nand.)

58. *Goroṭanâ* is a bright yellow pigment which is said to be prepared from the urine or bile of a cow.

61. In the urine of cows dwells the Ganges, prosperity (dwells) in the dust (rising from their couch), good fortune in cow-dung, and virtue in saluting them. Therefore should they be constantly saluted.

XXIV.

1. Now a Brâhmaṇa may take four wives in the direct order of the (four) castes ;

2. A Kshatriya, three ;

3. A Vaisya, two ;

4. A Sûdra, one only.

5. Among these (wives), if a man marries one of his own caste, their hands shall be joined.

6. In marriages with women of a different class, a Kshatriya bride must hold an arrow in her hand ;

7. A Vaisya bride, a goad ;

8. A Sûdra bride, the skirt of a mantle.

9. No one should marry a woman belonging to the same Gotra, or descended from the same *Rîshi* ancestors, or from the same Pravaras.

XXIV. 1-4. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 21, 74 ; M. III, 12-14 ; Y. I, 56, 57. — 5. M. III, 43 ; Y. I, 62. — 6-8. M. III, 44 ; Y. I, 62. — 9, 10. Weber loc. cit. 75 ; M. III, 5 ; Y. I, 53 ; Âpast. II, 5, 11, 15, 16 ; Gaut. IV, 2-5. — 12-16. M. III, 8. — 12. Y. I, 53. — 17-26. M. III, 20, 21, 27-34 ; Y. I, 58-61 ; Âpast. II, 5, 11, 17-II, 5, 12, 2 ; Gaut. IV, 6-13. — 27, 28. M. III, 23-26, 39 ; Âpast. II, 5, 12, 3 ; Gaut. IV, 14, 15. — 29-32. M. III, 37, 38 ; Y. I, 58-60 ; Gaut. IV, 30-33. — 38. M. V, 151 ; Y. I, 63. — 39. Y. I, 63. — 40. M. IX, 90 ; Y. I, 64. — 41. M. IX, 93.

1. This chapter opens the section on *Samskâras* or sacraments, i.e. the ceremonies on conception and so forth. (Nand.) This section forms the second part of the division treating of *Âkâra*. See above, XIX.

9. According to Nand., the term *Gotra* refers to descent from one of the seven *Rîshis*, or from Agastya as the eighth ; the term *Ârsha* (*Rîshi* ancestors), to descent from the *Ârshîshenas* or *Mudgalas*,

10. Nor (should he marry) one descended from his maternal ancestors within the fifth, or from his paternal ancestors within the seventh degree ;

11. Nor one of a low family (such as an agriculturer's, or an attendant of the king's family) ;

12. Nor one diseased ;

13. Nor one with a limb too much (as e.g. having six fingers) ;

14. Nor one with a limb too little ;

15. Nor one whose hair is decidedly red ;

16. Nor one talking idly.

17. There are eight forms of marriage :

18. The Brâhma, Daiva, Ârsha, Prâgâpatya, Gândharva, Âsura, Râkshasa, and Paisâka forms.

19. The gift of a damsel to a fit bridegroom, who has been invited, is called a Brâhma marriage.

20. If she is given to a *Ritviṣ* (priest), while he is officiating at a sacrifice, it is called a Daiva marriage.

21. If (the giver of the bride) receives a pair of kine in return, it is called an Ârsha marriage.

22. (If she is given to a suitor) by his demand, it is called a Prâgâpatya marriage.

or from some other subdivision of the *Bhrigus* or *Âṅgirasas*, excepting the *Gâmadagnas*, *Gautamas*, and *Bhâradvâgas* ; and the term *Pravara*, to the *Mantrakṛts* of one's own race, i.e. the ancestors invoked by a *Brâhmaṇa* at the commencement of a sacrifice. Nand.'s interpretation of the last term is no doubt correct ; but it seems preferable to take *Gotra* in the sense of 'family name' (*laukika gotra*), and to refer the term *samânârsha* to descent from the same *Rîshi* (*vaidika gotra*). See Dr. Bühler's notes on *Âpast.* II, 5, 11, 15, and *Gaut.* XVIII, 6 ; Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 379-388 ; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X, 69-81. If *ârsha* were connected with *pravara*, the whole compound *samânârshapravarâ* would denote 'a woman descended from the same *Rîshi*' = *samanârshâ*, Y. I, 53, and *samânapravarâ*, *Gaut.* XVIII, 6.

23. A union between two lovers, without the consent of mother and father, is called a Gândharva marriage.

24. If the damsel is sold (to the bridegroom), it is called an Âsura marriage.

25. If he seizes her forcibly, it is called a Râkshasa marriage.

26. If he embraces her in her sleep, or while she is unconscious, it is called a Paisâka marriage.

27. Among those (eight forms of marriage), the four first forms are legitimate (for a Brâhmana);

28. And so is the Gândharva form for a Kshatriya.

29. A son procreated in a Brâhma marriage redeems (or sends into the heavenly abodes hereafter mentioned) twenty-one men (viz. ten ancestors, ten descendants, and him who gave the damsel in marriage).

30. A son procreated in a Daiva marriage, fourteen;

31. A son procreated in an Ârsha marriage, seven;

32. A son procreated in a Prâgâpatya marriage, four.

33. He who gives a damsel in marriage according to the Brâhma rite, brings her into the world of Brahman (after her death, and enters that world himself).

34. (He who gives her in marriage) according to the Daiva rite, (brings her) into Svarga (or heaven, and enters Svarga himself).

35. (He who gives her in marriage) according to the Ârsha rite, (brings her) into the world of Vishnu (and enters that world himself).

36. (He who gives her in marriage) according to the Prâgâpatya rite, (brings her) into the world of the gods (and enters that world himself).

37. (He who gives her in marriage) according to the Gândharva rite, will go to the world of Gândharvas.

38. A father, a paternal grandfather, a brother, a kinsman, a maternal grandfather, and the mother (are the persons) by whom a girl may be given in marriage.

39. On failure of the preceding one (it devolves upon) the next in order (to give her in marriage), in case he is able.

40. When she has allowed three monthly periods to pass (without being married), let her choose a husband for herself; three monthly periods having passed, she has in every case full power to dispose of herself (as she thinks best).

41. A damsel whose menses begin to appear (while she is living) at her father's house, before she has been betrothed to a man, has to be considered as a degraded woman: by taking her (without the consent of her kinsmen) a man commits no wrong.

39. Regarding the causes effecting legal disability, such as love, anger, &c., see Nârada 3, 43.

40. Nand., arguing from a passage of Baudhâyana (see also M. IX, 90), takes *ritu*, 'monthly period,' as synonymous with *varsha*, 'year.' But *ritu*, which occurs in two other analogous passages also (Gaut. XVIII, 20, and Nârada XII, 24), never has that meaning.

41. Nand. observes, that the rules laid down in this and the preceding Sloka refer to young women of the lower castes only. Nowadays the custom of outcasting young women, who have not been married in the proper time, appears to be in vogue in Brahmanical families particularly. *Smṛiti* passages regarding the illegality of marriages concluded with such women have been collected by me, Über die rechtl. Stellung der Frauen, p. 9, note 17. The

XXV.

1. Now the duties of a woman (are as follows) :
2. To live in harmony with her husband ;
3. To show reverence (by embracing their feet and such-like attentions) to her mother-in-law, father-in-law, to Gurus (such as elders), to divinities, and to guests ;
4. To keep household articles (such as the winnowing basket and the rest) in good array ;
5. To maintain saving habits ;
6. To be careful with her (pestle and mortar and other) domestic utensils ;
7. Not to practise incantations with roots (or other kinds of witchcraft) ;
8. To observe auspicious customs ;
9. Not to decorate herself with ornaments (or to partake of amusements) while her husband is absent from home ;
10. Not to resort to the houses of strangers (during the absence of her husband) ;

custom of *Svayamvara* or 'self-choice,' judging from the epics, was confined to females of the kingly caste, and in reality was no doubt of very rare occurrence.

XXV. 1-13. Colebrooke, Dig. IV, 2, XCII. — 2. M. V, 154 ; Y. I, 77. — 3. Y. I, 83. — 4-6. M. V, 150 ; Y. I, 83. — 9, 10. M. IX, 75 ; Y. I, 84. — 12, 13. M. V, 148 ; IX, 3 ; Y. I, 85 ; Gaut. XVIII, 1. — 14. M. V, 158 ; Colebrooke, Dig. IV, 3, CXXXIII. — 15. M. V, 155. — 17. M. V, 160. 15 is also found in the *Mârkandeya-purâna* XVI, 61, and, in a modified form, in other works. See Böhlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 3686, 3679. 16 is also found, in a modified form, in *Vṛiddhakatākhya's* Proverbs XVII, 9 ; and 17 in *Sâringadhara's* Paddhati, *Sadâkâra*, 10. See Böhlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 3900, 4948.

10. 'Strangers' means any other persons than her parents-in-law, her brother, maternal uncle, and other near relatives. (Nand.)

11. Not to stand near the doorway or by the windows (of her house);

12. Not to act by herself in any matter;

13. To remain subject, in her infancy, to her father; in her youth, to her husband; and in her old age, to her sons.

14. After the death of her husband, to preserve her chastity, or to ascend the pile after him.

15. No sacrifice, no penance, and no fasting is allowed to women apart from their husbands; to pay obedience to her lord is the only means for a woman to obtain bliss in heaven.

16. A woman who keeps a fast or performs a penance in the lifetime of her lord, deprives her husband of his life, and will go to hell.

17. A good wife, who perseveres in a chaste life after the death of her lord, will go to heaven like (perpetual) students, even though she has no son.

XXVI.

1. If a man has several wives of his own caste,

14. Nand. states that the self-immolation of widows (Satee) is a specially meritorious act, and not obligatory. Besides, he quotes several passages from other *Smṛitis* and from the *Bṛhannāradya-purāṇa*, to the effect that in case the husband should have died abroad, a widow of his, who belongs to the *Brāhmaṇa* caste, may not commit herself to the flames, unless she can reach the place, where his corpse lies, in a day; and that one who is in her courses, or pregnant, or whose pregnancy is suspected, or who has an infant child, is also forbidden to burn herself with her dead husband. English renderings of all the texts quoted by Nand. may be found in Colebrooke's *Essay on the Duties of a Faithful Hindu Widow*. See also above, XX, 39. Nand., arguing from a passage of *Bau-dhāyana*, takes the particle *vā*, 'or,' to imply that the widow is at liberty to become a female ascetic instead of burning herself.

XXVI. 2. M. IX, 86. — 4. M. IX, 87. — 1-4. Colebrooke, *Dig.*

he shall perform his religious duties together with the eldest (or first-married) wife.

2. (If he has several) wives of divers castes (he shall perform them) even with the youngest wife if she is of the same caste as himself.

3. On failure of a wife of his own caste (he shall perform them) with one belonging to the caste next below his own; so also in cases of distress (i. e. when the wife who is equal in caste to him happens to be absent, or when she has met with a calamity);

4. But no twice-born man ever with a Sûdra wife.

5. A union of a twice-born man with a Sûdra wife can never produce religious merit; it is from carnal desire only that he marries her, being blinded by lust.

6. Men of the first three castes, who through folly marry a woman of the lowest caste, quickly degrade their families and progeny to the state of Sûdras.

7. If his oblations to the gods and manes and (his hospitable attentions) to guests are offered principally through her hands, the gods and manes (and the guests) will not eat such offerings, and he will not go to heaven.

XXVII.

1. The Nishekakarman (ceremony of impregna-

IV, 1, XLIX.—5-7. M. III, 12, 14, 15, 18; Y. I, 56; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 74.—7. Colebrooke, Dig. IV, 1, LII.

XXVII. 1-14. Âsv. I, 4-18; Gobh. II, 1-9; Pâr. I, 4-II, 1; Sâṅkh. I, 12-28; M. II, 29-35, 66, 67; Y. I, 11-13; Gaut. VIII, 14.—15-24, 26, 27. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 21; M. II, 38-47; Y. I,

tion) must be performed when the season fit for procreating children¹ distinctly appears (for the first time).

2. The *Pumsavana* (ceremony to cause the birth of a male) must be performed before the embryo begins to move.

3. The *Sīmantonnayana* (ceremony of parting the hair) should take place in the sixth or eighth month (of pregnancy).

4. The *Gātakarman* (birth-ceremony) should take place on the birth of the child.

5. The *Nāmadheya* (naming-rite) must be performed as soon as the term of impurity (caused by the birth of the child) is over.

6. (The name to be chosen should be) auspicious in the case of a *Brāhmaṇa* ;

7. Indicating power in the case of a *Kshatriya* ;

8. Indicating wealth in the case of a *Vaiśya* ;

9. Indicating contempt in the case of a *Sūdra*.

14, 37, 38; *Āpast.* I, 1, 1, 18-21; I, 1, 2, 33-3, 6; *Gaut.* I, 5, 11-26. — 25. *Weber, Ind. Stud.* X, 22; *M.* II, 49; *Y.* I, 30; *Āpast.* I, 1, 3, 28-30; *Gaut.* II, 36. — 28, 29. *M.* II, 174, 64.

1. ¹ 'Garbha' here means '*ritu*,' i. e. the time favourable for procreation, following immediately upon the menstrual evacuation, and the above ceremony should be performed once only, in order to consecrate the mother once for all. (Nand.)

2, 3. The embryo begins to move in the fourth month of pregnancy, and the *Pumsavana* must be performed in the second or third month of every pregnancy. Thus Nand., who combats expressly the opinion that this ceremony has the consecration of the mother, and not the consecration of the foetus, for its object. Regarding the *Sīmantonnayana* he seems to consider both views as admissible. According to the former view it would have to be performed only once, like the *Nishekakarman*.

6-9. Nand. quotes as instances of such names: 1. *Lakṣmīdhara*; 2. *Yudhishthira*; 3. *Arthapati*; 4. *Lokadāsa*; or (observing,

10. The Âdityadarsana (ceremony of taking the child out to see the sun) should take place in the fourth month (after birth).

11. The Annaprâsana (ceremony of first feeding) should take place in the sixth month.

12. The Kûdâkarana (tonsure rite) should take place in the third year¹.

13. For female children the same ceremonies, (beginning with the birth ceremony, should be performed, but) without Mantras.

14. The marriage ceremony only has to be performed with Mantras for them.

15. The initiation of Brâhmanas (should take place) in the eighth year after conception¹;

16. Of Kshatriyas, in the eleventh year after conception¹;

17. Of Vaisyas, in the twelfth year after conception¹;

18. Their girdles should be made of Muñga grass, a bow-string, and Balbaga (coarse grass) respectively.

19. Their sacrificial strings and their garments should be made of cotton, hemp, and wool respectively.

at the same time, another rule regarding the second part of a compound name), 1. Vishnusarman; 2. Bhîmavarman; 3. Devagupta; 4. Dharmadâsa.

10. According to Nand., who quotes a passage of Yama in support of his opinion, this Sûtra has to be divided into two, which would, however, require several words to complete their sense, the import of the first being, that the child should be taken out to see the sun in the third month, and to see the moon in the fourth month. See the Introduction.

12. ¹ 'The third year,' i. e. either after conception, or after birth. (Nand.)

15-17. ¹ Nand., 'or after birth.' See Pâr. and Âsv. loc. cit.

20. The skins (which they wear) should be those of a black antelope, of a tiger, and of a he-goat respectively.

21. Their staves should be made of Palâsa, Khadira, and Udumbara wood respectively.

22. Their staves should be of such a length as to reach the hair, the forehead, and the nose respectively.

23. Or all (kinds of staves may be used for all castes indiscriminately).

24. And they should not be crooked, nor should the bark be stripped off.

25. In begging alms, they should put in the word 'Lady' at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of their request (according to their caste).

26. The ceremony of initiation must not be delayed beyond the sixteenth year in the case of a Brâhmaṇa; beyond the twenty-second, in the case of a Kshatriya; and beyond the twenty-fourth, in the case of a Vaisya.

27. After that, the youths belonging to any of those three castes, who have not been initiated at the proper time, are excluded from initiation, and condemned by the twice-born, and are called Vratyas.

28. That skin, that cord, that girdle, that staff, and that garment which has been given to any one (on his initiation), that he must for ever wear when performing any religious observance.

29. His girdle, his skin, his staff, his string, and his ewer he must throw into the water when broken (or spoiled by use), and receive others consecrated with Mantras.

XXVIII.

1. Now¹ students shall dwell at their Guru's (spiritual teacher's) house.

2. They shall recite their morning and evening prayers.

3. (A student) shall mutter the morning prayer standing, and the evening prayer sitting.

4. He shall perform twice a day (in the mornings and evenings) the religious acts of sprinkling the ground (round the altar) and of putting fuel on the fire.

5. He must plunge into the waters like a stick.

XXVIII. passim. Âsv. *Grîhya-s.* I, 22; III, 7-9; Gobh. *Grîhya-s.* II, 10, 42-III, 4; Pâr. *Grîhya-s.* II, 4-6; Sâṅkh. *Grîhya-s.* II, 6, 9-12; III, 1. — 1. Âpast. I, 1, 2, 11. — 3. M. II, 101; Y. I, 24, 25; Gaut. II, 11. — 4. M. II, 108; Y. I, 25; Âpast. I, 1, 4, 16. — 5. Âpast. I, 1, 2, 30. — 6, 7. M. II, 73, 182; Y. I, 27; Âpast. I, 2, 5, 27; I, 1, 4, 23; Gaut. I, 54; II, 29, 30. — 8. M. II, 41-47; Y. I, 29; Âpast. I, 1, 2, 33-I, 1, 3, 10; Gaut. I, 15, 16, 22. — 9, 10. M. II, 183, 184, 51; Y. I, 29, 31; Âpast. I, 1, 3, 25, 32; Gaut. II, 35, 37-39. — 11, 12. M. II, 177-179, &c.; Y. I, 33, &c.; Âpast. I, 1, 2, 23-28, &c.; Gaut. II, 13, &c. — 13-23. M. II, 194, 71, 72, 122-124, 195-198; Âpast. I, 2, 4, 28; I, 2, 5, 12, 23; I, 2, 6, 5-9, 14; Gaut. II, 21, 25-28; I, 52; II, 14. — 17. Y. I, 26. — 24-26. M. II, 199, 200. — 27, 28. M. II, 204; Âpast. I, 2, 8, 11, 13. — 29, 30. M. II, 205; Âpast. I, 2, 8, 19-21. — 31-33. M. II, 208, 209; Âpast. I, 2, 7, 28, 30; Gaut. II, 31, 32. — 34-36. M. III, 2; II, 168. — 37-40. M. II, 169-172; Y. II, 39; Âpast. I, 1, 1, 15-17; Gaut. I, 8. — 41. M. II, 219; Âpast. I, 1, 2, 31, 32; Gaut. I, 27. — 42. M. II, 245; Y. I, 51; Âpast. I, 11, 30, 1; Gaut. IX, 1. — 43-46. M. II, 243, 247, 248; Y. I, 49; Âpast. I, 2, 4, 29; Gaut. II, 5-8. — 47. M. II, 249; Gaut. III, 9. — 48-53. M. XI, 121, 123, 124; II, 181, 187, 220. — 51, 52. Y. III, 278, 281; Gaut. XXIII, 20.

1. ¹ 'I.e. after the performance of the initiation ceremony.' (Nand.)

5. The sense of this injunction, according to Nand., is, that he must not pronounce any bathing Mantras. But more probably it

6. Let him study when called (by his teacher).
7. He shall act so as to please his Guru (spiritual teacher) and to be serviceable to him.
8. He shall wear his girdle, his staff, his skin, and his sacrificial string.
9. He shall go begging at the houses of virtuous persons, excepting those of his Guru's (and of his own) relatives.
10. He may eat (every morning and evening) some of the food collected by begging, after having received permission to do so from his Guru.
11. He must avoid *Srâddhas*, factitious salt, food turned sour¹, stale food, dancing, singing, women, honey, meat, ointments, remnants of the food (of other persons than his teacher), the killing of living beings, and rude speeches.
12. He must occupy a low couch.
13. He must rise before his Guru and go to rest after him.
14. He must salute his Guru, after having performed his morning devotion.
15. Let him embrace his feet with crossed hands,

is meant, that he shall swim motionless like a stick (see *Âpast.* I, 1, 2, 30, with Dr. Bühler's note). According to a third explanation, which is mentioned both by Haradatta and by Devapâla in his Commentary on the *Kâthaka Grîhya-sûtra*, the sense would be, that he is not allowed, while bathing, to rub his skin, in order to clean himself, with bathing powder and the like.

11. ¹Nand. interprets *sukta*, 'food turned sour,' by 'rude speeches,' because if taken in its other meaning, it would be included in the next term, *paryushita*, 'stale food.' However, if Nand.'s interpretation were followed, it would coincide with the last term of this enumeration, *asîla*, 'rude speeches;' and its position between two articles of food renders the above interpretation more plausible.

16. The right foot with his right hand, and the left foot with his left.

17. After the salutation (*abhivâdaye*, 'I salute') he must mention his own name and add the word 'bhos' (Venerable Sir) at the end of his address.

18. He must not speak to his Guru while he is himself standing, or sitting, or lying, or eating, or averting his face.

19. And let him speak, if his teacher sits, standing up; if he walks, advancing towards him; if he is coming near, meeting him; if he runs, running after him;

20. If his face is averted, turning round so as to face him;

21. If he is at some distance, approaching him;

22. If he is in a reclining position, bending to him;

23. Let him not sit in a careless attitude (such as e. g. having a cloth tied round his legs and knees, while sitting on his hams) before the eyes of his teacher.

24. Neither must he pronounce his mere name (without adding to it the word *Sri* or a similar term at the beginning).

25. He must not mimic his gait, his manner, his speech, and so on.

26. Where his Guru is censured or foully belied, there let him not stay.

27. Nor must he sit on the same seat with him,

28. Unless it be on a rock¹, on a wooden bench, in a boat, or in a carriage.

28. ¹ Thus according to *Kullûka* (on *M.* II, 204). *Nand.* takes the term *silaphalaka* as a compound denoting 'a stone seat.'

29. If his teacher's teacher is near, let him behave towards him as if he were his own teacher.

30. He must not salute his own Gurus without his teacher's leave.

31. Let him behave towards the son of his teacher, who teaches him the Veda, as towards his teacher, even though he be younger or of an equal age with himself;

32. But he must not wash his feet,

33. Nor eat the leavings of his food.

34. Thus let him acquire by heart one Veda, or two Vedas, or (all) the Vedas.

35. Thereupon, the Vedāṅgas (that treating of phonetics and the rest)¹.

36. He who, not having studied the Veda, applies himself to another study, will degrade himself, and his progeny with him, to the state of a Sūdra.

37. From the mother is the first birth; the second, from the girding with the sacrificial string.

38. In the latter, the Sāvitrī hymn¹ is his mother, and the teacher his father.

39. It is this which entitles members of the three higher castes to the designation of 'the twice-born.'

40. Previous to his being girded with the sacrificial string, a member of these castes is similar to a Sūdra (and not allowed to study the Veda).

30. Nand. here interprets Guru by 'a paternal uncle and the rest.'

31. This rule refers to a son of his spiritual teacher, who teaches him one or two chapters of the Veda, while the teacher himself is gone out for bathing or some such reason. Vā, 'or,' is added in order to include a son of the teacher, who is himself a pupil, as Manu (II, 208) says. (Nand.)

35. ¹ See Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 108 seq.

38. ¹ Rig-veda III, 62, 10.

41. A student shall shave all his hair, or wear it tied in one lock.

42. After having mastered the Veda, let him take leave of his teacher and bathe, after having presented him with a gift.

43. Or let him spend the remainder of his life at his teacher's house.

44. If, while he is living there, his teacher should die, let him behave to his teacher's son as towards his teacher himself;

45. Or¹ towards one of his wives, who is equal to him in caste.

46. On failure of such, let him pay homage to the fire, and live as a perpetual student.

47. A Brâhmana who passes thus without tiring (of the discharge of his duties) the time of his studentship will attain to the most exalted heavenly abode (that of Brahman) after his death, and will not be born again in this world.

48. A voluntary effusion of the semen by a twice-born youth (in sexual intercourse with a woman), during the period of his studentship, has been pronounced a transgression of the rule prescribed for students by expounders of the Vedas well acquainted with the system of duties.

49. Having loaded himself with that crime, he must go begging to seven houses, clothed only with the skin of an ass, and proclaiming his deed.

42. After the solemn bath (see Âsv. III, 8, 9; Gobh. III, 4; Pâr. II, 6; Sâṅkh. III, 1), which terminates the period of studentship, the student, who is henceforth called Snâtaka, 'one who has bathed,' is allowed to return home.

45. ¹ According to Nand., the particle vâ, 'or,' is used in order to include another alternative, that of living with an old fellow-student, as directed by Gautama, III, 8.

50. Eating once a day only a meal consisting of the alms obtained at those (houses), and bathing at the three Savanas (dawn, noon, and evening), he will be absolved from guilt at the end of the year.

51. After an involuntary effusion of the semen during sleep, a twice-born student must bathe (on the next morning), worship the sun (by offerings of perfumes and the like), and mutter three times the Mantra, 'Again shall my strength return to me¹.'

52. He who for seven days omits to collect alms and to kindle the sacred fire, must perform the penance of an *Avakirnin* (breaker of his vow), provided that he has not been prevented from the discharge of his duties by an illness.

53. If the sun should rise or set while a student is purposely indulging in sleep, ignoring (the precepts of law), he must fast for a day, muttering (the *Gâyatri* one thousand and eight times).

XXIX.

1. He who having initiated a youth and instructed him in the *Vratas*¹, teaches him (one branch of) the *Veda* (together with its *Âṅgas*, such as that relating to phonetics, and the rest) is called *Âkârya* (teacher).

51. ¹ *Taitt. Âraṇy.* I, 30.

XXIX. 1. *Âpast.* I, 1, 1, 13; *Gaut.* I, 9. — 1-3. *M.* II, 140-143; *Y.* I, 34, 35. — 7-10. *M.* II, 111, 112, 114, 115. — 9, 10. See *Bühler*, *Introd. to Digest*, p. xxix.

1. The *Vratas* of a student are certain observances to be kept by him before he is admitted to the regular course of study of the *Veda*, and again before he is allowed to proceed to the study of the *Mahânâmni* verses and to the other higher stages of Vedic learning. See, particularly, *Sāṅkh.* II, 11, 12, with Dr. Oldenberg's note (*Ind. Stud.* XV, 139).

2. He who teaches him (after he has been initiated by another) either (an entire branch of the Veda) in consideration of a fee, or part of a Veda (without taking a fee), is called *Upâdhyâya* (sub-teacher).

3. He who performs sacrifices (whether based upon *Sruti* or upon *Smṛiti*) is called *Ritviḡ* (officiating priest).

4. He must not engage a priest for the performance of sacrifices without having ascertained (his descent, character, and conduct).

5. Neither must he admit to his teaching (one whom he does not know).

6. And he must not initiate such a one.

7. If one answers improperly, or the other asks improperly¹, that one (or both) will perish or incur hatred.

8. If by instructing a pupil neither religious merit nor wealth are acquired, and if no sufficient attention is to be obtained from him (for his teacher's words), in such soil divine knowledge must not be sown : it would perish like fine seed in barren soil.

9. The deity of sacred knowledge approached a *Brâhmaṇa* (and said to him), 'Preserve me, I am thy treasure, reveal me not to a scorner, nor to a wicked man, nor to one of uncontrolled passions : thus I shall be strong.

10. 'Reveal me to him, as to a keeper of thy gem, O *Brâhmaṇa*, whom thou shalt know to be pure, attentive, possessed of a good memory, and chaste, who will not grieve thee, nor revile thee.'

7. ¹A proper question is, e.g. if the pupil modestly says, 'I don't know about this, therefore I want to be instructed.' An improper question is, e.g. if he says, 'Why do you pronounce this thus wrongly?' An improper answer is an answer to an improper question. (Nand.)

XXX.

1. After having performed the Upâkarman ceremony on the full moon of the month *Srâvana*, or of the month *Bhâdra*, the student must (pass over the two next days without studying, and then) study for four months and a half.

2. After that, the teacher must perform out of town the ceremony of *Utsarga* for those students (that have acted up to this injunction); but not for those who have failed to perform the ceremony of *Upâkarman*.

3. During the period (subsequent upon the ceremony of *Utsarga* and) intermediate between it and the ceremony of *Upâkarman*, the student must read the *Vedângas*.

4. He must interrupt his study for a day and a night on the fourteenth and eighth days of a month¹.

5. (He must interrupt his study for the next day

XXX. 1-33. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X, 130-134; *Nakshatras* II, 322, 338-339; *M.* IV, 95-123; II, 71, 74; *Y.* I, 142-151; *Âpast.* I, 3, 9-11; *Gaut.* XVI; I, 51, 53. — 34-38. *Âsv.* III, 3, 3; *M.* II, 107; *Y.* I, 41-46. — 41, 42. *M.* II, 116. — 43-47. *M.* II, 117, 146-148, 144.

1-3. The annual course of Vedic studies opens with a ceremony called *Upâkarman*, and closes with a ceremony called *Utsarga*. The latter, according to the rule laid down in *Sûtra* 1, would fall upon the first day of the moon's increase, either in *Pausha* or in *Mâgha*. *Nand.* states that those students who have not performed the *Upâkarman* ceremony in due time must perform a penance before they can be admitted to the *Utsarga*; nor must those be admitted to it who have failed to go on to the study of another branch of the *Veda* at the ordinary time, after having absolved one.

4. ¹ *Nand.*, with reference to a passage of *Hârîta*, considers the use of the plural and of the particle *kā* to imply that the study must also be interrupted on the first and fifteenth days.

5. ¹ This refers to the second days of the months *Phâlguna*, *Âshâdha*, and *Kârtika*. (*Nand.*)

and night) after a season of the year has begun¹,
(and for three nights) after an eclipse of the moon.

6. (He must not study for a day and a night)
when Indra's flag is hoisted or taken down.

7. (He must not study) when a strong wind is
going.

8. (He must not study for three days) when rain,
lightning, and thunder happen out of season¹.

9. (He must not study till the same hour next
day) in the case of an earthquake, of the fall of a
meteor, and when the horizon is preternaturally red,
as if on fire.

10. (He must not study) in a village in which a
corpse lies;

11. Nor during a battle;

12. Nor while dogs are barking, jackals yelling,
or asses braying;

13. Nor while the sound of a musical instrument
is being heard;

14. Nor while Sûdras or outcasts are near;

15. Nor in the vicinity of a temple, of a burial-
ground, of a place where four ways meet, or of a
high road;

16. Nor while immersed in water;

17. Nor with his foot placed upon a bench;

18. Nor while riding upon an elephant, a horse,
or a camel, (or in a carriage drawn by any of those
animals), or being borne in a boat, or in a carriage
drawn by oxen;

19. Nor after having vomited;

8. ¹ 'I. e. not during the rains.' (Nand.)

12. Nand. considers the term *śva*, 'dog,' to include all the other
animals mentioned by Âpastamba, I, 3, 10, 17.

19-21. After having vomited or been purged, he shall interrupt

20. Nor after having been purged ;

21. Nor during an indigestion.

22. When a five-toed animal has passed between the teacher and the pupil (the latter must interrupt his study for a day and a night).

23. When a king or a learned Brâhmaṇa (who has mastered one Veda), or a cow, or a Brâhmaṇa (in general) has met with an accident (he must not study).

24. After the Upâkarman (he must not study for three days).

25. And after the Utsarga (he must interrupt his study for as many days).

26. And (he must avoid to study) the hymns of the *Rig-veda*, or those of the *Yagur-veda*, while the *Sâman* melodies are being chanted.

27. Let him not lie down to sleep again when he has begun to study in the second half of the night.

28. Let him avoid studying at times when there ought to be an intermission of study, even though a question has been put to him (by his teacher) ;

his study for a day and a night ; when suffering from indigestion, till he has digested his food. (Nand.)

22. According to Nand., the interruption of study is to last for two days, when a crow, or an owl, or a wild cock, or a mouse, or a frog, and the like animals have passed ; and for three days, when a dog, or an ichneumon, or a snake, or a frog (sic), or a cat has passed. He quotes Gaut. I, 59 in support of his interpretation. I have translated according to M. IV, 126 ; Y. I, 147.

23. In these cases the study shall not be taken up again till the accident has been appeased by propitiatory rites. If any of the persons in question has died, the interruption is to last for a day and a night, in case they were persons of little merit ; but in case they should have been very virtuous, it is to last for three days. (Nand.)

28. Every lesson consists of questions put by the teacher and the pupil's answers to them.

29. Since to study on forbidden days neither benefits him in this nor in the other world.

30. To study on such days destroys the life of both teacher and pupil.

31. Therefore should a teacher, who wishes to obtain the world of Brahman, avoid improper days, and sow (on proper days) the seed of sacred knowledge on soil consisting of virtuous pupils.

32. At the beginning and at the end of the lecture let the pupil embrace his teacher's feet ;

33. And let him pronounce the sacred syllable Om.

34. Now he who studies the hymns of the *Rig-veda* (regularly), feeds the manes with clarified butter.

35. He who studies the *Yagus* texts, (feeds them) with honey.

36. He who studies the *Sâman* melodies, (feeds them) with milk.

37. He who studies the *Atharva-veda*, (feeds them) with meat.

38. He who studies the *Purâṇas*, *Itihâsas*, *Vedâṅgas*, and the Institutes of Sacred Law, feeds them with rice.

39. He who having collected sacred knowledge, gains his substance by it in this world, will derive no benefit from it in the world to come.

33. Nand., quoting a passage of Yama, states the particle *ka* to imply that the pupil must touch the ground, after having pronounced the syllable, Om.

38. Nand. considers the use of a *Dvandva* compound to imply that logic (*Nyâya*) and the *Mīmāṃsâ* system of philosophy are also intended in this *Sûtra*. Regarding the meaning of the terms *Purâṇa* and *Itihâsa*, see Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 40 seq.

39. This rule cannot refer to teaching for a reward, because

40. Neither will he (derive such benefit from it), who uses his knowledge in order to destroy the reputation of others (by defeating them in argument).

41. Let no one acquire sacred knowledge, without his teacher's permission, from another who is studying divine science.

42. Acquiring it in that way constitutes theft of the Veda, and will bring him into hell.

43. Let (a student) never grieve that man from whom he has obtained worldly knowledge (relating to poetry, rhetoric, and the like subjects), sacred knowledge (relating to the Vedas and Vedāṅgas), or knowledge of the Supreme Spirit.

44. Of the natural progenitor and the teacher who imparts the Veda to him, the giver of the Veda is the more venerable father; for it is the new existence acquired by his initiation in the Veda, which will last him both in this life and the next.

45. Let him consider as a merely human existence that which he owes to his father and mother uniting from carnal desire and to his being born from his mother's womb.

46. That existence which his teacher, who knows all the Vedas, effects for him through the prescribed rites of initiation with (his divine mother) the Gâyatrī, is a true existence; that existence is exempt from age and death.

47. He who fills his ears with holy truths, who

that is a minor offence (upapâtaka; see below, XXXVII, 20); nor can it refer to teaching in general, because it is lawful to gain one's substance by it; but it refers to those who recite the Veda in behalf of another, and live by doing so. (Nand.)

41. See XXVIII, 6, and the preceding note.

frees him from all pain (in this world and the next), and confers immortality (or final liberation) upon him, that man let the student consider as his (true) father and mother: gratefully acknowledging the debt he owes him, he must never grieve him.

XXXI.

1. A man has three Atigurus (or specially venerable superiors):

2. His father, his mother, and his spiritual teacher.

3. To them he must always pay obedience.

4. What they say, that he must do.

5. And he must do what is agreeable and serviceable to them.

6. Let him never do anything without their leave.

7. Those three are equal to the three Vedas (*Rig-veda*, *Sâma-veda*, and *Yagur-veda*), they are equal to the three gods (Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva), they are equal to the three worlds (of men, of gods, and of Brahman), they are equal to the three fires.

8. The father is the *Gârhapatya* (or household) fire, the mother is the *Dakshina* (or ceremonial) fire, and the spiritual teacher is the *Âhavanîya* (or sacrificial) fire.

9. He pays regard to all his duties, who pays regard to those three; he who shows no regard to

XXXI. 1-6. M. II, 225, 226, 228, 229; Âpast. I, 4, 14, 6; Gaut. II, 50, 51. — 7. M. II, 230. — 8. M. II, 231; Âpast. I, 1, 3, 44. — 9. M. II, 234. — 10. M. II, 233.

9. 'The father is said to be of the same nature as the *Gârhapatya* fire, because the *Âhavanîya* is produced from it; the mother is said to be of the same nature as the *Dakshina* fire, because it

them, derives no benefit from any religious observance.

10. By honouring his mother, he gains the present world; by honouring his father, the world of gods; and by paying strict obedience to his spiritual teacher, the world of Brahman.

XXXII.

1. A king, a priest, a learned Brâhmaṇa, one who stops wicked proceedings, an Upâdhyâya, a paternal uncle, a maternal grandfather, a maternal uncle, a father-in-law, an eldest brother, and¹ the parents-in-law of a son or a daughter are equal to a teacher;

2. And so are their wives, who are equal in caste to them.

3. And their mother's sister, their father's sister, and¹ their eldest sister.

4. A father-in-law, a paternal uncle, a maternal

has a separate origin, or because she has the sacrificial implements, such as the pestle and mortar and the like, in her charge; and the spiritual teacher is said to be of the same nature as the Âhavanîya fire, because all oblations fall to his share, as the *Smṛiti* says (Y. I, 27), "Let him (the pupil) deliver to him (the teacher) the collected alms." (Nand.)

XXXII. 1. M. II, 206. — 2. M. II, 210. — 3. M. II, 131. — 4. M. II, 130; Âpast. I, 4, 14, 11. — 5, 6. M. II, 210, 211; Âpast. I, 2, 7, 27; Gaut. II, 31, 32. — 7. M. II, 129. — 8, 9. M. XI, 205; Y. III, 292. — 10. Âpast. I, 1, 2, 20. — 11, 12. M. II, 201; Âpast. I, 2, 8, 15. — 13. M. II, 212; Gaut. II, 34. — 14. M. II, 216. — 15. M. II, 217; Gaut. II, 33; VI, 2. — 16. M. II, 136; Gaut. VI, 20. — 17. M. II, 135; Âpast. I, 4, 14, 25. — 18. M. II, 155.

1. ¹ The particle *ka* is used here, according to Nand., in order to include a paternal grandfather and other persons mentioned in a *Smṛiti*.

3. ¹ The particle *ka* here refers, according to Nand., to the paternal grandmother and others mentioned in a *Smṛiti*.

uncle, and a priest he must honour by rising to meet and saluting them, even though they be younger than himself.

5. The wives of Gurus (superiors), who are of a lower class than their husbands (such as Kshatriya or Vaisya or Mûrdhâvasikta wives), shall be honoured by (rising to meet and) saluting them from far; but he must not embrace their feet.

6. He should avoid to rub and anoint the limbs of Guru's wives, or to anoint their eyes, or to arrange their hair, or to wash their feet, or to do other such services for them.

7. To the wife of another, even though he does not know her, he must either say 'sister' (if she is of equal age with himself), or 'daughter' (if she is younger than himself), or 'mother' (if she is older than himself).

8. Let him not say 'thou' to his Gurus (superiors).

9. If he has offended one of them (by saying 'thou' to him, or in some other manner), he must keep a fast and not eat again till the end of the day, after having obtained his forgiveness.

10. He must avoid to quarrel with his spiritual teacher and to argue with him (from emulation).

11. And he must not censure him;

5. Sûdra wives are exempt from this rule; he should rise to meet, but not salute them. (Nand.)

8. 'Other insulting language, as e.g. if he says hush or pish to them, is also included in this term. The use of the particle *kā* indicates that other persons entitled to respect are also intended in this Sûtra. (Nand.)

10. 'The particle *kā* is used in order to include Brâhmanas in general in this prohibition.' (Nand.)

11. 'The use of the particle *kā* shows that defamatory speeches are also intended.' (Nand.)

12. Nor act so as to displease him.
13. (A pupil) must not embrace the feet of a Guru's young wife, if he has completed his twentieth year, or can distinguish virtue from vice.
14. But a young student may at pleasure prostrate himself before a young wife of his Guru, (stretching out both hands) as ordained (see XXVIII, 15), saying, 'I, N. N. (ho! salute thee).'
15. On returning from a journey he shall (once) embrace the feet of the wives of his Gurus (superiors), and daily salute them, remembering the practice of the virtuous.
16. Wealth, kindred, age, the performance of religious observances, and, fifthly, sacred knowledge are titles to respect; each subsequent one is superior to the one preceding in order.
17. A Brâhmana, though only ten years old¹, and a member of the kingly caste, though a hundred years old, must be considered as father and son; and of these two, the Brâhmana is the father.
18. The seniority of Brâhmanas is founded upon sacred knowledge; of Kshatriyas, upon valour in arms; of Vaisyas, upon grain and (other) wealth; of Sûdras, upon (priority of) birth.

XXXIII.

1. Now man has three most dangerous enemies, called carnal desire, wrath, and greed.

17. ¹I.e. a Brâhmana for whom the ceremony of initiation has been performed. (Nand.) The next proverb (18) is also found in the Nîtiśāstra 155, in the Mahâbhârata II, 1385 seq., &c., and in other works. See Böhlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 6163, 2456, &c.

XXXIII. 1. Âpast. I, 8, 23, 4, 5.

1. The mention which has been made in the preceding section, that on Âkâra or rules of conduct, of the breach of the vow of

2. They are specially dangerous to the order of householders, because they have (houses, wives, and other) property.

3. Man, being overcome by those (three enemies), commits crimes in the highest degree, high crimes, minor crimes, and crimes in the fourth degree ;

4. Also crimes effecting loss of caste, crimes degrading to a mixed caste, and crimes rendering the perpetrator unworthy (to receive alms and the like) ;

5. And crimes causing defilement, and miscellaneous offences.

6. This is the threefold path to hell, destructive of self : carnal desire, wrath, and greed : therefore must a man shun those three vices.

XXXIV.

1. Sexual connection with one's mother, or daughter, or daughter-in-law are crimes in the highest degree.

2. Such criminals in the highest degree should proceed into the flames ; for there is not any other way to atone for their crime.

XXXV.

1. Killing a Brâhmaṇa, drinking spirituous liquor,

chastity and the penance for it (see XXVIII, 48, 49), causes him (Vishnu) to discuss the law of penance (Prâyaścitta). This is done in the following section, to which Chapter XXXIII serves as Introduction. (Nand.) The section on Prâyaścitta extends as far as Chapter LVII.

6. This proverb is also found in the Bhagavad-gîtâ, XVI, 21, and in the Mahâbhârata, V, 1036. See Böhlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 2645.

XXXV. 1. M. IX, 235 ; XI, 55 ; Y. III, 227 ; Âpast. I, 7, 21, 8 ; Gaut. XXI, 1. — 2, 3. M. XI, 181 ; Y. III, 227, 261 ; Gaut. XXI, 3. — 4. M. XI, 181.

stealing the gold of a Brâhmaṇa, and sexual connection with a Guru's wife are high crimes.

2. And social intercourse with such (criminals is also a high crime).

3. He who associates with an outcast is outcasted himself after a year;

4. And so is he who rides in the same carriage with him, or who eats in his company, or who sits on the same bench, or who lies on the same couch with him.

5. Sexual intercourse, intercourse in sacrificing, and intercourse by the mouth (with an outcast) entails immediate loss of caste.

6. Such mortal sinners are purified by a horse-sacrifice and by visiting all Tirthas (places of pilgrimage) on earth.

XXXVI.

1. Killing a Kshatriya or Vaisya engaged in a sacrifice, or a woman in her courses, or a pregnant woman, or a woman (of the Brâhmaṇa caste) who has bathed after temporary uncleanness¹, or an embryo

5. 'Intercourse of marriage' means sexual connection with an outcasted man or woman, or giving a damsel in marriage to an outcasted man. 'Intercourse in sacrificing' means sacrificing for, or with, an outcast. 'Mouthly intercourse' means teaching, or being taught by, or studying together with, an outcast. The present rule holds good in cases of voluntary intercourse only; if the intercourse was involuntary, the loss of caste does not follow till after a year. Others assert that the immediate loss of caste is entailed by particularly intimate intercourse only. (Nand.)

XXXVI. 1. M. XI, 88; Y. III, 251; Âpast. I, 9, 24, 6, 8, 9. — 2-7. M. XI, 57-59, 171, 172; Y. III, 228-233. — 2. Gaut. XXI, 10. — 5. Gaut. XXI, 1. — 7. Âpast. I, 7, 21, 9.

1. ¹The term âtreya (atrigotrâ) has been translated here and in

of unknown sex, or one come for protection, are crimes equal to the crime of killing a Brâhmana.

2. Giving false evidence and killing a friend : these two crimes are equal to the drinking of spirituous liquor.

3. Appropriating to one's self land belonging to a Brâhmana or a deposit (belonging to a Brâhmana and not consisting of gold) are crimes equal to a theft of gold (belonging to a Brâhmana).

4. Sexual connection with the wife of a paternal uncle, of a maternal grandfather, of a maternal uncle, of a father-in-law, or of the king, are crimes equal to sexual connection with a Guru's wife ;

5. And so is sexual intercourse with the father's or mother's sister and with one's own sister ;

6. And sexual connection with the wife of a learned Brâhmana, or a priest, or an Upâdhyâya, or a friend ;

7. And with a sister's female friend (or with one's own female friend), with a woman of one's own race, with a woman belonging to the Brâhmana caste, with a (Brâhmana) maiden (who is not yet betrothed to a man), with a low-caste woman, with a woman in her courses, with a woman come for protection,

other places in accordance with that interpretation which is sanctioned by the majority among the commentators of law works. Nand., on the other hand, gives the preference to the opinion of those who render it by 'a woman descended from or married to a man of the race of Atri.'

2. 'The term *etau*, "these," is used in order to include the forgetting of Veda texts and other crimes, which are mentioned as equal to drinking spirituous liquor by Manu (XI, 57) and Yâgñavalkya (III, 229).' (Nand.)

5. 'The particle *ka* in this Sûtra refers to little girls, as ordained by Manu, XI, 59.' (Nand.)

with a female ascetic, and with a woman entrusted to one's own care.

8. Such minor offenders become pure, like mortal sinners, by a horse-sacrifice and by visiting Tirthas.

XXXVII.

1. Setting one's self up by false statements (as by saying, 'I have done this,' or the like).

2. Making statements, which will reach the ears of the king, regarding a (minor) offence committed by some one;

3. Unjustly upbraiding a Guru (as by saying, 'You have neglected such a household duty');

4. Reviling the Veda;

5. Forgetting the Veda texts, which one has studied;

6. (Abandoning) one's holy fire, or one's father, mother, son, or wife;

XXXVII. 1-34. M. XI, 56, 57, 60-67; Y. III, 228-230, 234-242; Âpast. I, 7, 21, 12-17; Gaut. XXI, 11. — 35. M. XI, 118; Y. III, 265.

1. 'But if a man who does not know all the four Vedas says, in order to procure a valuable present or some other advantage, 'I know the four Vedas,' or if he says of another, his superior in caste or sacred knowledge, in order to prevent his receiving a valuable present, 'This man is no Brâhmana,' or 'He does not know anything,' in all such cases his crime is equal to the killing of a Brâhmana.' (Nand.)

2. 'But giving information of a heavy crime constitutes a crime equal to the killing of a Brâhmana.' (Nand.)

3. Guru means 'father' here. Heavy reproaches, as e.g. if a son says to his father, 'You have made unequal shares in dividing the patrimony,' are equal to killing a Brâhmana. (Nand.)

4. 'But atheistical detracting from the authority of the Veda constitutes a crime equal to the drinking of spirituous liquor.' (Nand.)

6. 'The use of the particle *kā* indicates that distant relatives are also intended here, as Yâgñavalkya, III, 239, states.' (Nand.)

7. Eating the food of those whose food may not be eaten, or forbidden food ;

8. Appropriating to one's self (grain, copper, or other) goods of another man (but not his gold) ;

9. Sexual intercourse with another man's wife ;

10. Sacrificing for persons for whom it is forbidden to sacrifice (such as *Sûdras*, persons for whom the initiation has not been performed, and the like) ;

11. To live by a forbidden occupation (as, if a *Brâhmaṇa* lives by the occupation of a *Kshatriya*, or of a *Vaisya*).

12. Receiving unlawful presents ;

13. Killing a *Kshatriya*, or a *Vaisya*, or a *Sûdra*, or a cow ;

14. Selling articles that ought not to be sold (such as salt, lac, or others) ;

15. For an elder brother to suffer his younger brother to marry before him ;

16. For a younger brother to marry, though his elder brother is not yet married ;

17. To give a girl in marriage to either of those two (categories of offenders) ;

18. Or to perform the nuptial ceremony for them ;

19. To allow the proper time for the ceremony of initiation to pass without being initiated ;

10. ' But sacrificing for an outcast is a high crime.' (Nand.)

12. This rule refers to receiving presents from an outcast or other person, whose gifts must not be accepted, to receiving improper gifts, such as a ram, or a black antelope, and to receiving presents at an improper place, such as *Kurukshetra*, or at an improper time, such as during an eclipse of the sun. The particle *ka* further refers to giving instruction to those who are not entitled to receive it, as *Yama* mentions. (Nand.)

20. To teach the Veda for a reward (unless it be in an emergency);
21. To be taught by one who teaches the Veda for a reward (unless it be in an emergency);
22. To be employed (by the king's order) in the working of mines of any sort (whether gold mines, or silver mines, or others, or manufactories);
23. To make large (sharp) instruments (such as instruments for piercing an elephant's ear);
24. Cutting trees, shrubs, creepers, long climbing plants (such as vines), or herbs;
25. Living by (prostituting) one's own wife;
26. Trying to overcome another by incantations (tending to kill him), or by forcible means;
27. Performing the act (of cooking) for one's own sole benefit;
28. Not to have kindled one's own sacred fire;
29. Omitting to pay one's debts to the gods, *Rishis*, and manes (or sacrificing, study of the Veda, and propagation of one's race);
30. Studying irreligious books;
31. Atheism;
32. Subsisting by a reprehensible art (such as dancing);
33. Intercourse with women who drink spirits;
34. Thus have the crimes in the fourth degree been enumerated.

20. It is true that the above definition of an *Upādhyāya* (XXIX, 2) implies that teaching the Veda for a fee is no reprehensible act; but that permission has reference to cases of distress only. (Nand.)

26. Nand. asserts that the particle *ka* is used here in order to include the performance of an *Ahina* sacrifice and of the other sinful acts mentioned by Manu, XI, 198.

31. Atheism (*nāstikatā*) consists in denying the existence of another life. (Nand.)

35. Such criminals in the fourth degree shall perform the *Kândrâyana* or *Parâka* penances, or shall sacrifice a cow (as the case may require).

XXXVIII.

1. Causing (bodily) pain to a *Brâhmana* ;
2. Smelling at things which ought not to be smelt (such as excrements), or at spirituous liquor ;
3. Dishonest dealing ;
4. Sexual connection with cattle ;
5. And (sexual connection) with a man (or unnatural intercourse with a woman) :
6. Such are the crimes effecting loss of caste.
7. He who has knowingly committed one of the acts effecting loss of caste shall perform the *Sântapana*¹ penance ; he who has done so unawares shall perform the *Prâgâpatya*¹ penance.

XXXIX.

1. Killing domestic or wild animals are crimes degrading to a mixed caste.
2. He who has committed a crime degrading to a mixed caste shall eat barley-gruel for a month (if he has committed it knowingly), or perform the penance *Krikkkhrâtikrikkhra* (if he has committed it unawares).

35. Regarding the penances called *Kândrâyana* and *Parâka*, see below, XLVII and XLVI, 18.

XXXVIII. 1-6. M. XI, 68.

7. ¹ See XLVI, 19, 10.

XXXIX. 1. M. XI, 69.

2. Regarding the penance *Krikkkhrâtikrikkhra*, see XLVI, 13.

¹ The use of the causative form *kârayet* indicates that he may

XL.

1. Receiving anything from a (*Mlekkha* or other) despicable person (even though not as a present, but in the form of interest, &c.), traffic (even with articles that are not forbidden to sell), subsisting by money-lending (even without exceeding the legitimate rate of interest), telling lies (even though not in giving evidence), and serving a *Sûdra* (even though without doing servile acts for him) are crimes rendering unworthy to receive alms.

2. He who has committed a crime rendering unworthy to receive alms, is purified by the penance *Taptakrikkhra* (in case he committed it knowingly), or by the penance *Sitakrikkhra* (in case he did it unawares), or by the penance *Mahâsântapana* (in case it was committed) repeatedly.

XLI.

1. Killing birds, amphibious animals, and aquatic animals (such as fish);

2. And worms or insects;

3. Eating (nutmegs or other) plants similar to intoxicating drinks (in their effect upon the system):

perform the penance mentioned here through a substitute, if unable to perform it himself.' (Nand.)

XL. 1. M. XI, 70.

2. Regarding the penances mentioned here, see XLVI, 11, 12, 20.

XLI. 1-4. M. XI, 71.

3. 'Or the term *madyânugata* means hemp and the like.' (Nand.) *Kullûka* (on M. XI, 71) interprets it by 'what has been brought in the same basket or vessel with spirituous liquor;' *Medâtithi*, quoted by the same, by 'what has been defiled by spirituous liquor.' The rendering given in the text agrees with the first interpretation proposed by Nand.

4. Such are the crimes causing defilement.
5. The penance ordained for crimes causing defilement is the Taptakrikkhra penance (if they were committed unintentionally), or they shall be atoned for by the Krikkhrâtikrikkhra penance (if they were committed intentionally).

XLII.

1. Miscellaneous crimes are those which have not been mentioned before.
2. Having committed one out of the number of miscellaneous crimes, a prudent man should always perform a penance, by the advice of a Brâhmaṇa, after the higher or less degree of his guilt has been ascertained.

XLIII.

1. Now follow the hells. (They are called :)
2. Tâmisra (darkness);
3. Andhatâmisra (complete darkness);
4. Raurava (place of howling);
5. Mahâraurava (place of much howling);
6. Kâlasûtra (thread of time or death);
7. Mahânaraka (great hell);
8. Saṅgîvana (restoring to life);
9. Avîkî (waveless);

XLIII. 1-22. M. IV, 88-90; Y. III, 222-224.—34. M. XII, 76.

4. Nand. derives the term Raurava from 'ruru, a kind of serpent.' But it seems preferable to connect it with the root ru, 'to howl.'

6. This hell is defined by Nand. as a kind of threshing-place, made of copper, burning hot, and measuring ten thousand Yoganas.

8. In this hell those who have perished in consequence of the tortures which they had to undergo are restored to life and tortured anew. (Nand.)

10. Tâpana (burning);
11. Sampratâpana (parching);
12. Samghâtaka (pressing together);
13. Kâkola (ravens);
14. Kuḍmala (bud);
15. Pûtimrîtika (stinking clay);
16. Lohasaṅku (iron-spiked);
17. Rikîsha (frying-pan);
18. Vishamapanthâna (rough or uneven roads);
19. Kanṭakasâlmali (thorny Sâlmali trees);
20. Dipanadi (flame river);
21. Asipattravana (sword-leaved forest);
22. Lohakâraka (iron fetters);
23. In each of those (hells) successively criminals in the highest degree, who have not performed the penance (prescribed for their crime), are tormented for the time of a Kalpa.
24. Mortal sinners (who have not done penance) for a Manvantara;
25. Minor offenders, for the same period;

12. In this hell a large number of individuals is packed up closely in a very narrow space. (Nand.)

13. In this hell the sinners are devoured by ravens. (Nand.)

14. In this hell the sinners are put in sacks, which are tied up at the end. (Nand.)

17. In this hell the sinners are roasted. (Nand.)

20. This river, which contains hot water, is called Vaitarani, as it is said, 'The river called Vaitarani has a stinking odour, is full of blood, and is moving on swiftly a torrent of hot water, carrying bones and hair in its course.' (Nand.) A detailed description of the river Vaitarani may be found in the *Gârûḍa-purâṇa*, p. 8 (Bombay ed., 1863).

22. 'The particle iti is added here, in order to include in the above enumeration the hells called Savisha, Mahâpatha, Kumbhîpâka, Taptabâluka, and the rest.' (Nand.) See Y. III, 223, 224; M. XII, 76.

26. Criminals in the fourth degree, for the period of a *Katuryuga* ;

27. Those who have committed a crime effecting loss of caste, for a thousand years ;

28. Those who have committed a crime degrading to a mixed caste, for the same period ;

29. Those likewise who have committed a crime rendering unworthy to receive alms and the like.

30. And those who have committed a crime causing defilement ;

31. Those who have committed one of the miscellaneous crimes, for a great number of years ;

32. All sinners who have committed (one of those nine kinds of) crimes have to suffer terrible pangs, when they have departed life and entered upon the path of Yama.

33. Being dragged hither and thither (upon even and uneven roads), by the dire ministers of Yama, they are conducted (to hell by them), with menacing gestures.

34. (There) they are devoured by dogs and jackals, by hawks, crows, herons, cranes, and other (carnivorous animals), by (bears and other) animals having fire in their mouth, and by serpents and scorpions.

35. They are scorched by blazing fire, pierced by thorns, divided into parts by saws, and tormented by thirst.

36. They are agitated by hunger and by fearful troops of tigers, and faint away at every step on account of the foul stench proceeding from pus and from blood.

31. 'A great number of years' means three hundred years. (Nand.)

37. Casting wistful glances upon the food and drink of others, they receive blows from ministers (of Yama), whose faces are similar to those of crows, herons, cranes, and other horrid animals.

38. Here they are boiled in oil, and there pounded with pestles, or ground in iron or stone vessels.

39. In one place they (are made to) eat what has been vomited, or pus, or blood, or excrements, and in another place, meat of a hideous kind, smelling like pus.

40. Here, enveloped in terrible darkness, they are devoured by worms and (jackals and other) horrible animals having flames in their mouth.

41. There again they are tormented by frost, or have to step through unclean things (such as excrements), or the departed spirits eat one another, driven to distraction (by hunger).

42. In one place they are beaten with their deeds in a former existence, in another they are suspended (by trees and the like, with a rope), or shot with heaps of arrows, or cut in pieces.

43. In another place again, walking upon thorns, and their bodies being encircled by snakes, they are tormented with (grinding) machines, and dragged on by their knees.

44. Their backs, heads, and shoulders are fractured, the necks of these poor beings are not stouter than a needle, and their bodies, of a size fit for a hut only, are unable to bear torments.

45. Having thus been tormented (in the hells) and suffered most acute pain, the sinners have to

43. The *Gârûḍa-purâṇa* (p. 17) also mentions that in one hell the sinners are thrown into machines like the sugar-cane.

endure further pangs in their migration through animal bodies.

XLIV.

1. Now after having suffered the torments inflicted in the hells, the evil-doers pass into animal bodies.

2. Criminals in the highest degree enter the bodies of all plants successively.

3. Mortal sinners enter the bodies of worms or insects.

4. Minor offenders enter the bodies of birds.

5. Criminals in the fourth degree enter the bodies of aquatic animals.

6. Those who have committed a crime effecting loss of caste, enter the bodies of amphibious animals.

7. Those who have committed a crime degrading to a mixed caste, enter the bodies of deer.

8. Those who have committed a crime rendering them unworthy to receive alms, enter the bodies of cattle.

9. Those who have committed a crime causing defilement, enter the bodies of (low-caste) men (such as *Kandâlas*), who may not be touched.

10. Those who have committed one of the miscellaneous crimes, enter the bodies of miscellaneous wild carnivorous animals (such as tigers).

11. One who has eaten the food of one whose food may not be eaten, or forbidden food, becomes a worm or insect.

XLIV. 1-43. M. XII, 54-67; Y. III, 207-215. — 44, 45. M. XII, 68, 69.

11. See LI, 3 seq.

12. A thief (of other property than gold), becomes a falcon.
13. One who has appropriated a broad passage, becomes a (serpent or other) animal living in holes.
14. One who has stolen grain, becomes a rat.
15. One who has stolen white copper, becomes a *Hamsa*.
16. One who has stolen water, becomes a water-fowl.
17. One who has stolen honey, becomes a gad-fly.
18. One who has stolen milk, becomes a crow.
19. One who has stolen juice (of the sugar-cane or other plants), becomes a dog.
20. One who has stolen clarified butter, becomes an ichneumon.
21. One who has stolen meat, becomes a vulture.
22. One who has stolen fat, becomes a cormorant.
23. One who has stolen oil, becomes a cockroach.
24. One who has stolen salt, becomes a cricket.
25. One who has stolen sour milk, becomes a crane.
26. One who has stolen silk, becomes a partridge.
27. One who has stolen linen, becomes a frog.
28. One who has stolen cotton cloth, becomes a curlew.
29. One who has stolen a cow, becomes an iguana.
30. One who has stolen sugar, becomes a *Vālguda*.

30. 'The *Vālguda* is a kind of bat,' (Nand.) The name *Vālguda* is evidently related to *valgulī*, 'a kind of bat,' and identical with *Vāgguda* (M. XII, 64) and *Vāgvada* (Haradatta on Gaut. XVII, 34), which, according to Dr. Bühler's plausible suggestion,

31. One who has stolen perfumes, becomes a musk-rat.

32. One who has stolen vegetables, consisting of leaves, becomes a peacock.

33. One who has stolen prepared grain, becomes a (boar called) *Svâvidh* (or *Sedhâ*).

34. One who has stolen undressed grain, becomes a porcupine.

35. One who has stolen fire, becomes a crane.

36. One who has stolen household utensils, becomes a wasp (usually called *Karata*).

37. One who has stolen dyed cloth, becomes a *Kakor* partridge.

38. One who has stolen an elephant, becomes a tortoise.

39. One who has stolen a horse, becomes a tiger.

40. One who has stolen fruits or blossoms, becomes an ape.

41. One who has stolen a woman, becomes a bear.

42. One who has stolen a vehicle, becomes a camel.

43. One who has stolen cattle, becomes a vulture.

44. He who has taken by force any property belonging to another, or eaten food not first presented to the gods (at the *Vaisvadeva* offering), inevitably enters the body of some beast.

45. Women, who have committed similar thefts, receive the same ignominious punishment: they become females to those male animals.

are names of 'a large herbivorous bat, usually called the flying fox (in *Gûgaratî vâgud* or *vâgul*). See Dr. Bühler's note on *Gaut.* loc. cit.

XLV.

1. Now after having undergone the torments inflicted in the hells, and having passed through the animal bodies, the sinners are born as human beings with (the following) marks (indicating their crime):

2. A criminal in the highest degree shall have leprosy;

3. A killer of a Brāhmaṇa, pulmonary consumption;

4. A drinker of spirits, black teeth;

5. A stealer of gold (belonging to a Brāhmaṇa), deformed nails;

6. A violator of his spiritual teacher's bed, a disease of the skin;

7. A calumniator, a stinking nose;

8. A malignant informer, stinking breath;

9. A stealer of grain, a limb too little;

10. One who steals by mixing (i. e. by taking good grain and replacing the same amount of bad grain in its stead), a limb too much;

11. A stealer of food, dyspepsia;

12. A stealer of words¹, dumbness;

XLV. 2-31. M. XI, 49-52; Y. III, 209-211. — 32, 33. M. XI, 53, 54.

2. According to a text of Sâtātapa, which Nand. quotes in explanation of this Sûtra, connection with the mother is punished with 'falling or incurable epilepsy,' when the organ falls off; connection with a daughter is punished with red epilepsy; connection with a daughter-in-law, with black leprosy; and connection with a sister, with yellow leprosy.

12. ¹I. e. according to Kullûka and Nand., 'one who studies the Veda without permission to do so;' or it may denote, according to Nand., 'a stealer of a book,' or 'one who fails to communicate information which he is able to give.'

13. A stealer of clothes, white leprosy ;
14. A stealer of horses, lameness ;
15. One who pronounces an execration against a god or a Brâhmaṇa, dumbness ;
16. A poisoner, a stammering tongue ;
17. An incendiary, madness ;
18. One disobedient to a Guru (father), the falling sickness ;
19. The killer of a cow, blindness ;
20. The stealer of a lamp, the same ;
21. One who has extinguished a lamp, blindness with one eye ;
22. A seller of tin, chowries, or lead, is born a dyer of cloth ;
23. A seller of (horses or other) animals whose foot is not cloven, is born a hunter ;
24. One who eats the food of a person born from adulterous intercourse ¹, is born as a man who suffers his mouth to be abused ;
25. A thief (of other property than gold), is born a bard ;
26. A usurer becomes epileptic ;
27. One who eats dainties alone, shall have rheumatics ;
28. The breaker of a convention, a bald head ;

19. Nand. quotes a text of Sâtâṭapa, from which he infers the use of the particle *tu* to indicate here, that a killer of his mother shall also be born blind.

21. The particle *ka*, according to Nand., indicates here, that such persons shall also be afflicted with the morbid affection of the eyes called *Timira*, as stated by Sâtâṭapa.

24. ¹Nand. says that *kundâsin* may also mean 'one who eats food to the amount of a *kunda*.' See also Dr. Bühler's note on Gaut. XV, 18.

29. The breaker of a vow of chastity, swelled legs;

30. One who deprives another of his subsistence, shall be poor;

31. One who injures another (without provocation), shall have an incurable illness.

32. Thus, according to their particular acts, are men born, marked by evil signs, sick, blind, hump-backed, halting, one-eyed;

33. Others as dwarfs, or deaf, or dumb, feeble-bodied (eunuchs, whitlows, and others). Therefore must penances be performed by all means.

XLVI.

1. Now follow the penances.

2. Let a man fast for three days;

3. And let him perform each day the three ablutions (at dawn, noon, and sunset);

4. And let him, at every ablution, plunge into the water three times;

5. And let him mutter the *Aghamarshana* three times, after having plunged into the water;

6. During day-time let him be standing;

7. At night let him continue in a sitting position;

8. At the close of the ceremony let him give a milch cow (to a *Brâhmaṇa*).

9. Thus¹ has the penance *Aghamarshana* been described.

XLVI. 10, 11, 18, 19. M. XI, 212, 213, 215, 216. — 10, 11, 13, 18-20, 22, 23. Y. III, 315-323. — 10. Âpast. I, 9, 27, 7. — 10, 11, 13. Gaut. XXIII, 2; XXVI, 1-5, 20. — 24, 25. M. XI, 224, 225.

9. ¹ Nand. thinks that the word *iti*, 'thus,' has a double meaning

10. Let a man for three days eat in the evening only ; for other three days, in the morning only ; for further three days, food (given to him) unsolicited ; (and let him fast entirely for three days) : that is the *Prâgâpatya* (the penance invented by *Pragâ-pati*).

11. Let him drink for three days hot water ; for other three days, hot clarified butter ; and for further three days, hot milk ; and let him fast for three days : that is the *Taptakrikkhra* (hot penance).

12. Taking the same (liquids) cold is called the *Sitakrikkhra* (cold penance).

13. The *Krikkhrâtikrikkhra* (the most difficult penance) consists in subsisting on milk only for twenty-one days.

14. Eating (nothing but) ground barley mixed with water for a whole month is called the *Udaka-krikkhra* (water penance).

15. Eating nothing but lotus-fibres (for a whole month) is called the *Mûlakrikkhra* (root penance).

16. Eating nothing but *Bèl* fruit (for a whole month) is called the *Sriphalakrikkhra* (*Bèl* fruit penance).

17. Or¹ (this penance is performed) by (eating) lotus-seeds.

18. A total fast for twelve days is called *Parâka*.

19. Subsisting for one day on the urine and fæces of a cow, milk, sour milk, butter, and water

here, and refers to another kind of *Aghamarshana* penance at the same time, which is described by *Saṅkha*, and consists simply in fasting for three days and muttering the *Aghamarshana* hymn three times.

17. ¹According to *Nand.*, the particle *vâ*, 'or,' here indicates another alternative, that of performing this penance with *Âmalakas* (*Emblica Officinalis* Gaertn.).

in which Kusa grass has been boiled, and fasting the next day, is called Sântapana (the tormenting penance).

20. Swallowing (the same six things, viz.) cow-urine and the rest, each for one day, is called Mahâ-sântapana (the particularly tormenting penance).

21. Swallowing each for three days is called Atisântapana (the extremely tormenting penance).

22. Swallowing oil-cakes, foam of boiled rice, buttermilk, water, and ground barley (each for one day), with a fasting day between (every two days), is called Tulâpurusha (a man's weight).

23. Drinking water boiled with Kusa grass, leaves of the Palâsa and Udumbara trees, of lotuses, of the Saṅkhapuspi plant, of the banyan tree, and of the Brahmasuvarkalâ plant, each (for one day), is called Parnakrikkhâ (leaves penance).

24. Let a man perform all those penances after having shorn his hair and his beard, and let him bathe at morning, noon, and evening every day, lying on a low couch, and restraining his passions,

25. And let him (while engaged in performing them) avoid to converse with women, Sûdras, or outcasts, and let him constantly, to the best of his ability, mutter purifying Mantras and make oblations in the fire.

XLVII.

1. Now follows the *Kândrâyana* (lunar penance).

2. Let a man eat single mouthfuls (of food) unchanged in size ;

XLVII. 1-10. M. XI, 217-222. — 1-3, 9. Y. III, 324, 325. — 1-4. Gaut. XXVII, 12-15.

2. 'Unchanged in size' means 'of that size precisely which the law prescribes.' Yâgñavalkya (III, 324) states that each daily

3. And let him during the moon's increase add (successively) one mouthful (every day, so as to eat one mouthful on the first day of the moon's increase, two mouthfuls on the second day, and so on; fifteen mouthfuls on the day of full moon), and during the wane of the moon let him take off one mouthful (every day, so as to eat fourteen mouthfuls on the first day of the moon's wane, thirteen mouthfuls on the second, and one mouthful on the fourteenth day of the moon's wane), and on the day of new moon let him fast entirely: thus has the barley-shaped *Kândrâyana* been described.

4. Or the ant-shaped *Kândrâyana* (may be performed).

5. That *Kândrâyana* is called 'ant-shaped' in which the day of new moon is placed in the middle.

6. That one is called 'barley-shaped' in which the day of full moon is placed in the middle.

7. If a man eats for a month eight mouthfuls a day, it is (the penance called) *Yatikândrâyana* (an hermit's *Kândrâyana*).

8. Eating (for a month) four mouthfuls each morning and evening is (the penance called) *Sisukândrâyana* (a child's *Kândrâyana*).

9. Eating anyhow¹ three hundred minus sixty mouthfuls a month is the penance called *Sâmânyakândrâyana* (general *Kândrâyana*).

portion must have the size of a peacock's egg, and Gautama (XXVII, 10) prescribes that the size of a mouthful shall be such as not to cause a distortion of the mouth in swallowing it. (Nand.)

9. ¹ 'Anyhow,' i.e. otherwise than ordained above, as e.g. eating four mouthfuls on one day, and twelve on the next day; or fasting on one day, and eating sixteen mouthfuls on the following day; or fasting for two days, and eating twenty-four mouthfuls on the third

10. After having performed this penance, in a former age, the seven holy *Rishis*, Brahman, and Rudra acquired a splendid abode, O Earth.

XLVIII.

1. Now if a man feels his conscience charged with some guilty act (such as performing a sacrifice for, or accepting a gift from, unworthy persons, or eating excrements) committed by himself (or if his conscience tells him that he has done more evil than good, or if he thinks himself less pure than others), let him boil a handful of barley-gruel for the sake of his own spiritual welfare.

2. Let him not make the (customary) Vaisvadeva offering after that.

3. Neither must he make the Bali offerings.

4. Let him consecrate with Mantras the barley, before it has been put to the fire, while it is being boiled, and after it has been boiled.

5. Let him watch the barley, while it is being boiled (muttering at the same time the following Mantra):

6. 'Soma, who is the highest priest among priests (gods), leader among the wise, *Rishi* among bards, the falcon among rapacious birds, the Svadhiti tree among trees, trickles murmuring through the filter¹.'

day; or fasting for three days, and eating thirty-two mouthfuls on the fourth day. (Nand.)

XLVIII. 1. Gaut. XIX, 13.

2, 3. Regarding the regular oblations which have to be offered at meal times &c. to the Visvedevās and to all beings (bhūtāni), see LIX, 22, 24; LXVIII, 1-22.

4. The Mantras are given below, 17-22.

6. ¹ Rig-veda IX, 96, 6. Regarding the translation of this verse, see Dr. Zimmer's remarks, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 207.

With these words he must fasten blades of Kusa grass (round the neck of the kettle).

7. The pulse having been boiled, he must pour it into another vessel and eat it.

8. Let him help himself to it, while muttering the Mantra, 'The gods, who have sprung up in the mind and satisfy the mind, who are gifted with great energy, and whose father is Daksha, shall protect and help us. To them be Namaḥ (adoration), to them be Svâhâ (hail).'

9. Then, after having sipped water, let him seize the centre (of the vessel) and mutter the Mantra :

10. 'Be satisfied in our stomach, O ye waters, and ye barley-corns, after having been bathed ; they shall be salubrious to us, conferring bliss, causing health, divine, causing immortality, and increasers of *Rita* (truth and justice).'

11. One desirous of wisdom (must perform this rite) for three days ;

12. A sinner, for six days.

13. Any of the mortal sinners (killers of a Brâhmana, stealers of gold, and the rest) becomes purified by swallowing it for seven days.

14. Swallowing it for twelve nights effaces even sins committed by an ancestor ;

15. Swallowing it for a month, every sin (whether light or heavy, and whether committed by himself or by an ancestor).

16. And so does swallowing barley-corns dissolved in the excrements of a cow for twenty-one days (efface every sin).

17. 'Thou art barley, thou the king of grains,

8. Taittiriya Samhitâ I, 2, 3, 1. See also Vâgasaneyi Samhitâ IV, 11, &c.

thou water mixed with honey; the *Rishis* have proclaimed thee an expeller of every kind of guilt and an instrument of purification.

18. 'You are clarified butter and honey, O ye barley-corns; you are water and ambrosia, O ye barley-corns. May you efface whatever sinful acts I have committed:

19. 'Sins committed by words, by acts, and by evil thoughts. Avert distress and ill-fortune from me, O ye barley-corns.

20. 'Purify food licked at by dogs or pigs, or defiled by leavings (of food), and (purify me from the stain) of disobedience towards mother and father, O ye barley-corns.

21. 'Purify for me food given by a multitude of persons, the food of a harlot, or of a *Sûdra*, food offered at a *Srâddha*, food rendered impure by the birth of a child in the house, the food of a thief, and food offered at a *Navasrâddha* (or new *Srâddha*, which takes place on the first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth, and eleventh day after a person's demise).

22. 'Purify me, O ye barley-corns, from the sin of injuring a child or of causing (a punishment) to be inflicted on some one by the king, from theft of gold (or other high crimes), from the violation of a religious duty, from performing a sacrifice for an unworthy person, and from abusing a *Brâhmaṇa*.'

XLIX.

1. After having fasted during the eleventh day of the bright half of the month *Mârgaśrīṣa*, let a

XLIX. 1. 'He must worship *Vāsudeva* either with sixteen acts, muttering one out of the sixteen verses of the *Purushasūkta* with each single act, the first act being the invocation of the gods, and

man worship, on the twelfth day, the venerable Vāsudeva (Vishnu).

2. (He shall worship him) with flowers, incense, unguents, lamps, eatables (such as milk), and repasts given to Brāhmaṇas.

3. By performing this rite (on the twelfth day of the bright half of every month, from the month Mārgaśīrsha to the month Kārttika) for one year, he is purified from every sin.

4. By performing it till he dies, he attains Sveta-dvīpa ('the white island,' the abode of Bhagavat).

5. By performing it for a year on each twelfth day of both halves of a month, he attains heaven.

6. By performing it (within the same intervals), till he dies, (he attains) the world of Vishnu.

7. The same (heavenly rewards are gained by him who performs this rite) on each fifteenth day (after having fasted during the fourteenth).

8. If he worships (according to the latter rite) Kesava (Vishnu) who has become one with Brahman, on the day of new moon, and Kesava absorbed in meditation, on the day of full moon, he will obtain a great reward.

the last the dismissal of the assembled Brāhmaṇas; or he must worship him with the "five offerings," perfumes, and the rest, muttering at the same time the "twelve syllables" (Om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya, "Om, adoration to the venerable Vāsudeva").' (Nand.)

2. 'He must worship him with those offerings and with burnt-oblations. The burnt-oblation, which must consist either of sesamum, or of barley, or of clarified butter, has to be accompanied by the recitation of the Purushasūkta or of the "twelve syllables."' (Nand.)

8. According to Nand., the two forms of Vishnu mentioned here must be considered as two separate deities, the one having to be invoked with the words 'Adoration to Brahmakesava,' and the

9. If in a year on a day of full moon the moon and the planet Jupiter are seen together in the sky, it is called a great full moon.

10. Gifts, fasts, and the like are declared to be imperishable on that day. The same is the case if a conjunction with the asterism *Sravanâ* falls on the twelfth day of the bright half (of any month).

L.

1. Let a man make a hut of leaves in a forest and dwell in it;

2. And let him bathe (and perform his prayers) three times a day;

3. And¹ let him collect alms, going from one village to another, and proclaiming his own deed;

4. And¹ let him sleep upon grass;

5. This is called a *Mahâvratâ* (great observance).

6. He who has killed a *Brâhmaṇa* (unintentionally) must perform it for twelve years.

7. (He who has unintentionally killed) a *Kṣatriya* or a *Vaiśya* engaged in a sacrifice, for the same period.

other with the words 'Adoration to *Yogakesava*.' 'A great reward' he interprets by 'a shape identical with that of *Brahman*.'

L. 1-6, 15. M. XI, 73; Y. III, 243; Âpast. I, 9, 24, 11-20; Gaut. XXII, 4-6. — 7-10, 12-14. M. XI, 88, 89, 129-131; Y. III, 251, 266, 267; Gaut. XXII, 12-16. — 16-24. M. XI, 109-116; Y. III, 263. — 25-41. M. XI, 132-138; Y. III, 270-274. — 30-33. Âpast. I, 9, 25, 13; Gaut. XXII, 19. — 34-36. Gaut. XXII, 23-25. — 46-50. M. XI, 141-145; Y. III, 275, 276. — 46. Âpast. I, 9, 26, 2; Gaut. XXII, 20, 21.

3. ¹Nand., quoting *Gautama* XXII, 5, takes the particle *ka*, 'and,' to imply that he should also make way for any *Ārya* whom he meets.

4. ¹The particle *ka* here means, according to Nand., that he ought to remain chaste, as ordained by *Gautama*, XXII, 4.

8. Likewise, he who has killed (unintentionally) a pregnant woman, or¹ a woman in her courses.

9. Or¹ a woman who has bathed after temporary uncleanness;

10. Or¹ a friend.

11. He who has (unintentionally) killed a king, must perform the Mahâvrata for twice the same number of years (or twenty-four years);

12. He who has (unintentionally) killed a Kshatriya (not engaged in a sacrifice, nor a king), for one quarter of that time less (or for nine years);

13. He who has (unintentionally) killed a Vaisya (not engaged in a sacrifice), for half of that time (or for six years).

14. He who has (unintentionally) killed a (virtuous) Sûdra, for half of that time again (or for three years).

15. He who is performing any of those penances, must carry (on his stick) the skull of the person slain, like a flag.

16. Let a man serve cows for a month, his hair and beard having been shorn.

17. And let him sit down to rest when they rest;

18. And¹ let him stand still when they stand still;

8. ¹Nand. infers from texts of Praketas, Yama, and Parâsara, that the particle vâ, 'or,' here refers to pregnant cows, and to women whose confinement is close at hand, or who are married to one who has kindled his sacred fire, or for whom all the sacred rites have been duly performed from their birth.

9. ¹Nand. refers the particle vâ, 'or,' to women of high rank and to a rival wife, or a mother, or a daughter, or a sister, or a daughter-in-law, or a wife, who is of the same caste as her husband.

10. ¹'The particle vâ includes children here.' (Nand.)

18. ¹According to Nand., the particle ka here refers to the

19. And¹ let him give assistance to a cow that has met with an accident (such as getting into a slough, or falling into a pit).

20. And let him preserve them from (the attacks of lions and tigers and other) dangers.

21. Let him not seek shelter himself against cold (and hot winds) and similar dangers, without having previously protected the cows against them.

22. Let him wash himself with cow-urine (three times a day);

23. And¹ let him subsist upon the (five) productions of a cow:

24. This is the Govrata (cow rite), which must be performed by him who has (unintentionally) killed a cow (belonging to a Kshatriya).

25. If a man has killed an elephant (intentionally), he must give five black (nila) bulls.

26. If he has killed (unintentionally) a horse, he must give a garment.

27. If he has (intentionally) killed an ass, he must give a bull one year old.

28. The same if he has (intentionally) killed a ram or a goat.

29. If he has (intentionally) killed a camel, he must give one *Krishnala* of gold.

precept of Parâsara, that he should drink water when the cows drink, and lie down when they lie down.

19. ¹According to Nand., the particle *ka* here implies another precept of Parâsara, that he should not take notice of a cow grazing or drinking water upon his own ground or that of another.

23. ¹'The particle *ka* implies that he should also mutter the Gomati hymn, as Sâtâtapa says.' (Nand.)

25. 'He is called a black bull whose colour is red, whose mouth and tail are of a yellowish-white colour, and whose hoofs and horns are white.' (Yagñapârsva, quoted by Nand.)

30. If he has (intentionally) killed a dog, he must fast for three days.

31. If he has (unintentionally) killed a mouse, or a cat, or an ichneumon, or a frog, or a *Dundubha* snake, or a large serpent (a boa constrictor), he must fast one day, and on the next day he must give a dish of milk, sesamum, and rice mixed together to a *Brâhmaṇa*, and give him an iron hoe as his 'fee.'

32. If he has killed (unintentionally) an iguana, or an owl, or a crow, or a fish, he must fast for three days.

33. If he has killed (intentionally) a *Hamsa*, or a crane, or a heron, or a cormorant, or an ape, or a falcon, or the vulture called *Bhâsa*, or a *Brâhmaṇ* duck, he must give a cow to a *Brâhmaṇa*.

34. If he has killed a snake, (he must give) an iron spade.

35. If he has killed emasculated (cattle or birds)¹, (he must give) a load of straw².

36. If he has killed (intentionally) a boar, (he must give) a *Kumbha* of clarified butter.

37. If he has (intentionally) killed a partridge, (he must give) a *Drona* of sesamum.

38. If he has (intentionally) killed a parrot, (he must give) a calf two years old.

39. If he has (intentionally) killed a curlew, (he must give) a calf three years old.

40. If he has (unintentionally) killed a wild carnivorous animal, he must give a milch cow.

35. ¹Thus according to Nand., who declares himself against the interpretation of *śaṇḍa* by 'a eunuch;' see, however, Kullûka on M. XI, 134, and Dr. Bühler's rendering of Gaut. XXII, 23. —

²Nand. adds, 'and a *Mâsha* of lead;' see the passages just referred to.

41. If he has (unintentionally) killed a wild animal not carnivorous, (he must give) a heifer.

42. If he has (intentionally) killed an animal not mentioned before, he must subsist upon milk for three days.

43. If he has (unintentionally) killed a bird (not mentioned before), he must eat at night only ;

44. Or (if unable to do so), he must give a silver *Mâsha*.

45. If he has (unintentionally) killed an aquatic animal, he must fast (for a day and a night).

46. If he has killed a thousand (small) animals having bones, or an ox-load of animals that have no bones, he must perform the same penance as for killing a *Sûdra*.

47. But, if he has killed animals having bones, he must (moreover) give some trifle to a *Brâhmaṇa* (for each animal which he has killed) ; if he has killed boneless animals, he becomes purified by one stopping of the breath.

48. For cutting (unawares?) trees yielding fruit (such as the bread-fruit or mango trees), shrubs, creeping or climbing plants, or plants yielding blossoms (such as the jasmine tree), he must mutter a Vedic text (the *Gâyatri*) a hundred times.

49. For killing (unintentionally) insects bred in rice or other food, or in (sweets and) the like, or in liquids (such as molasses), or elsewhere (in water and so on), or in flowers or fruits, the penance consists in eating clarified butter.

50. If a man has wantonly cut such plants as

46, 47. Nand. thinks that the former *Sloka* refers to intentional, and the latter to unintentional murder of those animals.

grow by cultivation (such as rice and barley), or such as rise spontaneously in the wood (such as wild rice), he must wait on a cow and subsist upon milk for one day.

LI.

1. A drinker of spirituous liquor must abstain from all religious rites and subsist on grains separated from the husk for a year.

2. If a man has (knowingly) tasted any of the (twelve) unclean excretions of the body, or of the (twelve) intoxicating drinks, he must perform the *Kāndrāyana* penance.

3. Likewise, if he has (knowingly) eaten garlic, or onions, or red garlic, or any plant which has a similar flavour (to that of garlic or onions), or the meat of village pigs, of tame cocks (and other tame birds), of apes, and of cows.

4. In all those cases men belonging to a twice-born caste have to be initiated a second time, after the penance is over.

5. On their second initiation, the tonsure, the girding with the sacred string, the wearing of the staff, and the begging of alms shall be omitted.

LI. 1. M. XI, 93; Y. III, 254. — 3. M. V, 19; Y. I, 176. — 4, 5. M. XI, 151, 152; Y. III, 255; Gaut. XXIII, 2. — 6. M. V, 18; Y. I, 177; Âpast. I, 5, 17, 37; Gaut. XVII, 27. — 7-20. M. IV, 205-217; Y. I, 161-168; Âpast. I, 5, 16, 27, 29; 17, 4, 5; 18, 21-23; 19, 1, 15; II, 6, 15, 14; Gaut. XVII, 10-12, 17, 19, 21, 31. — 21. M. V, 16; Y. I, 177, 178. — 23. M. XI, 148. — 25. M. XI, 150; Gaut. XXIII, 6. — 26-42. M. V, 5-21, 24, 25; XI, 152-157; Y. I, 169-178; Âpast. I, 5, 17, 17-20, 22-26, 28, 29, 33-36; Gaut. XVII, 14, 16, 22-26, 28, 29, 32-34. — 43-46. M. XI, 158-160. — 59. M. V, 36; Y. I, 179; Âpast. I, 5, 17, 31. — 60. M. V, 38; Y. I, 180. — 61. M. V, 39. — 62. M. V, 34. — 63-78. M. V, 40-55. — 64. Sāṅkh. II, 16, 1. See also Bühler, *Introd. to Digest*, p. xxxi, note. — 76, 77. Y. I, 181.

6. If a man has (unawares) eaten meat of a five-toed animal, with the exception of the hare, the porcupine, the iguana, the rhinoceros, and the tortoise, he must fast for seven days.

7. If he has eaten the food of a multitude of persons, of a harlot, of a thief, or of a singer, he must subsist upon milk for seven days.

8. And¹ (if he has eaten) the food of a carpenter or of a leather manufacturer ;

9. Or of a usurer, of a miser, of one who has performed the initiatory ceremony of a Soma-sacrifice, of a jailer, of an Abhisasta, or of a eunuch ;

10. Or of a dissolute woman, of a hypocrite, of a physician, of a hunter, of a hard-hearted or cruel person, and of one who eats the leavings of food ;

11. Or of a woman who has neither husband nor son, of a goldsmith, of an enemy, or of an outcast ;

12. Or of a malignant informer, of a liar, of one who has transgressed the law, and of one who sells himself, or who sells (molasses or other) liquids and condiments ;

13. Or of a public dancer, of a weaver, of an ungrateful man, or of a dyer of clothes ;

14. Or (the food) of a blacksmith, of a man of the Nishâda tribe (who subsist by fishing), of a stage-player¹, of a worker in cane, or of a seller of weapons ;

8. ¹ 'As shown by *ka*, "and," other persons who have a dishonourable profession, such as fishermen, have also to be understood.' (Nand.)

9. Abhisasta means 'accused of a heinous crime,' i.e. 'a person of bad repute.' (Nand.) See also Dr. Bühler's notes on Âpast. I, 9, 24, 6, and on Gaut. XVII, 17.

14. ¹ This is the usual meaning of the term *raṅgavatârin*. Nand. explains it by 'wrestlers and the like.'

15. Or of a trainer of dogs, of a distiller of spirituous liquor, of an oil manufacturer, or of a washerman;

16. Or (the food) of a woman in her courses (whether belonging to her, or dressed for her), or of one who lives under one roof with the paramour of his wife;

17. Or (food) which has been looked at by the killer of an embryo (of a *Brâhmana*), or which has been touched by a woman in her courses, or nibbled by a bird¹, or touched by a dog, or smelt at by a cow;

18. Or that which has been designedly touched with the foot, or that which has been sneezed at;

19. Or the food of insane, or wrathful, or sick persons;

20. Or (food that is given) in a disrespectful manner, or the meat (of animals killed) for no sacred purpose.

21. After having (unawares) eaten the flesh of any sort of fish, excepting the *Pâtina*, *Rohita*, *Râgiva*, *Simhatunda*, and *Sakula* fishes, he must fast for three days.

22. Likewise, after having (unawares) eaten the flesh of (any other) aquatic animal (such as the alligator, or the Gangetic porpoise).

23. After having (knowingly) drunk water from a vessel in which spirituous liquor had been kept, he must drink for seven days milk boiled together with the *Saṅkhaushpī* plant.

17. ¹ Nand. considers the term *patatrin* to refer to crows only in this place. Kullūka (on M. IV, 208) interprets it by 'crows and the like.' See also Gaut. XVII, 10.

20. See Dr. Bühler's notes on Gaut. XVII, 19, 31.

24. After having (knowingly drunk water) from a vessel in which an intoxicating beverage had been kept, (he must drink the same) for five days.

25. A Soma-sacrificer, who has (unawares) smelt the breath of a man who had been drinking spirituous liquor, must plunge into water, (suppress his breath) and mutter the Aghamarshana three times, and eat clarified butter afterwards.

26. For eating (designedly) the flesh of an ass, of a camel, or of a crow¹, he must perform the *Kāndrāyana* penance.

27. Likewise, for eating (knowingly) the flesh of an unknown (beast or bird), meat kept in a slaughterhouse, and¹ dried meat.

28. For eating (unawares) the flesh of carnivorous beasts (tigers and others), or birds (hawks and others), he must perform the *Taptakrikkhṛa*.

29. For (knowingly) eating a sparrow, or (the heron called) *Plava*, or a *Brāhmaṇi* duck, or a *Haṃsa*, or the (wild cock called) *Raggudāla*, or a *Sārasa* crane, or a *Dātyūha*, or a male or female parrot, or a crane, or a heron, or a cuckoo, or a wagtail, he must fast for three days.

30. Likewise, for eating (unawares the flesh of) animals whose hoof is not cloven (such as horses),

26. Nand. argues from a passage of *Praketas*, that the flesh of the following other animals, dogs, jackals, cocks, boars, carnivorous animals in general, Gangetic porpoises, apes, elephants, horses, tame hogs, cows, and human beings, is also implied here. But if that were the case, *Sūtra* 26 would be partly a mere repetition of, and partly opposed to, the rules laid down in *Sūtras* 33 and 22.

27. ¹ Nand. infers from a passage of the *Brāhma-purāṇa*, that the use of the particle *ka* further implies a prohibition to eat the flesh on the back, or flesh which had been interred in the ground, or covered with earth, fried meat, and the flesh of the uterus.

or of animals having a double row of teeth (such as the Rohita deer).

31. For eating (unawares) the flesh of any bird, excepting the francoline partridge, the Kâpiñgala, the (quail called) Lāvaka, the peahen, and the peacock, (he must fast) for a day and a night.

32. For eating (knowingly) insects (ants and others), he must drink for one day (water in which the plant) Brahmasuvarṇalâ (has been boiled).

33. For eating (unawares) the flesh of dogs, he must perform the same penance ¹.

34. For eating (unawares) the mushroom called *Khattrâka*, or (the mushroom called) *Kavaka*, he must perform the Sântapana penance.

35. For eating (unawares) stale food, other than a mess prepared with barley (such as cakes), or with wheat (such as gruel), or with milk (boiled with rice, or mixed with coagulated milk, or otherwise dressed), and dishes sprinkled with fat (such as clarified butter), sour gruel, and sweetmeats, he must fast (for one day).

36. Likewise, (for eating unawares) the juice flowing from an incision in a tree, (plants raised in) unclean substances (such as excrements and the like), and the red exudation of trees.

37. Also, (for eating unawares) the root of the water-lily; (and for eating) rice boiled with sesamum, or with beans, *Samyâva* ¹, rice boiled in milk with sugar, pastry, *Sashkuli* (cakes), or food destined for

33. ¹ 'And he must perform the Sântapana penance mentioned in the next Sûtra, as the use of the particle *ka* implies.' (Nand.)

37. ¹ Nand. interprets this term by *utkarikâ*, which, according to Wilson, is a sort of sweetmeat made with milk, treacle, and clarified butter. *Kullûka* (on M. V, 7) has a somewhat different interpretation.

the gods, if those dishes have not been announced to the gods first; and (for eating) food destined for burnt-oblations.

38. Also, for tasting the milk of any animal, save the milk of cows, goats, and buffalos (and for tasting any eatables made of such milk)¹.

39. Also, (for tasting the milk) of those animals (cows and the rest) within ten days after their giving birth to a young one.

40. And (for tasting) the milk of a cow whose milk flows of itself, of one that has just taken the bull¹, or of one whose calf is dead².

41. And (for tasting the milk of a cow) that has been feeding upon ordures.

42. And (for tasting) any such food as has turned sour (but not that which is sour by nature, like sorrel), except sour milk (and what is made with it).

43. A student, who partakes (unawares) of a *Srâddha* repast, must fast for three days.

44. And he must remain in water for a whole day (afterwards).

45. If he eats honey or meat (at any time), he must perform the *Prâgâpatya* penance.

46. If any one eats (unawares) the leavings of the

38. ¹ Nand. infers from the use of the particle *kā* that the same penance is ordained for tasting any other production of those animals, as e.g. their excrements.

40. ¹ Sandhinī means 'a cow that has just taken the bull,' or 'a female animal that gives milk once a day,' or 'a cow that is milked by the calf of another cow.' (Nand.) Haradatta (see *Āpast.* I, 5, 17, 23; *Gaut.* XVII, 25) interprets it by 'an animal giving milk while big with young.' For other interpretations, see the *Petersburg Dictionary*.—² 'The particle *kā* indicates that animals bearing twins have also to be included in this prohibition.' (Nand.) See *Gaut. loc. cit.*

food of a cat, of a crow, of an ichneumon, or of a rat, he must drink water in which the *Brahmasuvarkalā* plant has been boiled.

47. For eating (unawares) what has been left by a dog, he must fast for one day, and drink *Pañkagavya* (afterwards).

48. For tasting (knowingly) the excrements of five-toed animals (excepting human excrements), he must (fast) for seven days (and drink *Pañkagavya* on the eighth).

49. If one (not a student) eats (unawares) of a *Srāddha* repast consisting of raw food, he must subsist on milk for seven days.

50. If a *Brāhmaṇa* eats what has been left by a *Sūdra*, (he must also subsist on milk) for seven days.

51. If he eats what has been left by a *Vaiśya*, (he must subsist upon milk) for five days.

52. If he eats what has been left by a *Kshatriya*, (he must subsist upon milk) for three days.

53. If he eats what has been left by another *Brāhmaṇa*, (he must subsist upon milk) for one day.

54. If a *Kshatriya* eats what has been left by a *Sūdra*, (he must undergo the same penance) for five days.

55. If he eats what has been left by a *Vaiśya*, (he must undergo it) for three days ;

56. And so must a *Vaiśya*, if he eats what has been left by a *Sūdra*.

50. Nand. explains that he should drink *Pañkagavya* alternately with milk. This explanation extends to the following *Sūtras* also (up to *Sūtra* 56). He further argues from another *Smṛiti* text that the term *Sūdra* means 'Sūdras and women' here.

57. For (knowingly) eating (undressed) food, which has been given by a *Kandāla* (or *Svapaka* or other member of the seven lowest castes), he must fast for three days.

58. For (unawares) eating dressed food (given by such), the *Parāka* penance is ordained.

59. Let no *Brāhmaṇa* ever eat (the flesh of) beasts which has not been consecrated with Mantras; but if it has been consecrated with Mantras, he may eat it, following the eternal rule (laid down in the Veda).

60. As many hairs as the beast has, which he has slain in this world, for so many days will the killer of a beast for other purposes than a (*Srauta* or *Smārta*) sacrifice, suffer terrible pangs in this world and in the next¹.

61. It is for sacrifices that beasts have been created by the Self-existent (*Brahman*) himself. Sacrificing causes the whole universe to prosper; therefore is the slaughter (of beasts) for a sacrifice no slaughter.

62. The sin of him who kills deer for the sake of gain, is not so great (and visited less heavily) in the world to come, than the sin of him who eats meat which has not been offered to the gods.

63. Plants, cattle, trees, amphibious animals, and birds, which have been destroyed for the purposes of sacrifice, obtain exaltation in another existence (in which they are born as *Gandharvas*, or other beings of a high rank).

60. ¹ My translation follows Nand. It is, however, doubtful whether the reading is correct; see *Manu* V, 38.

62. This is because the former kills animals in order to support his family, whereas the latter eats meat merely in order to tickle his palate. (Nand.)

64. When honouring a guest, at a sacrifice, or when worshipping the manes, or the gods, a man may slay cattle, but not otherwise on any account.

65. That twice-born man who, knowing the exact truth (promulgated) in the Veda, slays cattle for the sacrifices (ordained in the Veda), will convey himself and the cattle (slain by him) to a blissful abode.

66. A self-controlled¹ man of a twice-born caste, whether he be a householder, or be dwelling with his spiritual teacher, or in the forest, must never slay an animal in opposition to the precepts of the Veda, even in cases of distress.

67. That slaughter which is in accordance with the precepts of the Veda, and has been fixed for this world of movable and immovable creatures, should be considered as no slaughter at all; because it is from the Veda that law shines forth.

68. He who hurts animals that do not hurt any one, merely in order to afford pleasure to himself, will never obtain happiness, whether living or dead¹.

69. He who gives no living creature intentionally the pain of confining or killing (or hurting) it, from benevolence towards all (creatures), will enjoy everlasting happiness.

70. Whatever he thinks of, whatever he strives for, and whatever he desires in his heart, all that is easily obtained by him who does not injure any created being.

71. Meat cannot be obtained without injuring an

66. ¹ Nand. interprets the term *âtmavân* by *saṃnyâsî*, 'an ascetic, or member of the fourth order,' apparently because the first three orders are mentioned in this Sloka. I have followed Kullûka's interpretation (on M.V, 43).

68. ¹ 'But it is no sin to kill tigers or other beasts of prey.' (Nand.)

animal, and the murder of animals excludes the murderer from heaven, therefore must meat be avoided.

72. Reflecting upon the origin of flesh¹ and upon the (sin of) hurting or confining animated creatures, he must abstain from animal food of any kind.

73. He who transgresses not the law and eats not flesh like a *Pisāka*, is beloved by men and remains free from disease.

74. He who gives his consent to the killing of an animal, he who cuts it up, he who kills it, the purchaser and the seller, he who prepares it, he who serves it up, and he who eats it, all these are denominated slaughterers of an animal.

75. There is no greater sinner than he who, without giving their share to the manes and to the gods, wants to increase his own flesh with the flesh of another creature.

76. Those two, he who performs a horse-sacrifice annually for a hundred years and he who does not eat meat, shall both obtain the same recompense for their virtue.

77. By eating (wild rice or other) sacred fruits or roots, and by living upon such grains as are the food of hermits, a man does not reap so high a reward as by avoiding meat.

78. (An eater of flesh must say within himself), 'Me he (*mām sa*) will eat in the next world, whose

72. ¹The human soul is enveloped in six sheaths, three of which come from the father, and three from the mother. The three that come from the mother are skin, flesh, and blood. Now flesh is said in the *Sruti* to be derived from the menstrual discharge, and the latter is one of the species of forbidden food. (Nand.)

flesh I am tasting here.' This, say the learned, is the derivation of the word flesh (*mâmsa*).

LII.

1. He who has stolen the gold (of a Brâhmana), must bring a club to the king, proclaiming his deed.
2. Whether the king kills him with it, or dismisses him unhurt, he is purified.
3. Or (in case he committed the theft unawares), he must perform the Mahâvrata¹ for twelve years.
4. He who appropriates (knowingly) a deposit (must perform the same penance).
5. He who steals (knowingly) grain or valuable objects¹, (or prepared food belonging to a Brâhmana,) (must perform) the *Krikkhra*² for a year.
6. For stealing male or female slaves (not belonging to a Brâhmana, and for seizing) a well or pool (actually containing water), or a field, the *Kândrâyana* (penance must be performed).
7. (For stealing) articles of small value (such as tin or lead, not exceeding twenty-five *Panas* in value), the *Sântapana* (penance must be performed).
8. (For stealing) sweetmeats, (rice or other) food,

LII. 1, 2. M. VIII, 314-316; XI, 100-101; Y. III, 257; Âpast. I, 9, 25, 4-5; Gaut. XII, 43, 44.—3. M. XI, 102.—5-13. M. XI, 163-169.

3. ¹ See L, 1-5.

5. ¹ By *dhana*, 'valuable objects,' the objects mentioned below (in 10), copper and the rest, are meant. (Nand.)—² Nand. does not explain the meaning of *Krikkhra*, which is a general term for 'a heavy penance.' It probably denotes the *Prâgâpatya* penance here, as in a number of other law texts (e.g. below, LIV, 26), and in the corresponding text of Manu in particular. See Kullûka on M. XI, 163.

8-13. Nand. explains that these Sûtras refer to a small amount of those articles which are mentioned in them.

(milk or other) drinks, a bed, a seat, flowers, roots, or fruit, drinking *Pañkagavya* (is ordained as penance).

9. (For stealing) grass, firewood, trees, rice in the husk, sugar, clothes, skins, or flesh, the thief must fast for three days.

10. (For stealing knowingly) precious stones, pearls or coral, copper, silver, iron, or white copper, he must eat grain separated from the husk for twelve days.

11. For stealing (unawares) cotton, silk, wool or other (stuffs), he must subsist for three days upon milk.

12. For stealing two-hoofed or one-hoofed animals, he must fast for three days.

13. For stealing birds, or perfumes, or medicinal herbs, or cords, or basket-work, he must fast for one day.

14. Though a thief may have restored to the owner the stolen property (either openly or) in some indirect manner¹, he must still perform a penance, in order to purify himself from guilt.

15. Whatever a man takes from others, unchecked (by the dictates of religion), of that will he be bereft in every future birth.

16. Because life, religious merit, and pleasure depend upon wealth, therefore let a man take care not to injure the wealth (of others by robbing them) by any means.

17. Among those two, he who injures animal life, and he who injures wealth, the one who injures wealth shall incur the heavier penalty.

14. ¹ 'As under pretext of handing over to him the dowry of a wife.' (Nand.)

LIII.

1. One who has (unawares) had illicit sexual intercourse ¹, must perform the Prâgâpatya penance for a year, according to the rule of the Mahâvrata, clad in a garment of bark, and living in a forest.

2. The same (penance is ordained) for sexual intercourse with the wife of another man (who belongs to his own caste, but is no Guru of his).

3. For intercourse with a cow, the Govrata (must be performed).

4. For intercourse with a man, for unnatural crimes with a woman, (for wasting his manhood) in the air, (for intercourse with a woman) in water, by day, or in a go-cart ¹, he must bathe dressed in his clothes.

5. By intercourse (knowingly) with a *Kandâla* woman ¹, he becomes her equal in caste.

6. For intercourse unawares with such, he must perform the *Kândrâyana* twice.

7. For intercourse (knowingly) with cattle (other than cows) or with a public prostitute, (he must perform) the Prâgâpatya penance.

8. A woman who has committed adultery once,

LIII. 1-8. M. XI, 106, 171-177. — 4. Y. III, 291. — 9. M. XI, 179.

1. ¹ The crime intended here is explained by Nand. as being illicit intercourse with a step-mother, who belongs to the Sûdra caste.

3. See L, 16-24.

4. ¹ 'Or in a cart drawn by asses or by other beasts of draught, as the particle *ka* implies.' (Nand.)

5. ¹ 'Or with a woman of an equally degraded caste, such as the Svapa^{ka} caste and others.' (Nand.)

8. See Sûtra 2.

must perform that penance which has been prescribed for an adulterer.

9. That guilt which a Brâhmaṇa incurs by intercourse with a *Kandâla* woman one night, he can only remove by subsisting upon alms, and constantly repeating (the *Gâyatri*) for three years.

LIV.

1. If a man associates with one guilty of a crime, he must perform the same penance as he.

2. A Brâhmaṇa who has drunk water from a well in which a five-toed animal has perished, or which has been defiled in the highest degree, must fast for three days.

3. A Kshatriya (must fast) for two days (in the same case).

4. A Vaisya (must fast) for one day (and one night).

5. A Sûdra (must fast) for a night only.

6. And all (the former, but not a Sûdra) must drink *Pañkagavya*, when their penance has been completed.

7. If a Sûdra drinks *Pañkagavya*, or if a Brâhmaṇa drinks spirituous liquor, they both go to the hell called *Mahâraurava* ¹.

LIV. 1. M. XI, 182. — 10. M. XI, 203. — 11. M. II, 220; Âpast. II, 5, 12, 22; Gaut. XXIII, 21. — 12. M. XI, 200; Y. III, 277; Gaut. XXIII, 7. — 23. M. XI, 202; Y. III, 291. — 24. M. XI, 195; Y. III, 290. — 25. M. XI, 198; Y. III, 289. — 26. M. XI, 192. — 27. M. XI, 193. — 28. M. XI, 294. — 29. M. XI, 204. — 30. M. XI, 209; Y. III, 293. — 31. M. XI, 190. — 32. M. XI, 191; Y. III, 299. — 34. M. XI, 210; Y. III, 294.

7. ¹ See XLIII, 5. Nand. infers from an anonymous *Smṛiti* passage, that the first part of this Sûtra refers not only to Sûdras, but to women also, and not only to the drinking of *Pañkagavya*,

8. If a man has not connection with his wife in the natural season, unless it be on the days of the full and new moon, or because she is ill, he must fast for three days.

9. A false witness¹ must perform the penance ordained for killing a Brâhmaṇa.

10. He who has (unawares) voided excrements without water (being near), must bathe in his clothes, pronounce the 'great words'¹, and offer a burnt-oblation².

11. One who has been surprised asleep by the sun rising or setting, must bathe in his clothes and mutter the Gâyatrî one hundred and eight times.

12. He who has been bitten by a dog, a jackal, a tame pig, an ass, an ape, a crow, or a public prostitute, shall approach a river and (standing in it, shall) stop his breath sixteen times.

13. One who forgets the Vedic texts which he has studied, or who forsakes the sacred fires, must subsist upon alms for a year, bathing at the tree Savanas (morning, noon, and evening), sleeping upon the ground, and eating one meal a day.

14. For setting one's self up by false statements, and for falsely accusing or abusing a Guru, he must subsist upon milk for a month.

15. An atheist, one who leads the life of a member of the *Kandâla* or of other low castes that

but also to the offering of burnt-oblations and the muttering of prayers.

9. ¹ According to Nand., this particular species of criminals is only quoted as an instance of *anupâtakinaḥ* (criminals in the third degree, see XXXVI), who are all intended in this Sûtra.

10. ¹ See LV, 10. — ² 'The particle *ka* implies that he must touch a cow besides, as Manu directs (XI, 203).' (Nand.)

14. See XXXVII, 1, 3.

dwell outside the village (Bâhyas)¹, an ungrateful man, one who buys or sells with false weights, and one who deprives Brâhmanas of their livelihood (by robbing them of a grant made to them by the king or private persons, or by other bad practices), all those persons² must subsist upon alms for a year.

16. An unmarried elder brother whose younger brother is married, a younger brother married before the elder, an unmarried elder sister whose younger sister is married, the relative who gives such a damsel in marriage, and the priest who officiates at such a marriage, must perform the *Kândrâyana*.

17. He who sells living beings, land, religious merit (obtained by a sacrifice or otherwise), or Soma, must perform the *Taptakrikkhra*.

18. He who sells fresh ginger¹, (edible) plants (such as rice or barley), perfumes, flowers, fruits, roots, skins, canes, (winnowing baskets or fans and the like) made of split bamboo, chaff, potsherds, hair, ashes, bone, cow-milk or curds, oil-cakes, sesamum, or oil, must perform the *Prâgâpatya*.

19. He who sells the fruit of the *Sleshmâtaka* tree, lac, bees-wax, shells, mother-of-pearl, tin, lead, iron, copper, or (sacrificial) vessels made of the horn of the rhinoceros, must perform the *Kândrâyana*.

20. He who sells dyed cloth, tin¹, precious

15. ¹ 'Or *nâstikavṛtti* means "one who receives his substance from an atheist."' See also Gaut. XV, 16. — ² 'The use of the particle *ka* implies that calumniators are also intended.' (Nand.)

17. See XLVI, 11.

18. ¹ The term *ârdra*, which Nand. interprets by *âdrakam*, might also be connected with the following word, and both together be translated by 'fresh plants.' See Y. III, 38.

20. ¹ Tin, perfumes, and, of the articles enumerated in *Sûtra* 21,

stones, perfumes, sugar, honey, liquids or condiments (other than sugar, salt, and the like), or wool, must fast for three days.

21. He who sells meat, salt, lac, or milk, must perform the *Kândrâyana*.

22. And¹ all those persons (mentioned in *Sûtras* 17-21) must be initiated a second time.

23. He who has been riding (voluntarily) upon a camel¹, or upon an ass, and he who has (purposely) bathed, or slept, or eaten, quite naked, must stop his breath three times.

24. By muttering attentively the *Gâyatrî* three thousand times, (by dwelling) upon the pasture of cows, (and) by subsisting on milk for a month, he becomes free from the sin of accepting unlawful presents.

25. He who has (knowingly) offered a sacrifice for an unworthy person (such as a low-caste person, or an outcast), he who has performed the funeral rites for a stranger, he who has practised magic rites (in order to destroy an enemy), and he who has performed a sacrifice of the kind called *Ahîna*¹, (all those persons) may rid themselves of their

lac, and milk have already been mentioned in *Sûtras* 18 and 19. Nand. tries to remove the difficulty in the second case, by stating the perfumes mentioned here to be perfumes of a different kind, and in the fourth case, by asserting that the milk of female buffalos, &c. is meant in *Sûtra* 21. But he interprets the two other terms as given above. Probably the passage is interpolated.

22. ¹ Nand. infers from the use of the particle *ka* that this rule applies equally to the persons mentioned in the next *Sûtra*.

23. ¹ 'The use of the particle *vâ*, "or," implies that riding upon a cow, and other such animals, is also intended here.' (Nand.)

25. ¹ This kind of sacrifice is defined by Nand. as one connected with repeated drinking of the Soma juice, and lasting from two to twelve days. *Medhâtithi* (on *Manu* XI, 198) simply defines

sins by performing three *Krikkhra* (Prâgâpatya) penances.

26. Those twice-born men, by whom the Gâyatri has not been repeated (and the other initiatory ceremonies performed), as the law directs, must be made to perform three (Prâgâpatya) penances and must be initiated according to custom.

27. Those twice-born men who are anxious to make an atonement for having committed an illegal act¹, or for having neglected the study of the Veda, must be made to perform the same penance.

28. Those Brâhmanas who have acquired property by base acts (such as living by the occupations of a lower caste, or accepting unlawful presents) become free from sin by relinquishing it, and by muttering (Veda texts) and practising austerities.

29. For omitting one of the regular acts enjoined in the revealed (and traditional) law, and for a breach of the rules laid down for a Snâtaka¹, a fast is ordained as atonement.

it as a sacrifice extending over two days or more; Kullûka (ibid.) states that it lasts three days or more, and that it is said in the Veda to cause impurity. See also Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 355.

26. The recitation and repetition of the Gâyatri is one of the chief elements of the ceremony of initiation. The words with which the pupil must address his teacher on this occasion are given by Nand.; they are quoted from Âsv. I, 21, 4, and Sâṅkh. II, 5, 10-11. See also Gaut. I, 46, with Dr. Bühler's note.

27. ¹ I.e. Brâhmanas and others who have gained their livelihood (in times of distress) by such occupations as are lawful for other castes only, and who, when the times of distress are over, wish to atone for those actions.' (Nand.)

29. ¹ Regarding the meaning of this term, see above, XXVIII, 42, note. The rules to be observed by a Snâtaka are given in Chapter LXXI.

30. For attacking a Brâhmana (by raising a stick or a weapon against him), the *Krikkhra* (Prâgâpatya) penance must be performed; for striking him, the *Atikrikkhra*; and for fetching blood from him, the *Krikkhrâtikrikkhra*.

31. With sinners, who have not expiated their crime, let a man not transact business of any kind. But a man who knows the law must not blame (or shun) those who have expiated it.

32. Let him not, however, live (or have any intercourse) with those who have killed children, or with ungrateful persons, or with those who have slain one come for protection, or a woman, even though such sinners may have obtained their absolution, as directed by the law.

33. (An old man) who has passed his eightieth year, a youth under the age of sixteen, women, and sick persons have only to perform half of every penance¹.

34. In order to remove those sins for which no particular mode of expiation has been mentioned, penances must be prescribed, which shall be in accordance with the ability of the offender, and with the heaviness of his offence.

LV.

1. Now follow the penances for secret sins.

30. For the *Atikrikkhra* penance, see M. XI, 214.

33. ¹ Nand. adds, that a youth under the age of sixteen, who has not been initiated, and old women, as well as girls who have not yet attained maturity, must only perform a quarter of it, as directed in a *Smṛiti*.

LV. 1. M. XI, 248; Y. III, 301; Gaut. XXIV, 1. — 2, 3. M. XI, 249, 260; Y. III, 302; Gaut. XXIV, 10. — 4. Gaut. XXIV,

2. The killer of a Brāhmaṇa is purified, if, having approached a river (and bathed in it), he restrains his breath sixteen times, and takes only one meal, consisting of food fit for offerings, each day, for a month.

3. At the end of this rite he must give a milch cow.

4. By performing the same rite and by muttering (while standing in the water) the Aghamarshaṇa¹ (instead of stopping his breath), a drinker of spirituous liquor² becomes free from sin.

5. (By performing the same rite and) muttering the Gâyatri one thousand and ten times (each day), a stealer of gold becomes free from guilt.

6. One who has connection with a Guru's wife¹ (becomes free from sin) by fasting for three days and muttering the Purushasūkta² and (at the same time) offering a burnt-oblation.

7. Even as the horse-sacrifice, the king of sacrifices, removes all sin, the hymn of Aghamarshaṇa likewise removes all sin.

8. Let a twice-born man stop his breath, in order to rid himself of all sin; all sins committed by a

10. — 6. M. XI, 252; Y. III, 305. — 7. M. XI, 260. — 10-21. M. II, 76-87.

2. Nand. infers from a text of Manu (XI, 249), that this rule refers to one who has killed a Brāhmaṇa intentionally.

3. This rule, Nand. infers from a passage of Yāgñavalkya (III, 305), applies also to the penances mentioned in the following Sūtra.

4. ¹ Rīg-veda X, 190. — ² 'I.e. one who has knowingly drunk it, the penance for drinking it unknowingly being stated by Yāgñavalkya (III, 304).' (Nand.)

5, 6. ¹ Nand. infers from M. XI, 251, 252, that these two Sūtras also refer to penances for crimes intentionally committed. — ² Rīg-veda X, 90.

twice-born man may be removed by repeated *Prânâyâmas*.

9. It is called a *Prânâyâma*, if a man, stopping the breath (which comes from the mouth and from the nostrils), recites the *Gâyatri* three times, together with the *Vyâhr̥tis* ('words')¹, with the sacred syllable *Om*, and with the (text called) *Siras*².

10. The lord of creatures (Brahman) has milked out from the three Vedas the letter A, the letter U, and the letter M (of which the sacred syllable *Om* is composed), and (the three sacred words) *Bhûh*, *Bhuvaḥ*, *Svaḥ* (earth, the atmosphere, and heaven).

11. The lord of creatures, the supreme deity, has also milked out from the three Vedas successively the three verses of the sacred stanza which begins with the word 'tad,' and is called *Sâvitri* (or *Gâyatri*).

12. By muttering, every morning and evening, that syllable and that stanza, preceded by the three 'words,' a *Brâhmana* will obtain that religious merit which the (study of the) Veda confers, just as if he had actually studied the Veda.

13. By repeating those three (*Om*, the 'words,' and the *Gâyatri* every day) for a month out of the village, a thousand times, a twice-born man is purified even from a mortal sin, as a snake (is freed) from its withered skin.

14. Any member of the *Brâhmana*, *Kshatriya*, or *Vaisya* castes, who does not know those three texts,

9. ¹ The three *Vyâhr̥tis*, 'words,' or *Mahâvyâhr̥tis*, 'great words,' are quoted in the next *Sloka*. — ² It begins with the words, 'O ye waters, who are splendour and ambrosia.' (Nand., and *Mitâksharâ* on Y. I, 23.)

or fails to recite them in the proper season, meets with reproach among the virtuous.

15. The three imperishable 'great words,' preceded by the syllable Om, and the Gâyatrî consisting of three divisions, have to be recognised as the mouth (or beginning) of the Veda¹.

16. He who repeats that stanza (preceded by the syllable Om and the three 'words') carefully every day for three years, will be absorbed in the highest Brahman after death, move as freely as air, and become as pure as air.

17. The monosyllable (Om) is the highest Brahman, the stoppings of the breath are the best of austerities, but nothing is more exalted than the Gâyatrî; (declaring the) truth is better than silence.

18. All religious acts ordained in the Veda, (whether) consisting in burnt-oblations or sacrifices (or alms-giving or other pious observances), perish (after the merit obtained by them has been exhausted); but the syllable Om (akshara) must be known to be imperishable (akshara), as it is identical with Brahman, the lord of creatures.

19. The act of reciting (the syllable Om, the 'words,' and the Gâyatrî) is ten times better than the (*Gyotish/oma* or other) sacrifices prescribed (by the Veda); it is a hundred times better when muttered in a low voice; it is a thousand times better when repeated mentally only.

20. The four Pākayagñas¹ (small or domestic

15. ¹To explain this, Nand. quotes a passage of Âśvalāyana (*Grihya-sūtra* III, 2, 3, where, however, part only of this quotation is found) to the effect that the study of the Veda has to be begun by pronouncing Om, the 'words,' and the Gâyatrî.

20. ¹'The four Pākayagñas are the offerings to gods, goblins (or "all beings"), manes, and men, together with the offering to

offerings), together with the sacrifices prescribed (in the Veda), though all united, are not equal to a sixteenth part of the sacrifice performed by reciting (those sacred prayers).

21. A Brâhmana may beyond doubt obtain final emancipation by solely repeating (those prayers), whether he perform any other religious observance or no; one who is benevolent towards all creatures (and does not slay them for sacrifices) is justly called a Brâhmana (or one united to Brahman).

LVI.

1. Now then¹ follow the purifying Mantras from all the Vedas.

Brahman.' (Nand.; see LIX, 20-25.) Kullûka, on the contrary (on M. II, 86), refers the term *Pâkayagñas* to the four first only out of those five offerings, and this interpretation, besides being more simple than Nand.'s, is preferable for several other reasons. First, the 'offering to Brahman' includes the daily recitation of the *Gâyatrî*, which is mentioned here as opposed to the four *Pâkayagñas*. Secondly, the number of four *Pâkayagñas* is equally given in the *Kâthaka Grihya-sûtra*; and Devapâla, in his Commentary on that work, gives a definition of them, which agrees in the main with Kullûka's. 'Four' *Pâkayagñas* are mentioned in the *Grihya-sûtras* of Kausika, Pâraskara, and Sâṅkhâya also. See Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 48. Thirdly, the *Pâkayagñas* are brought in here as opposed to the *Vidhiyagñas* or 'sacrifices prescribed by the Veda.' This is probably because the latter are offered in the triad of sacred fires, whereas the term *Pâkayagña*, in its narrower use, denotes the oblations offered in the domestic fire. Hence, it might come to include the 'offering to men,' i.e. the feeding of a guest, but certainly not the study of the Veda.

LVI. M. XI, 250-260; Y. III, 302-305; Gaut. XIX, 12; XXIV.

1. ¹ 'Now then,' i.e. the previous chapter containing an enumeration of secret sins, an enumeration of the purifying Mantras, by which they may be expiated, follows next. (Nand.)

2. By muttering them, or reciting them at a burnt-oblation, the twice-born are purified from their sins. (They are as follows:)

3. The Aghamarshaṇa; 4. The Devakṛita; 5. The Suddhavis; 6. The Taratsamandīya; 7. The Kūshmāṇḍis; 8. The Pāvamānis; 9. The Durgāsavitri; 10. The Atishaṅgas; 11. The Padastobhas; 12. The Vyāhṛiti Sāmans; 13. The Bhārunda; 14. The Kāndrasāman; 15. The

3. Rig-veda X, 190. (This and the following references are based upon Nand.'s statements.)

4. Vāgasaneyi Samhitā VIII, 13.

5. Rig-veda VIII, 84, 7-9.

6. Rig-veda IX, 58.

7. Vāgas. Samh. XX, 14-16 (Taitt. Ârany. X, 3-5).

8. The term Pāvamānyaḥ in its most common use denotes the ninth book of the Rig-veda, but Nand. here refers it to Taitt. Brāhm. I, 4, 8.

9. Rig-veda I, 99, 1.

10. Sāma-veda II, 47-49. Regarding this and the following Sāmans see also Benfey, Ind. Stud. III, 199 seq., Burnell's Index to the Ârshya Brāhmaṇa, and S. Goldschmidt's remarks in his edition of the Âranyaka Samhitā, Transactions of the Berlin Academy, 1868, p. 246 seq.

11. Sāma-veda II, 578-580.

12. 'The Vyāhṛiti Sāmans, i.e. bhūh and the four others.' (Nand.) The four others are, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ, satyam, puruṣaḥ. See Ūhya-gāna III, 2, 10, in Satyavrata Sāmāsrāmī's edition of the Sāma-veda Samhitā.

13. 'Bhārunda is the name of certain Sāmans, twenty-one in number, which begin with the words, yat te kṛishṇaḥ sakuna (Rig-veda X, 16, 6). They are contained in the Âranyagāna.' (Nand.) The reading of the last word is doubtful. At all events, the verse quoted by Nand. does not occur in the Âranyagāna. It may be that the Sāmans called Ekavimsatyanugāna are meant, which are found in that work, though they do not contain the verse referred to.

14. Sāma-veda I, 147.

15. Âranyaka Samhitā IV, 33, 34, in Goldschmidt's edition, = Rig-veda X, 90, 1, 4.

two Sâmans called Purushavrata ; 16. The Abliṅga ; 17. The Bârhaspatya ; 18. The Gosûkta ; 19. The Âsvasûkta ; 20. The two Sâmans called Kandra-sûkta ; 21. The Satarudriya ; 22. The Atharvasiras ; 23. The Trisuparna ; 24. The Mahâvrata ; 25. The Nârâyana ; 26. And the Purushasûkta ;

27. The three Âgyadohas¹, the Rathantara², the Agnivrata³, the Vâmadevya⁴, and the Brîhatsâman⁵, properly chanted, purify man from sin ; and if he wishes he may obtain through them recollection of his existence in a former life.

LVII.

1. Now¹ (the following persons) must be avoided:

16. Sâma-veda II, 1187.

17. Sâma-veda, I, 91.

18. Sâma-veda I, 122.

19. The same text as in the preceding Sûtra.

20. Sâma-veda I, 350. Nand. infers from a passage of Vâsishṭha (XXVIII, 12) that *ka* refers to Sâma-veda II, 812, and I, 153.

21. Kâṭhaka XVII, 11-16, &c.

22. 'The text beginning with the words, brahmâ devânâṃ prathamaḥ sambabhûva, "Brahman rose first among the gods."' (Nand.) The Atharvasira Upanishad has the words, very near the beginning, aham ekaḥ prathamam âsīt. See the Calcutta edition.

23. Taitt. Ârany. X, 48-50.

24. Sâma-veda I, 91.

25. Taitt. Ârany. X passim.

26. Rig-veda X, 90. Nand. infers from a passage of Vâsishṭha (XXVIII, 13) that *ka* refers to Rig-veda X, 71, and I, 90, 6-8.

27. ¹ Sâma-veda I, 67. — ² Sâma-veda I, 233. — ³ Sâma-veda I, 27. — ⁴ Sâma-veda I, 169. — ⁵ Sâma-veda I, 234.

LVII. 1, 2. M. II, 39 ; Y. I, 38. — 3. M. XI, 182-185 ; Y. III, 295 ; Âpast. I, 10, 28, 6-8 ; Gaut. XX, 1. — 4. Âpast. I, 1, 2, 5. — 6, 7. M. IV, 186. — 8. M. IV, 190. — 9. M. IV, 186 ; Y. I, 213. — 10. M. IV, 247, 250 ; Y. I, 214 ; Âpast. I, 6, 18, 1 ; I, 6, 19, 11 ; Gaut. XVII, 3. — 11, 12. M. IV, 248, 249 ; Âpast. I, 6, 19,

2. Vrâtyas (i.e. those for whom the ceremony of initiation has not been performed);

3. Outcasts;

4. Descendants within the third degree¹ of an outcast mother or father, if they (or their outcast ancestors) have not been purified (by a penance).

5. (As a rule) the food of all such persons must not be eaten, nor gifts be accepted from them¹.

6. He must avoid accepting repeated gifts from those whose presents must not be accepted¹.

7. By accepting such gifts, Brâhmanas lose their divine lustre.

8. And he who, not knowing the law regarding acceptance of gifts, accepts (illicit) gifts, sinks to hell together with the giver.

9. He who, being worthy to receive gifts, does not accept them, obtains that world which is destined for the liberal-minded (after death).

10. Firewood, water, roots, fruits, protection, meat, honey, a bed, a seat, a house, flowers, sour

14. — 13. M. IV, 251; Y. I, 216; Gaut. XVII, 4. — 14. M. IV, 213; Y. I, 215. — 15, 16. M. IV, 252, 253. — 16. Y. I, 166; Gaut. XVII, 6.

1. ¹ 'There are two classes of sinners, the repentant and the unrepenting. The penances to be performed by the former having been enumerated, he goes on in the present chapter to state that the latter must be avoided.' (Nand.)

3. See XXXV, 1-5.

4. ¹ Nand. refers the term 'in the third degree' to the three ascendants of the parents. The same infers from a passage of Gautama (XX, 1) that the particle *ka* is used in order to include a murderer of a king also.

5. ¹ Nand. infers from another text of Gautama (XX, 8) that it is also forbidden to converse with them.

6. ¹ 'It is no sin then, in one who is in distress, to accept a present once from them.' (Nand.) See 14.

milk, and vegetables he must not disdain to accept when they are offered to him.

11. Even if an offender (but not a mortal sinner) has beckoned and offered alms to him, which had been brought previously for the purpose, the lord of creatures has declared that they may be accepted from him.

12. Neither will the manes eat (his funeral oblations offered to them) for fifteen years, nor will the fire convey his burnt-offerings (to the gods) if he rejects such alms.

13. If he wishes to provide for his (parents or other) Gurus or for (his wife or other) such persons as he is bound to maintain, or if he wants to worship the manes or the gods, he may accept gifts from any one; but he must not satisfy himself with them.

14. But even in those cases, and though he be worthy to receive presents, let him not accept them from a dissolute woman, from a eunuch, from an outcast, or from an enemy.

15. And if his parents are dead, or if he is living apart from them in a house of his own, he must never, while seeking to obtain food for himself, accept alms from any other persons but those who are of respectable descent (and belong to a twice-born caste).

16. One who ploughs the ground for half the crop (and gives the other half to the king or a private person, who is the owner), a friend of the family, a (house-)slave, a herdsman, a barber, and

11. 'The use of the particle *ka* implies that Kusa grass &c. is likewise intended, as Yâgñavalkya (I, 214) says.' (Nand.)

16. The reason of this rule, according to Nand., lies in this, that

one who announces himself (with the words 'I am your slave'): the food of all such may be eaten, although they are Sûdras.

LVIII.

1. The property of householders is of three kinds:

2. White, mottled, and black.

3. By those obsequies which a man performs with white property, he causes (his departed ancestor) to be born again as a god.

4. By performing them with mottled property, he causes him to be born as a man.

5. By performing them with black property, he causes him to be born as an animal.

6. What has been acquired by the mode of livelihood of their own caste, by members of any caste, is called 'white.'

7. What has been acquired by the mode of livelihood of the caste next below in order to their own, is called 'mottled.'

8. What has been acquired by the mode of livelihood of a caste by two or more degrees lower than their own, is called 'black.'

9. What has been inherited, friendly gifts, and

all the castes mentioned in this Sûtra are not properly Sûdras, but the offspring of unions between parents of a different caste, herdsmen being, according to Parâsara, the offspring of a Kshatriya with a Sûdra damsel, &c. The same considers the use of the particle *ka* to imply that potters are also intended. See Gaut. XVII, 6.

LVIII. 1, 2. Nârada 3, 46. — 9-12. Nârada 3, 53, 47-49, 51.

1. As the obligations of a householder, which will be discussed further on (in LIX), cannot be fulfilled without a certain amount of wealth, he discusses in the present chapter the origin of wealth. (Nand.)

the dowry of a wife, that is called white property, for members of any caste indiscriminately.

10. What has been acquired as a bribe, as a fee (for crossing a river and the like, or for a bride, &c.), or by the sale of forbidden articles (such as lac, or salt), or as a return for a benefit conferred, is denoted 'mottled wealth.'

11. What has been acquired by servile attendance¹, by gambling, by thieving, by begging, by deceit (as if a man says that he wants a present for another and takes it himself, or by forging gold or other metals), by robbery, or by fraud (as if a man shows one thing to a purchaser and delivers another to him instead), is called 'black property.'

12. Whatever a man may do (in this world) with anything (he has, whether white, mottled, or black property) he will get his reward accordingly; both in the next world and in this.

LIX.

1. A householder must perform the Pākayagñas¹

11. ¹ Nand. interprets the term pārsvika by 'moving a chowrie to and fro before one's master, while standing by his side.'

LIX. 1. M. III, 67; Gaut. V, 7-9.—1, 2. M. IV, 25; Y. I, 97.—3, 4. Âsv. I, 9; I, 10; Gobh. I, 3, 5-9; Pâr. I, 9; I, 12; Sâṅkh. I, 3.—2, 4-9. Gaut. VIII, 19, 20.—4-9. M. IV, 25, 26; XI, 7, 8; Y. I, 124, 125.—5-7. Âsv. I, 11; Gobh. III, 8; Pâr. III, 1; III, 8; Sâṅkh. III, 8.—10. M. XI, 27; Y. I, 126.—11. M. XI, 24; Y. I, 127.—12. M. XI, 25; Y. I, 127.—13. M. III, 84, 90, &c. (see below, LXVII).—14, 15, 18. See the references given below (ad LXVII).—19, 20. M. III, 68, 69.—21-25. M. III, 70; Y. I, 102; Âpast. I, 4, 12, 16; I, 4, 13, 1; Gaut. V, 3, 9; Âsv. III, 1, 1-3; Pâr. II, 9, 1.—26. M. III, 72.—27-30. M. III, 77, 78, 80, 81.

1. ¹ The term Pākayagñas is used in a more restricted sense here than above (LV, 20). Nand. interprets it by 'Vaisvadeva, Sthâ-

(small or domestic offerings) in the fire kindled at the time of marriage².

2. He must offer the Agnihotra (or daily oblations of clarified butter) every morning and evening (in the Tretâ fires).

3. He must offer burnt-oblations to the gods (in case the Agnihotra cannot be performed).

4. Let him offer the two Darsapurṇamâsas on the days of conjunction and opposition of the sun and moon.

5. Once in each half of the year, (at the two solstices, let him offer) the Paṣubandha (animal sacrifice).

6. In autumn and summer let him offer the Âgrayana (oblation of first-fruits);

lipâka, Śravanâkarman, and similar sacrifices,' i.e. all the sacrifices which have to be performed in the one household fire, as opposed to those for which a Tretâ or triad of sacred fires is required (see Stenzler, note on Âśv. I, 1, 2). Gautama (VIII, 18) enumerates seven Pākayagñas, among which, however, the Vairvadeva is not included. The Vairvadeva is described in LXVII. Regarding the other Pākayagñas, see the *Grihya-sûtras*.—² 'Or in the fire kindled at the division of the family estate, or in the fire kindled on his becoming master of the house.' (Nand.) See Sâṅkh. I, 1, 3-5.

2. The three Tretâ fires have been enumerated above (XXXI, 8). Regarding the Agnihotra and the sacrifices mentioned in 4-8, see Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X, 328-337, 343-349, 352-396.

4. 'One who has performed the ceremony of Agnyâdhâna (kindling the sacred fires) must perform these two offerings in the Tretâ fires, one who has not done so, in the household or nuptial fire.' (Nand.) This remark applies equally to the sacrifices mentioned in 5-7.

6. 'If the Âgrayana is offered in the household fire, it must consist of a Sthâlipâka (cooked offering of grain).' (Nand.) See the *Grihya-sûtras* above cited. Nand. further explains that in autumn the first-fruits of rice, and in summer the firstlings of

7. Or when rice and barley are ripening (in winter and spring).

8. He who has a sufficient supply of food for more than three years (shall perform the Soma-sacrifice)¹.

9. (He shall perform) the Soma-sacrifice once a year (in spring).

10. If he has not wealth (sufficient to defray the expenses of the Pasubandha, Soma, *Kâturmâsya*, and other *Srauta* sacrifices), he shall perform the *Ishî Vaisvânari*.

11. Let him not make an offering of food obtained as alms from a *Sûdra*.

12. If he has begged articles for a sacrifice (and obtained them), let him employ them all for that purpose (and never for himself).

13. Every evening and morning let him offer up the *Vaisvadeva*;

14. And¹ let him give alms to an ascetic (afterwards).

15. For giving alms and showing due honour to the recipient (by pouring water on his hands both before and afterwards) he obtains the same reward as for giving a cow.

barley, or, according to *Âpastamba*, of *Venuyava*, have to be offered, and he infers from another text of the same author that the particle *ka* here refers to an oblation of *Syâmâka* grain, which has to be offered in the rainy season. The two passages in question are not found in *Âpastamba's Dharma-sûtra*, but *Weber*, loc. cit., quotes them from *Kâtyâyana*.

8. ¹ According to *Nand.*, the Soma-sacrifices here referred to are of the *kâmya* species (offered in order to obtain the gratification of a special desire).

14. ¹ *Nand.* infers from the use of the particle *ka*, and from a text of *Parâsara*, that an injunction to give alms to a student is also intended here.

16. If there is no ascetic (or other person worthy to receive alms), he must give a mouthful to cows ;

17. Or he must cast it into fire.

18. If there is food in the house, he must not reject a mendicant, (who arrives) after he has taken his meal himself.

19. A householder has five places where animals are liable to be destroyed : his wooden mortar, his slab to grind wheat or condiments upon, his fire-place, his water-pot, and his broom.

20. For the sake of expiating offences committed (by ignorantly destroying life) in those places, he must perform the (five) sacrifices addressed to the Veda, to the gods, to all created beings (or 'to the goblins'), to the manes, and to men.

21. Privately reciting (and teaching) the Veda is the sacrifice addressed to the Veda.

22. The regular burnt-oblation (Vaisvadeva) is the sacrifice addressed to the gods.

23. The *Pitr̥itarpana* (refreshing the manes with food and water) is the sacrifice addressed to the manes.

24. The *Bali-offering* is the sacrifice addressed to all creatures (or 'to the goblins').

25. The sacrifice addressed to men consists in honouring a guest.

26. He who does not give their share to these five, the gods, his guests, (his wife and children and others,) whom he is bound to maintain, his manes, and himself, is not alive, though he breathes.

18. 'The expression, "if there is food in the house," indicates that he is not bound to cook a fresh meal for his guest.' (Nand.)

27. These (three), the student, the hermit, and the ascetic, derive their existence from the order of householders; therefore must a householder not treat them with disdain, when they have arrived (at his house at the proper time for begging alms).

28. The householder offers sacrifices, the householder practises austerities, the householder distributes gifts; therefore is the order of householders the first of all.

29. The *Rishis*¹, the manes, the gods, all creatures (dogs, &c.), and guests beg householders for support; therefore is the order of householders the best of all.

30. If a householder is intent upon pursuing the three objects of life (virtue, love, and wealth), upon constantly distributing presents of food, upon worshipping the gods, upon honouring the *Brâhmaṇas*, upon discharging his duty of privately reciting (and teaching) the Veda, and upon refreshing the manes (with oblations of balls of rice, water, and the like), he will attain the world of Indra.

LX.

1. In (the last watch of the night, which is called)

27. Nand. refers the term *bhikshu*, which has been rendered by 'ascetic,' i.e. a member of the fourth order, to the six sorts of beggars enumerated by *Parâsara*. But as the first three orders are mentioned in this *Sloka*, it is certainly more natural to translate the term as has been done above.

29. ¹ Nand. thinks that hermits or members of the third order are meant by this term. But it seems preferable to refer it to the *Rishi* authors of the Veda, to whom the first of the five sacrifices, the study of the Veda, is more immediately addressed. See *Âpast.* I, 4, 13, 1; *Gaut.* V, 3.

LX. 1. M. IV, 92; Y. I, 115.—1, 2. M. IV, 50; Y. I, 16; *Âpast.*

the hour sacred to Brahman, let him rise and void his excrements.

2. By night (let him void them) facing the south, by day and during either twilight (let him void them) facing the north.

3. (He must) not (void them) on earth which has not been previously covered (with grass and the like);

4. Nor on a ploughed field;

5. Nor in the shade of a tree (fit to be used for sacrifices);

6. Nor on barren soil; 7. Nor on a spot abounding in fresh grass; 8. Nor where there are worms or insects; 9. Nor in a ditch (or hole, or upon the roots of a tree); 10. Nor on an ant-hill; 11. Nor on a path; 12. Nor on a public road; 13. Nor in a place previously defiled by another person; 14. Nor in a garden; 15. Nor in the vicinity of a garden or of (a reservoir of) water; 16. Nor on ashes; 17. Nor on coal; 18. Nor on

I, 11, 31, 1; Gaut. IX, 41-43.—3. M. IV, 49; Âpast. I, 11, 30, 15; Gaut. IX, 38.—4. M. IV, 46; Âpast. I, 11, 30, 18.—5. Âpast. loc. cit. 16; Gaut. IX, 40.—8-10. M. IV, 46, 47.—11, 12. M. IV, 45; Âpast. loc. cit. 18; Gaut. IX, 40.—11, 19. Y. I, 134.—15, 21. M. IV, 46, 56; Y. I, 134, 137; Âpast. loc. cit. 18.—16, 18. M. IV, 45; Gaut. IX, 40.—22. M. IV, 48; Y. I, 134; Âpast. 20.—23-26. M. IV, 49; V, 136, 137.—23. Âpast. 15; Gaut. IX, 37.—24. Y. I, 17. Chapters LX-LXIV treat of the daily duties of a householder. (Nand.)

6. Nand. infers from the use of the particle *ka*, that the following places (mentioned by Manu IV, 46, according to Nand.'s reading, which differs from the traditional one) are also included in this prohibition: a river, a mountain, the ruins of a temple, and the top of a mountain.

17. Nand. infers from the use of the particle *ka*, and from a text of Yama, that chaff and potsherds are also intended here.

cow-dung; 19. Nor in a fold for cattle; 20. Nor in the air; 21. Nor in water;

22. Nor facing the wind, or fire, or the moon, or the sun, or a woman, or a (father or other) Guru, or a Brâhmaṇa;

23. Nor without having enveloped his head;

24. Having cleaned his hindparts with a clod of earth, or with a brick, (or with wood or grass,) and seizing his organ (with his left, after having removed his garment), he must rise and clean himself with water and earth (previously) fetched for the purpose, so as to remove the smell and the filth.

25. The organ must once be cleaned with earth, the hindparts three times, the one hand (the left) ten times, both hands together seven times, and both feet together three times.

26. Such is the purification ordained for householders; it is double for students; treble for hermits; and quadruple for ascetics.

LXI.

1. A householder must not use ¹ Palâsa-wood for cleaning his teeth.

2. Nor (must he use the twigs of) the Sleshmân-

20. 'I.e. in an apartment on the roof or in any other such place.' (Nand.)

LXI. 1. Âpast. I, 11, 32, 9; Gaut. IX, 44.

1. ¹ Literally 'eat,' *adyât*. In 16 and 17 the synonymous verbs *bhaksh* and *as* are used. Nevertheless it can hardly be doubted that both of the two modes of cleaning the teeth, which appear to have been customary, are indicated in this chapter: the one consisting in brushing them with little sticks or twigs provided with a brush (see 16), the other in chewing twigs. Unfortunately the reading of Nand.'s gloss on the term *sakûrka* in 16 is uncertain.

2. Regarding the *Vibhîtaka* tree, see Dr. Bühler's Kashmir Report, p. 8.

taka (or Selu) plant, nor of the soap plant, nor of the Vibhitaka (or Kalidruma) tree, nor of the Dhava plant, nor of the Dhâmani tree (for that purpose).

3. Nor (the twigs of) the Bandhûka (or Bandhugivaka) plant, nor of the Nirgundî shrub, nor of the Sîgru, Tilva, and Tinduka trees.

4. Nor (the twigs of) the Kovidâra (Yugapatraka), Samî, Pilu (Gudaphala), Pippala (holy fig-tree), Înguda, or Guggula trees;

5. Nor (the twigs of) the Pâribhâdraka (Sakrapâdapa), or tamarind, or Mokaka, or Semul trees, nor those of the hemp plant;

6. Nor sweet plants (such as liquorice sticks);

7. Nor sour plants (such as Âmlikâs);

8. Nor twigs that have withered on the stem;

9. Nor perforated (or otherwise faulty) wood;

10. Nor stinking wood;

11. Nor smooth wood;

12. He must not (use the sticks) facing the south or west.

13. He must use them facing the north or east;

14. He may use (the twigs of) the banyan or Asana trees, or of the Arka plant, or of the Khadira, or Karañga, or Badara (jujube), or Sal, or Nimb trees, or of the Arimeda shrub, or of the Apâmârga or Malatî plants, or of the Kakubha or Bèl trees;

15. Or of the Kashâya tree, or of the Tikta or Kaṭuka plants.

16. Before sunrise let him silently clean his teeth with a stick, which must be as thick as the top of the little finger, provided with one end that may be chewed (or 'with a brush'), and twelve Âṅgulas long.

17. Having washed¹ and used the stick for cleaning the teeth, he must take care to leave it in a clean place; he must never make use of it on the day of new moon (or on the day of full moon).

LXII.

1. The part at the root of the little finger of a twice-born man is called the Tirtha sacred to Pragâpati.

2. The part at the root of the thumb is called the Tirtha sacred to Brahman.

3. The part at the tops of the fingers is called the Tirtha sacred to the gods.

4. The part at the root of the forefinger is called the Tirtha sacred to the manes.

5. Let him sip water, which has not been put to the fire and is free from foam (and bubbles), which has not been poured out by a Sûdra (or other uninitiated person), or by a man who has one hand only, and which has no saline flavour¹; and (let him sip it) in a clean place, duly seated, placing (his right hand) between his knees, facing the east or the north (or the north-east), attentively regarding the water, and in a cheerful mood.

6. Let him sip water thrice with the Tirtha sacred

17. ¹ It must be washed both before and after using it. (Nand.)

LXII. 1-4. M. II, 59; Y. I, 19. — 5-8. M. II, 60, 61; Y. I, 20; Âpast. I, 5, 16, 1-7; Gaut. I, 36. — 9. M. II, 62; Y. I, 21.

1. Nand. observes that this chapter and the preceding one follow in order upon Chapter LX, because the purificatory rite described at the end of the latter is immediately followed by the Âkâmana (sipping of water), and then by the Dantadhâvana (cleaning the teeth), both of which acts, however, have to be performed on other occasions also, as after a meal, &c.

5. ¹ The term kshâra, 'saline flavour,' includes bad or spoiled water of any kind, according to Nand.

to Brahman (or with the Tirthas sacred to the gods and to Pragâpati respectively).

7. Let him wipe his lips twice (with the root of his thumb).

8. Let him touch the cavities (above his navel)¹, his head, and his breast with water.

9. By water which reaches either their heart, or their throat, or their palate respectively, members of the three twice-born castes are purified each in his turn; a woman and a Sûdra are purified by water which has once touched their palate.

LXIII.

1. In order to obtain wealth and for the sake of security he shall apply to a lord.

2. He must not travel alone; 3. Nor with wicked companions; 4. Nor with Sûdras; 5. Nor with enemies; 6. Nor too early in the morning; 7. Nor too late in the evening; 8. Nor in the twilight; [9. Nor at noon; 10. Nor near water;] 11. Nor in too great a hurry; 12. Nor at night;

8. ¹ See XXIII, 51.

LXIII. 1. M. IV, 33; Gaut. IX, 63.—2-9. M. IV, 140, 55, 60.—13-17, 19, 21. M. IV, 67, 131, 57.—24, 25. M. IV, 78; Y. I, 139; Âpast. II, 8, 20, 11; Gaut. IX, 15.—26-28. Sâṅkh. IV, 12, 15; M. IV, 39; Y. I, 133; Gaut. IX, 66.—40. M. IV, 130.—41. M. IV, 132.—42. M. IV, 38; Gaut. IX, 52.—43. M. IV, 38; Gobh. III, 5, 11.—46. Âsv. III, 9, 6; M. IV, 77; Y. I, 139; Âpast. I, 11, 32, 26; Gaut. IX, 32.—47. Âpast. I, 11, 32, 27; Gaut. IX, 33.—49. Gobh. III, 5, 13; Pâr. II, 7, 6; Sâṅkh. IV, 12, 28.—51. M. IV, 138, 139; Y. I, 117; Âpast. II, 5, 11, 5-7; Gaut. VI, 24, 25.

1. 'A lord' (isvara) means a king or another rich man, in his own country, or in another country. (Nand.) See also Dr. Bühler's note on Gaut. IX, 63, where the same Sûtra occurs.

9, 10. Sûtras 9 and 10 are wanting in Dr. Bühler's MS.

13. Nor (let him travel) without cessation with (horses or other) beasts of draught that are quite young, diseased, or (otherwise) afflicted ;

14. Nor with such as are deficient in limb ; 15. Nor with weak ones ; 16. Nor with young bulls ; 17. Nor with untrained animals.

18. He must not appease his hunger and allay his thirst without having first given grass and water to the animals.

19. He must not stop at a place where four ways meet ; 20. Nor at night at the root of a tree ; 21. Nor in an empty house ; 22. Nor upon a meadow ; 23. Nor in a stable ;

24. Nor (must he stand) on hair, on the husks of grain, on potsherds, on bones, on ashes, or coal ;

25. Nor on seeds of the cotton plant.

26. When he passes by a place where four ways meet, let him turn his right side towards it.

27. And let him do the same in passing by the image of a deity ;

28. And in passing by well-known large trees.

29. After having seen a fire, or a Brâhmaṇa (with his turban on), or a public prostitute, or a jar filled (with water), or a looking-glass, or an umbrella, or a flag, or a banner¹, or a Bèl tree, or a lid (or platter), or a palace built in the shape of a certain diagram (or in the form of a quadrangle without a western gate)² ;

29. ¹ 'More precisely the term patākâ signifies "a staff, by which a piece of cloth torn in the middle is fastened."' (Nand.)—

² 'The particle ka is added at the end of this enumeration in order to include in it perfumes, lamps, and other objects mentioned in a Smṛiti.' (Nand.)

30. Or a fan, or a chowrie, or a horse, or an elephant, or a goat, or a cow (having a calf), or sour milk, or milk, or honey, or white mustard ;

31. Or a lute, or sandal-wood, or a weapon, or fresh cow-dung, or fruit, or a flower, or a fresh pot-herb, or Goroḱanâ, or blades of Dûrvâ grass ;

32. Or a turban, or ornaments, or jewels, or gold, or silver, or clothes, or a seat, or a vehicle, or (raw) meat ;

33. Or a golden vase, or cultivated land which is being carried away (by a stream), or a single (bull or other) piece of cattle tied with a rope, or an unmarried damsel (clad in white), or a (boiled) fish, (let him turn his right side towards them and) go on.

34. Having seen one intoxicated, or insane, or deformed, he must turn back ;

35. (Also, if he has seen) one who has vomited, or one who has been purged, or one who has had his head shorn, or one who wears all his hair tied in one knot, or a dwarf ;

30. 'The particle *ka*, which is added at the end of this Sûtra, refers to a king, his ministers, his domestic priest, &c., as indicated in a *Smṛiti* passage.' (Nand.)

31. Nand. infers from another *Smṛiti* passage that *ka* here refers to a crow and to a *Sûdra* or workman with his tools.

32. Nand. here refers *ka* to shells and other objects mentioned in a *Smṛiti*.

33. Nand. here refers *ka* to a dead body and other objects enumerated in a *Smṛiti*.

34. The enumeration of auspicious objects in Sûtras 29-33 is followed by an enumeration of inauspicious objects in Sûtras 34-38. (Nand.)

35. The particle *ka* refers to enemies, outcasts, and others mentioned in a *Smṛiti*. (Nand.)

36. Or (if he has seen) one wearing a dress (of a reddish-yellow colour) dyed with Kashâya¹, or an ascetic, or one smeared² (with ashes)³;

37. Or (if he has seen) oil, or sugar, or dry cowdung, or fire-wood, or grass (other than Kusa or Dûrvâ grass), or Palâsa (and other leaves, other than betel leaves), ashes, or coal¹;

38. Or (if he has seen) salt, or a eunuch, or (the spirituous liquor called) Âsava, or an impotent man, or cotton cloth, or a rope, or an iron chain for the feet, or a person with dishevelled hair.

39. (If he sees), while about to begin a journey, a lute, or sandal-wood, or fresh pot-herbs, or a turban, or an ornament, or an unmarried damsel, he must praise them¹.

36. ¹ Nand. refers kâshâyin, 'wearing a dress dyed with Kashâya,' to 'persons who wear the marks of an order to which they do not belong.' But this interpretation is evidently wrong. Among the sects that wear a dress dyed with Kashâya, Buddhists are the most prominent, but it must not be overlooked that there are other important sects also, as e.g. the Svâminârâyana's of the present day, who wear such dresses.—² The term malina, 'smeared,' no doubt refers to a Saiva sect. Nand. interprets it by 'Kâpâlikas and the like;' but more probably the Pâsupatas are meant.—³ The particle *ka* further refers to the humpbacked, deaf, and blind, to barren women, and to naked and hungry persons, as stated in a Smṛiti. (Nand.)

37. ¹ Nand. refers the particle *ka* in this Sûtra to hares, naked mendicants, snakes, iguanas, lizards, skins, and other inauspicious objects and persons enumerated in a Smṛiti.

38. Nand. argues from a passage of Nârada (not found in his Institutes), that the particle *ka* here refers to persons mounted upon an ass, camel, or buffalo, and others.

39. ¹ Nand. mentions two explanations of this Sûtra: 1. he must eulogise the above objects or persons if he sees them; 2. he must gladden persons, who have those objects or persons with them, with presents and the like.

40. He must not (knowingly) step on (or step over, or stand on) the shade of the image of a deity, of a (learned) Brâhmana, of a spiritual teacher, of a brown (bull or other animal), or of one by whom the initiatory ceremony at a Soma-sacrifice has been performed.

41. Nor (must he step) on anything spat out or vomited, nor on blood, nor on fæces or urine, nor on water used for ablutions.

42. He must not step over a rope to which a calf (or a cow) is tied.

43. He must not walk quickly in the rain.

44. He must not cross a river without need ;

45. Nor without having previously offered an oblation of water to the gods and to the manes ;

46. Nor (swimming) with his arms ;

47. Nor in a leaky vessel.

48. He must not stand on the bank (of a river).

49. He must not gaze into a pool.

50. He must not cross it (by swimming through it, or in any other way).

51. Way must be made for an aged man, for one carrying a burden, for a king, for a Snâtaka (of any of the three kinds¹), for a woman, for a sick person, for a bridegroom, and for one riding in a carriage. Among those, should they all meet, a king must be

41. According to Nand., the particle *vâ*, 'or,' is added at the end of this Sûtra, in order to include an officiating priest and others mentioned by Yâgñavalkya I, 152.

51. ¹ The Snâtaka (see XXVIII, 42, note) is of three kinds : 1. the Vidyâsnâtaka, who has studied the Vedas ; 2. the Vratasnâtaka, who has performed the Vratas or vowed observances of a student ; 3. the Ubhayasnâtaka, who has completed both the Vedas and the Vratas. (Nand.) See the *Grîhya-sûtras*.

honoured by the rest (excepting the Snâtaka); but the king himself must show honour to a Snâtaka.

LXIV.

1. He must not bathe in another man's pool;
2. In cases of distress (if there is no other water at hand) he may bathe (in another man's pool), after having offered up five (or seven, or four) lumps of clay and (three jars with) water.
3. (He must not bathe) during an indigestion;
4. Nor while he is afflicted (with a fever or other illness);
5. Nor without his clothes;
6. Nor at night;
7. Unless it be during an eclipse;
8. Nor in the twilight.
9. He must bathe early in the morning, when he beholds the east reddening with the rays of the (rising) sun.
10. After having bathed, he must not shake his head (in order to remove the water from his hair);
11. And he must not dry his limbs (with his hand or with a cloth);
12. Nor must he touch any oily substance.

LXIV. 1. M. IV, 201.—1, 2. Y. I, 159.—3, 4. M. IV, 129.—5. M. IV, 45; Gaut. IX, 61; Âsv. III, 9, 6; Pâr. II, 7, 6; Sâṅkh. IV, 12, 31.—6. M. IV, 129.—12. M. IV, 83.—13. Sâṅkh. IV, 12, 32.—15. Gaut. IX, 16.—16. M. IV, 263; Y. I, 159.—24. M. IV, 152; Y. I, 100.—27. Y. I, 196.

5. The term *nagna*, literally 'naked,' has to be taken in its widest sense here. According to *Bhṛigu* and *Gobhila* it includes, besides one wholly undressed, 'one without his upper garment, one who has dirty clothes on, one clad in lower garments of silk only, one who wears double clothing or even a greater number of clothes, one who wears a small piece of cloth over the pudenda only,' &c. (Nand.) See also M. IV, 129.

13. He must not put on again the garment which he wore before, without its having been washed.

14. After having bathed, he must cover his head with a turban¹ and put on two garments² washed (by himself).

15. He must not converse, (after having bathed,) with barbarians, low-caste persons, or outcasts.

16. He must bathe in cascades, ponds dug by the gods, and lakes.

17. Stagnant water is more pure (and purifies more effectually) than water taken out (of a well or the like); the water of a spring is more pure than that of a tank; the water of a river is more pure than the former; water collected by (Vasishtha or some other) devout sage¹ is even more pure; but the water of the Ganges is the purest of all.

18. After having removed the dirt by means of earth and water¹, and after having dived under water and returned (to the bank of the river), he must address the bathing-place with the three Mantras (beginning with the words), 'Ye waters are²,' with the four Mantras (beginning with the words),

14. ¹ Ushnîsha, 'a turban,' here denotes a bandage used for drying the head, which is wrapped round the head and closely tied together.—² I.e. an upper and an under garment. (Nand.)

16. The term devakhâta, 'ponds dug by the gods,' refers to Pushkara and other holy bathing-places. (Nand.) See below, LXXXV.

17. ¹ Nand. cites Vasishthaprâkî and Visvâmitraprâkî as instances of holy bathing-places of this description.

18. ¹ Nand. refers this and the following Sûtras to a midday bath, because a verse, which he quotes, forbids the use of earth (in order to clean one's self with it) in the morning bath. But it seems to follow from 35 and 42, that all the rules given in this chapter refer to that bath, which must be taken at sunrise every day.—² Rig-

'The golden-coloured (waters)³,' and with (the one Mantra beginning with the words), 'Carry away (all) that, O ye waters⁴.'

19. Then he must dive under water and mutter the Aghamarshana three times;

20. Or (he must mutter three times the Mantra which begins with the words), 'That most exalted step of Vishnu;'

21. Or the Drupadâ Sâvitri (which begins with the words, 'Like one released from a post');

22. Or the Anuvâka (which begins with the words), 'They get their minds ready;'

23. Or the Purushasûkta.

24. After having bathed, he must feed the gods and the manes, while standing in the water with his wet clothes on.

25. If (being unable to remain in water after having bathed) he has changed his dress, (he must feed the gods and the manes,) after having crossed the bathing-place (and reached the bank).

26. (But) he must not wring his bathing-dress till he has satisfied the gods and the manes.

27. After having bathed¹ and sipped water, he must sip water (once more) according to the rule.

28. He must offer (sixteen) flowers to Purusha,

veda X, 9, 1-3, &c. —³ Taitt. Samh. V, 6, 1, 1-2, &c. —⁴ Rig-veda I, 23, 22, &c.

20. Rig-veda I, 22, 20, &c.

21. Taitt. Brâhm. II, 4, 4, 9; 6, 6, 3; cf. Vâgasan. Samh. XX, 20; Atharva-veda VI, 115, 3.

22. Rig-veda V, 81, &c.

24. 'The use of the particle *ka* indicates that he must anoint himself after having bathed.' (Nand.)

27. ¹ This expression refers back to the whole proceeding described above, up to the wringing of the bathing-dress. (Nand.)

while muttering the *Purushasûkta*, one with each verse.

29. Afterwards (he must offer) a libation of water.

30. He must first offer one to the gods with the *Tîrtha* sacred to the gods.

31. Then he must offer another to the manes with the *Tîrtha* sacred to the manes.

32. In offering the latter he must first of all feed (the manes of) his next of kin (such as his father, mother, maternal grandfather, uncles, brothers, &c.)

33. After that (he must feed) his relatives (such as a sister's son, a father-in-law, a brother-in-law, &c.) and distant kinsmen (such as the sons of his father's sisters and of his mother's sisters).

34. Then (he must feed) his (deceased) friends.

35. According to the above rule he must bathe every day.

36. After having bathed, he must mutter as many purifying *Mantras* as possible.

37. And he must mutter the *Gâyatri* even more often (than other *Mantras*);

38. And the *Purushasûkta*.

39. There is nothing more sublime than those two (prayers).

40. One who has bathed is thereby entitled to perform the offerings to the *Viśvedevās* and to the manes, to mutter sacred texts, and to exercise the duty of hospitality, as prescribed by law.

30, 31. See LXII, 3, 4.

37, 38. 'Or the meaning of these two *Sûtras* is, that the *Gâyatri* and the *Purushasûkta* always have to be muttered besides the other *Mantras*.' (Nand.)

40. Nand. refers the term *vidhinodite* to a separate duty, that

41. Distress and misfortune, bad dreams and evil thoughts are taken from him even who only sprinkles himself with water (no matter from where it comes): that is the law.

42. He who regularly takes the prescribed bath (every morning), does not experience the tortures of Yama's hell. By the regular bath criminals even obtain their absolution.

LXV.

1. Now then, after having duly bathed, and duly washed his hands and feet, and duly sipped water, he must worship Bhagavat Vāsudeva (Vishnu), who is without beginning and end, before an idol or on the sacrificial ground.

2. Having called up in his mind (Vishnu to life, with the Mantra)¹, 'The two Asvins possess life, may they (give you life),' and having invited (Vishnu) with the Anuvāka (beginning with the words), 'They get their minds ready²,' he must worship him with his knees, his hands, and his head³.

of worshipping the gods; the particle *ka* to the propitiation of the planets by sacrifices and other such duties; and the particle *tathā* to optional acts, such as the gift of a cow to a Brāhmaṇa, and the like. But this is certainly a too extensive interpretation of the text.

LXV, LXVI. These two chapters treat of the worship of Vishnu. (Nand.)

LXV. 1. The fittest place for worshipping Vishnu is upon a Sālagrāma (ammonite) stone. (Nand.)

2. ¹ *Kāṭhaka* XI, 7. The rendering of this Mantra is conjectural, as the reading is uncertain. Nand. states expressly that it is quoted from the *Kāṭhaka*.—² See LXIV, 22.—³ 'The particle *ka* indicates that he must also worship Vishnu in his mind, and with his speech, by saying, 'Om, adoration to Bhagavat Vāsudeva.' (Nand.)

3. With the three Mantras (beginning with the words), 'Ye waters are,' he must (fetch and) announce the Arghya (or water for washing the hands).

4. With the four Mantras (beginning with the words), 'The golden-coloured,' (he must fetch and announce) the water for washing the feet;

5. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the words), 'May the waters of the plain propitiate us,' the water which is to be sipped;

6. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the words), 'Carry away (all) that, O ye waters,' the water destined for the bath;

7. With (the four Mantras, beginning with the words, 'Proud) of the chariot, of the poles, the hero,' unguents and ornaments;

8. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the words), 'A youth, splendidly arrayed,' a garment;

9. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the word), 'Blooming,' a flower;

10. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the

3, 4. See LXIV, 18.

5. This Mantra is found Atharva-veda I, 6, 4; XIX, 2, 2; Taitt. Âraṇy. VI, 4, 1. Nand. states that it is *ka/hasâkhiya*, from the *Sâkhâ* of the *Ka/has*; but I have not found it in the Berlin MS. of the *Kâ/haka*, the only complete MS. in existence of that work.

6. See LXIV, 18.

7. This Mantra also belongs to the *Ka/ha* school, according to Nand. It is not found in the MS. of the *Kâ/haka*, but it occurs in the Taitt. Brâhm. II, 7, 7, 2. The above translation is in part according to Sâyana's Commentary on the Taitt. Brâhm.

8. Rîg-veda III, 8, 4, &c.

9. Taitt. Samh. IV, 2, 6, 1; Kâ/h. XVI, 13; Atharva-veda VIII, 7, 27. Nand. says that it is a Taittirîya Mantra.

10. Kâ/h. II, 7; Vâgas. Samh. I, 8 (cf. Mahîdhara's Commentary). Nand. says that it is a Taittirîya Yagus.

words), 'Thou art murderous (dhûr), slay (dhûrva) (the slayer),' incense (dhûpa);

11. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the words), 'Thou art splendour and light,' a lamp;

12. With (the one Mantra, beginning with the words, 'I have praised) Dadhikrâvan,' a Madhuparka (honey-mixture);

13. With the eight Mantras (beginning with the word), 'Hiraṇyagarbha,' an offering of (other) eatables.

14. A chowrie, a fan, a looking-glass¹, an umbrella, a (palanquin or other) vehicle, and a (throne or other) seat, all these objects he must announce (and place before) the god (Vishnu), muttering the Gâyatri (at the same time).

15. After having thus worshipped him, he must mutter the Purushasûkta. After that, he who wishes to obtain eternal bliss must make oblations of clarified butter, while reciting the same hymn.

LXVI.

1. He must not make an oblation to the gods or to the manes with water collected at night.

2. He must not give any other fragrant substance than sandal, or musk, or (fragrant) wood (of the odoriferous Devadâru tree), or camphor, or saffron, or the wood of the Gâtîphala tree;

3. Nor a garment dyed with indigo;

11. Vâgas. Samh. XXII, 1. Nand. states that this Mantra belongs to the Sâkhâ of the Kaṭhas; but I have not met with it in the Kâṭhaka.

12. Rig-veda IV, 39, 6, &c.

13. Rig-veda X, 121, 1-8; Kâṭh. XL, 1, &c.

14. ¹ Thus the term mâtrâ is interpreted by Nand.

4. Nor an ornament made of factitious jewels or gold;
5. Nor (a flower) having a nasty odour;
6. Nor one that has no odour at all;
7. Nor one grown upon a thorny plant.
8. But he may give even a flower grown upon a thorny plant, if it is white and sweet-smelling.
9. He may give even a red flower, if it is saffron, or a water-flower (such as the red lotus).
10. (He must) not (give) any animal substance (such as claws or horns) for the incense.
11. (He must) not (give) anything but clarified butter or oil for the lamp.
12. (He must) not (give) forbidden food at the offering of eatables;
13. Nor the milk of goats or female buffalos, though it is lawful food (otherwise);
14. Nor the flesh of five-toed animals, of fishes, and of boars.
15. Fully prepared for the sacrifice and pure, he must announce (and offer up to Vishnu) all the oblations, with his mind fixed upon the deity, with a cheerful heart, and free from precipitation or anger.

LXVII.

1. After having swept the place around the (kitchen) fire, sprinkled it with water all around,

9. The particle *ka* indicates that fragrant oleander and the like is also permitted. (Nand.)

13. See LI, 38.

14. This prohibition refers to those species of five-toed animals, fish, and boars, whose flesh is not in general forbidden. (Nand.) See LI, 3, 6, 21.

LXVII. 1-32. Âsv. I, 2; Gobh. I, 4; Pâr. I, 12; II, 9; Sâṅkh. II,

strewed (Kusa grass) all around, and sprinkled (the latter) with water all around, he must take out of all dishes the uppermost part and offer it:

2. To Vāsudeva, to Saṅkarshana, to Pradyumna, to Aniruddha, to Purusha, to Satya, to Ākṣuta, to Vāsudeva.

3. Afterwards (he must offer twelve burnt-oblations) to Agni, to Soma, to Mitra, to Varuṇa, to Indra, to Indra and Agni united, to the Visvedevās, to Pragâpati, to Anumati, to Dhanvantari, to Vâstoshpati, and to Agni Svishṭakṛit (the god of the fire who causes the proper performance of the sacrifice).

4. Then let him make a Bali-offering with that which has been left of the dishes.

5. To (the serpent demons) Taksha and Upa-taksha,

6. (Strewing the two Balis) on both sides of the fire, to the east of it (on the north-eastern side first, and on the south-eastern side afterwards).

14; M. III, 84-94; Y. II, 103-108; Âpast. II, 2, 3; II, 2, 4, 1-13; Gaut. V, 10-18. — 33-46. Âsv. I, 24; Gobh. IV, 10; Pâr. II, 9, 12-16; I, 3; Sâṅkh. II, 15-17; M. III, 99, 100, 102, 103, 111-118; Y. I, 107-113; Âpast. II, 2, 4, 11-20; II, 3; II, 4; Gaut. V, 21-45. Regarding the parallel passages of the Kâṭhaka and Mânava Grîhya-sûtras, see the Introduction. This chapter treats of the Vaisvadeva sacrifice. (Nand.)

1. Nand. infers from a text of Saunaka, that the particle *atha* points to the recitation of the Purushasûkta as an initiatory ceremony.

2. Regarding this Sûtra, see the Introduction. The oblations to be offered are eight in number, one for each invocation.

3. Devapâla, in his Commentary on the corresponding section of the Kâṭhaka Grîhya-sûtra, states that the deities to whom burnt-oblations are offered (Sûtra 3) shall be invoked with the word *svâhâ*, 'hail!' and those for whom Bali-offerings are strewed upon the ground, with the word *namaḥ*, 'adoration.'

6-8. These three Sûtras have been translated in accordance

7. (Then let him offer other seven Balis) to all (the seven Ish/akâs or goddesses of the bricks of the altar, also to the east of the fire, while pronouncing the Mantras), 'Thy name is Ambâ; thy name is Dulâ; thy name is Nitatnî (Nitatnir); thy name is *Kupurikâ* (and so on).'

8. (He must offer four Balis with the Mantras), 'O Nandini; O Subhagâ; O Sumaṅgalî; O Bhadrakartî,' (placing the Balis) in the corners (beginning with the south-eastern corner and proceeding) towards the south.

9. (He must place two Balis), addressed to Sri Hiranyakesî and to the trees, near the firm pillar¹.

10. (He must place two Balis), addressed to Dharma and Adharma and to Mrityu, near the door.

11. (He must place one Bali), addressed to Varuṇa, in the water-jar.

12. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to Vishṇu,' (he must place one Bali) in the mortar.

13. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to the Maruts,' (he must place one Bali) on the mill-stone.

14. (In the apartment) on the roof (let him place two Balis) addressed to Vaisrâvâṇa (Kubera) the king, and to all created beings.

15. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to Indra and to Indra's ministers,' (he must place two Balis) in the eastern part (of the house).

with Devapâla's readings and his remarks on them. Nand. wrongly refers the four names mentioned in 7 to the four quarters of the globe. The Mantra quoted in 7 is found complete in the *Kâṭhaka*, XL, 4, and, in a modified form, in the *Taitt. Samh.* IV, 4, 5, 1.

9. ¹I.e. the pillar which supports the house.' (Nand.) It appears from an analogous passage of the *Mânava Grîhya-sûtra*, that a pillar in the middle of the house is meant.

16. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to Yama and to Yama's ministers,' (he must place two Balis) in the southern part.

17. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to Varuna and to Varuna's ministers,' (he must place two Balis) in the western part.

18. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to Soma and to Soma's ministers,' (let him place two Balis) in the northern part.

19. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to Brahman and to Brahman's ministers,' (let him place two Balis) in the centre (of the house).

20. (Let him throw) in the air (a Bali) addressed to Âkâsa (the air).

21. (With the words, 'Adoration be) to the goblins roaming by day,' (let him place a Bali) on the sacrificial ground.

22. (With the words, 'Adoration be to the goblins) roaming by night,' (let him offer a Bali in the same place at the Vaisvadeva which takes place) at night.

23. Afterwards he must offer upon blades of Kusa grass, having the points turned towards the south, balls of rice to his father, to his grandfather, and to his great-grandfather, to his mother, to his grandmother, and to his great-grandmother, proclaiming at the same time their name and race (and adding the word Svadhâ, 'reverence').

24. Along with the balls of rice let him give ointments, flowers, incense, eatables, and the like.

25. After having fetched a jar with water, let him

24. 'And the like' means betel and the sacrificial fee for the Brâhmanas. (Nand.)

25. This has to be done with the words, *svastitvam brûhi*, 'say

cause a Brâhmana to say the benediction (and give him the jar).

26. (The share) of dogs, crows, and Svapaṅkas let him strew upon the earth.

27. And let him give (a mouthful of food as) alms.

28. By honouring guests he obtains the highest reward.

29. Let him assiduously honour a guest who arrives in the evening (after the Vaisvadeva is over).

30. Let him not suffer a guest to stay at his house unfed.

31. As the Brâhmanas are lords over all other castes, and as a husband is lord over his wives, a guest is the lord of a householder.

32. By honouring a guest he obtains heaven.

33. (One who has arrived as) a guest and is obliged to turn home disappointed in his expectations, takes away from the man, to whose house he has come, his religious merit, and throws his own guilt upon him.

34. A Brâhmana who stays for one night only as a guest, is called atithi (a guest); because he does not stay for a long time, therefore is he termed atithi.

the benediction.' (Nand.) The benediction, according to Devapâla, consists of the Purushasûkta, the Kanikrada (Vâgas. Samh. XIII, 48), and other Mantras.

27. According to Nand., who argues from a passage of Baudhâyana, the particle *ka* implies that he should feed Brâhmanas also.

33. This proverb is also found in the Mahâbhârata XII, 6995, in the Hitopadesa I, 56 (64 ed. Johnson), and in the Mârkanḍeya-purâṇa XXIX, 31. See Böhlingk, Ind. Sprüche, 134.

34. Atithi in this derivation is supposed to mean 'one who does not stay for a whole tithi or lunar day.'

35. Let him not consider a Brâhmana fellow-villager or an acquaintance as his guest, though he has come to the house where his wife and his fires are.

36. But if a Kshatriya has come to his house in the way of a guest, let him hospitably entertain him also, to his heart's desire¹, after the Brâhmana guests have eaten.

37. Should a Vaisya or a Sûdra come to his house as guests, he must even give food to them (at the same time and) with his servants, and treat them with kindness (but not like guests in the proper sense of the term).

38. To (members of) other castes (such as Mûrdhâvasiktas) and to friends (or relatives or) other such persons, who have come to his house out of attachment, let him offer such food as happens to be there, to the best of his power, at the time when his wife takes her meal.

39. One recently married (but not yet delivered to her husband), an unmarried damsel, a sick woman, and a pregnant woman: to these let him give food unhesitatingly, even before his guests.

40. The foolish man who eats first himself, without having offered food to those (persons that have been mentioned), is not aware that he will himself be food (after death) for dogs and vultures.

41. After the Brâhmanas, (the Kshatriyas who have come as guests), the friends and relatives, (the parents and others) whom he is bound to maintain,

36. ¹This is Kullûka's rendering of the term *kâmam* (on M. III, 111). According to Nand., it means that he is at liberty to feed such guests or no.

38. The wife takes her meal when the husband has eaten. (Nand.)

(and the servants) have made their repast, let man and wife eat the leavings themselves.

42. Having shown honour to the gods, to the manes, to men, to those whom he is bound to maintain, and to the household deities (as well as to dogs, crows, and the rest), let a householder enjoy that which has been left.

43. He who cooks food for himself only, eats nothing but sin: for that alone is considered as fit food for the virtuous, which is left, after the (customary) oblations have been offered.

44. By the daily recitation of the Veda, by the Agnihotra, by sacrificing, and by austerity, a householder does not obtain such excellent places of abode (after death) as by honouring a guest.

45. Whether he arrives in the evening or in the morning, he must offer a seat and water to his guest, and food, to the best of his ability, after having shown him marks of honour as the law directs¹.

46. By giving (to a guest) shelter, a bed, ointments for his feet, and a lamp: for each of these gifts singly he reaps the same reward as for the gift of a cow.

LXVIII.

1. He must not eat during an eclipse of the moon or of the sun.

45. ¹ For the rules regarding the reception of a guest, see Âsv. I, 24, and the other *Gr̥hya-sûtras*; M. III, 119 seq., and the other *Dharmasâstras*.

LXVIII. 12. M. IV, 55. — 14. M. IV, 45; Y. I, 131; Âpast. II, 8, 19, 18. — 19. M. IV, 74. — 20. M. IV, 65. — 21. M. IV, 63; Gaut. IX, 56. — 23. M. IV, 74. — 26. M. III, 106; Âpast. II, 4, 8, 4. — 27. M. IV, 62; Âpast. II, 8, 18, 1; II, 8, 20, 10; Gaut. IX, 58. — 29. M. IV, 75. — 34. M. IV, 76. — 37. M. IV, 37; Y.

2. He shall eat, after having previously bathed, when the eclipse is over.

3. If (the sun or moon) have set before the eclipse was over, he must bathe, and on the next day he may eat again, after having seen (the sun or moon rise).

4. A cow or a Brâhmana having met with a calamity, he must not eat on that day.

5. If the king has met with an accident, (he must not eat on that day).

6. An Agnihotrin, who is absent on a journey, must eat at that time of the day when the Agnihotra is supposed to be over.

7. He may also eat at that time of the day when the Vaisvadeva is supposed to be over.

8. On the days of new and full moon (he may eat at that time) when he supposes the sacrifice customary on those days to have been performed.

I, 135.—38. M. IV, 82.—40. Âpast. I, 11, 31, 1.—42, 43. M. II, 54; Y. I, 31; Gaut. IX, 59.—46. Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 10; M. IV, 43; Y. I, 131; Gaut. IX, 32.—47. M. IV, 63; Y. I, 138; Âpast. II, 1, 1, 3; Gaut. IX, 9.—48. M. IV, 62.—49. M. IV, 65; Gaut. XVII, 13. 'The injunctions regarding meals having been given in the previous chapter, he now proceeds to propound some prohibitions concerning the same subject.' (Nand.)

2, 3. Nand. states that in both of these Sûtras it has to be understood, that the bath occasioned by the eclipse must be followed by the ordinary bath, which precedes every meal.

6. An Agnihotrin is one who daily performs the Agnihotra. Regarding the Agnihotra and the times for its performance, see LIX, 2.

7. The term Vaisvadeva includes not only the oblation to the Visvedevâs (LXVII, 3), but also the Bali-offerings and the entertainment of a guest, &c., as prescribed in LXVII, 4 seq. (Nand.)

8. According to Nand., the use of the particle *ka* implies, that this rule applies equally to the first days of the moon's increase and wane.

9. He must not eat during an indigestion ;
10. Nor at midnight ; 11. Nor at noon ;
12. Nor in the twilight ;
13. Nor dressed in wet clothes ;
14. Nor without his upper garment ;
15. Nor naked ;
16. Nor in water (nor in a boat) ;
17. Nor lying stretched out on the back ;
18. Nor sitting on a broken stool ;
19. Nor reclining on a couch ;
20. Nor from a broken dish ;
21. Nor having placed the food on his lap ;
22. Nor (having placed the food) upon the ground ;
23. Nor from the palm of his hand.
24. That food which has been seasoned with salt (after having been cooked) he must not eat.
25. He must not abuse children (eating in the same row with him).
26. (He must) not (eat) dainties alone.
27. (He must) not (eat) substances from which the fat has been extracted.
28. Nor (must he eat) roasted grain in the day-time.
29. At night (he must not eat) anything mixed with sesamum-seeds.

9. According to Nand., the use of the particle *ka* implies a prohibition to eat again, after having partaken of a *Srâddha* meal.

15. See note on LXIV, 5.

24. Nand., quoting a passage of *Vâsish/ka* (XIV, 28), states the use of the particle *ka* to imply, that food twice cooked and food cooked in a frying-pan should also be avoided.

27. This rule refers to skimmed milk and to a dough made of ground sesamum, from which the oil has been extracted. (Nand.)

30. Nor (must he eat at night) sour milk or ground barley.

31. Nor (must he eat) the leaves of the mountain ebony, or of the banyan, or of the holy fig-tree, or of the hemp plant.

32. (He must) not (eat) without having first given to eat (to the gods and to the Brâhmanas);

33. Nor without having made a burnt-offering first;

34. Nor without having sprinkled his feet;

35. Nor without having sprinkled his hands and his face;

36. While having the remains of food on his mouth or hands, he must not take clarified butter.

37. Nor must he look at the moon, or at the sun, or at the stars (while unclean).

38. Nor must he touch his head (while unclean).

39. Nor must he recite the Veda (while unclean).

40. He must eat facing the east;

41. Or facing the south;

42. And after having honoured his food¹;

43. And cheerfully, adorned with a garland of flowers, and anointed with unguents.

42. ¹Nand. describes the ceremony of 'honouring one's food' as follows: 'He must first sprinkle the food, while reciting the Gâyatrî and the Vyâhrîtis (see LV, 10). Then he must sprinkle water all around it, with the Mantra, "Forsooth, I sprinkle righteousness around thee." After that he must sip water with the Mantra, "Thou art an imperishable basis" (Taitt. Ârany. X, 32, rendered according to Sâyana's Commentary), and offer up five oblations to Prâna, &c. (see Dr. Bühler's note on Âpast. II, 1, 1, 2). Finally he must eat in silence, without blaming the food, and taking care to leave some remnant of it in the dish, and sip water again, with the Mantra, "Thou art an imperishable covering"' (Taitt. Ârany. X, 35, according to Sâyana).

44. He must not eat up his food completely ;

45. Unless it consist of sour milk, or honey, or (clarified) butter, or milk, or ground barley, or meat, or sweetmeats.

46. He must not eat together with his wife, nor in the open air, nor standing, nor in the presence of many (hungry spectators), nor must many eat in the presence of one (hungry spectator).

47. Let him never eat in an empty house, in a house where the sacred fires are preserved, or in a temple dedicated to the gods. Neither must he drink water out of his joined hands, or satiate himself to repletion.

48. Let him not take a third meal (over and above the two regular meals in the mornings and evenings), nor let him ever take unwholesome food. He must eat neither too early, nor too late, and he must take no food in the evening, after having fully satiated himself in the morning.

49. He must not eat bad food (whether injurious to health or otherwise reprehensible), nor from a bad dish (which is similar to the dishes used by barbarians, or which has been defiled by a wicked man eating from it), nor lying on the ground, nor with his feet raised upon a bench, nor sitting on his hams with a cloth tied round his legs and knees.

46. Nand. thinks that this rule refers to those wives only who belong to a lower caste than their husbands.

48. 'Too early' means before sunrise ; 'too late' means immediately before sunset. (Nand.)

LXIX.

1. He must not have connection with his wife on the eighth, or fourteenth, or fifteenth day of the half-month.

2. And (he must avoid connubial intercourse) after having partaken of a *Srâddha* ;

3. And after having given (a *Srâddha*) ;

4. And after having been invited to a *Srâddha* ;

5. And while performing a vow of abstinence (such as that to be kept on the day before a *Srâddha*, or the fast to be observed on the eleventh day of the half-month) ;

6. And one who has performed the initiatory ceremony of a Soma-sacrifice ;

7. And in a temple, in a burial-ground, and in an empty house ;

8. And at the root of a tree (or shrub) ;

9. And in the day-time ; 10. And in the twilight ;

11. And with one unclean (or in her courses) ;

12. And while he is unclean himself ; 13. And with one anointed with unguents ; 14. And being anointed himself ; 15. And with one sick ; 16. And while he is sick himself.

17. He must not have connection, if he wishes to enjoy a long life, with a woman who has a limb too little, nor with one who has a limb too much, nor with one older than himself, nor with a pregnant woman.

LXIX. 1. M. IV, 128 ; Y. I, 79. — 9. Âpast. II, 1, 1, 16. — 15. Gaut. IX, 28. The subject of daily duties being absolved, he now goes on to state (in Chapters LXIX, LXX) the rules that must be observed during the night. (Nand.)

4. The invitations to a *Srâddha* are issued on the day before it is to take place. (Nand.)

LXX.

1. He must not sleep with his feet wet ;
2. Nor facing the north or the west ;
3. Nor naked ; 4. Nor on wet (fresh) bamboo ;
5. Nor in the open air ;
6. Nor on a bedstead made of Palâsa-wood ;
7. Nor on one made of the wood of five trees ;
8. Nor on one made of the wood of a tree which has been split by an elephant ;
9. Nor on a bedstead made of the wood of a tree that has been kindled by lightning ;
10. Nor on a broken bedstead ;
11. Nor on one made of scorched wood ;
12. Nor on one made of the wood of a tree that used to be watered with a jar ;
13. Nor in a burial-ground, nor in an empty house, nor in a temple ;
14. Nor with people who are restless of limb ;
15. Nor with women ;
16. Nor on grain, nor (in a stable of) cows, nor (on the couch of any of his) Gurus, nor on the fire-place, nor (in a building dedicated to the) gods.
17. He must not sleep while the remnants of

LXX. 1. M. IV, 76. — 2. Y. I, 136. — 3. Âsv. III, 9, 6 ; M. IV, 75 ; Gaut. IX, 60. — 13. M. IV, 57. — 17. Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 17 ; Âpast. I, 1, 2, 24 ; Gaut. II, 13.

7. Nand. mentions three explanations of this term : 1. a bedstead made of five pieces of wood (or of the wood of five trees) ; 2. a bedstead made of any of the five kinds of wood enumerated in the Vishṇu-purâṇa ; 3. a bedstead made of any of the five kinds of wood enumerated in Sûtras 8-12. The second explanation is inadmissible, because part of the species of wood mentioned in the passage of the Vishṇu-purâṇa referred to is identical with those enumerated in Sûtras 8-12.

food are on his hands or face, nor in the day-time, nor in the twilight, nor upon ashes, nor in a place soiled (by excrements and the like), nor in a wet place, nor on the top of a mountain.

LXXI.

1. Now¹ he must not condemn any one (whether of equal rank, or of higher or lower rank than himself).

LXXI. 1. M. IV, 135; Y. I, 153. — 2. M. IV, 141. — 3. Gaut. II, 17. — 4. Gobh. III, 5, 29. — 4-6. M. IV, 17, 18; Y. I, 129, 123. — 8. M. IV, 19. — 9. M. IV, 34; Âpast. I, 11, 30, 13; Gaut. IX, 3. — 11. Gobh. III, 5, 15. — 13-16. M. IV, 36; Y. I, 133. — 14. Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 21. — 17-21. M. IV, 37. — 17, 18. Pâr. II, 7, 6; Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 2; Âpast. I, 11, 31, 20. — 23. Pâr. II, 7, 8; M. IV, 38. — 25. M. IV, 43. — 26. Âsv. III, 9, 6; Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 1; M. IV, 53; Y. I, 135; Gaut. IX, 48. — 32-35. M. IV, 56, 53; Y. I, 137. — 36, 37. M. IV, 54, 53; Y. I, 137. — 39. M. IV, 65. — 40. Âpast. II, 8, 20, 11; Gaut. IX, 32. — 42, 43. M. IV, 70; Âpast. I, 11, 32, 28; Gaut. IX, 51. — 44. M. IV, 69. — 45. M. IV, 74; Y. I, 138; Gaut. II, 17. — 46. M. IV, 69. — 47. M. IV, 66; Gaut. IX, 4, 5. — 48-52. M. IV, 80. — 53. Sâṅkh. IV, 12, 18; M. IV, 82. — 54. M. IV, 250; Y. I, 214. — 55. M. IV, 55. — 56. M. IV, 57; Y. I, 138. — 58. M. IV, 57; Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 6. — 59. Sâṅkh. IV, 11, 6; Gaut. IX, 16. — 60. M. IV, 58. — 61, 62. Âpast. I, 11, 31, 9, 10. — 62. Pâr. II, 7, 14; M. IV, 59; Y. I, 140; Gaut. IX, 23. — 63-68. M. IV, 60, 61. — 69-71. M. IV, 63, 64. — 70. Pâr. II, 7, 3. — 72-74. M. IV, 138; Y. I, 132. — 75. Y. I, 153. — 76. M. IV, 137; Y. I, 153. — 77. M. IV, 94. — 79. M. IV, 144. — 80, 81. M. IV, 164. — 82. M. VIII, 299. — 83. M. IV, 135; Y. I, 153. — 84, 85. M. IV, 176; Y. I, 156. — 86. M. IV, 150. — 87. M. IV, 2, 246; Gaut. IX, 73. — 90. M. IV, 155; Y. I, 154. — 91, 92. M. IV, 156, 158.

1. ¹ This chapter treats of the duties of a Snâtaka (see XXVIII, 42, note). The particle *atha*, 'now,' however, signifies that some of these duties are common to the Snâtaka and to the householder, whose special duties have been treated in the previous chapters. (Nand.)

2. He must not mock those who have a limb too little or a limb too much, who are ignorant, or who are poor.

3. He must not serve low people.

4. Let him not engage in work that may keep him from repeating (or teaching) the Veda.

5. Let him wear such a dress as becomes his age,

6. And his sacred knowledge, his descent, his means, and his country.

7. He must not be overbearing.

8. He must constantly consult the holy laws and other (salutary precepts relating to the acquisition of wealth, wisdom, and freedom from disease).

9. He must not wear a worn-out or filthy dress, if he has means (enough to procure a new one).

10. (Even though he lacks firewood or the like necessities) he must not say to another man, 'I have got none.'

11. He must not wear a garland of flowers which has no smell at all, or an offensive smell, or which is red.

12. Let him wear a garland of water-flowers even though they be red.

13. And (he must wear) a staff made of bamboo ;

14. And a jar with water ;

15. And a sacrificial string made of cotton thread ;

16. And two golden ear-rings.

2. The particle *ka* refers to ugly persons and the rest, enumerated by Manu IV, 141. (Nand.)

8. The use of the particle *ka* implies, according to Nand., that his frame of mind and his speech should also be in conformity with his age, &c., as ordained by Manu IV, 18.

13-16. Nand., arguing from texts of Baudhāyana and of Manu (IV, 36), takes the use of the particle *ka* in Sūtras 13 and 14 to

17. He must not look at the rising sun ;
18. Nor at the setting (sun) ;
19. Nor (must he look at the sun) shining through an awning of cloth (under which he is lying).
20. Nor at the sun reflected in a looking-glass or in water ;
21. Nor at the midday sun ;
22. Nor at the face of any of his Gurus while he is angry ;
23. Nor at his own image reflected in oil or in water ;
24. Nor reflected in a dirty looking-glass ;
25. Nor at his wife eating ;
26. Nor at a naked woman ;
27. Nor at a man in the act of discharging urine (or voiding excrements) ;
28. Nor at an elephant (or other dangerous animal) broken loose from the rope that ties him ;
29. Nor at a fight between bulls (or elephants or buffalos) or the like animals, while he is himself standing in a (crowd or any other) place, from which it would be difficult for him to effect his escape ;
30. Nor at one insane ;

imply that a Snâtaka must wear three garments, an under garment, an upper garment, and a mantle, and in Sûtra 16, that he must carry about him a bushel of Kusa grass.

19. This rule appears to refer, likewise, to the custom of suspending, by a tree or a post, an upper garment or a piece of cloth, in order to ward off the rays of the sun.

20. The particle *ka* here is used, according to Nand., in order to include 'the sun, while it is eclipsed,' as mentioned by Manu IV, 37.

29. 'As shown by *ka*, a place where arrows, spears, or other missiles are falling down, is also intended here.' (Nand.)

31. Nor at one intoxicated ;
32. He must not throw any impure substances into the fire ;
33. Nor blood ; 34. Nor poison ;
35. Neither (must he throw any of those substances) into water.
36. He must not step over a fire.
37. He must not warm his feet (by the fire).
38. He must not wipe (the dirt from his feet) with blades of Kusa grass.
39. He must not wash (his feet) in a vessel of white copper.
40. He must not (wash) one foot with the other.
41. He must not scratch the ground (with a piece of wood or the like).
42. He must not crush clods of earth.
43. He must not cut grass.
44. He must not tear his nails or the hairs (of his beard or others) with his teeth.
45. He must avoid gambling ;
46. And the heat of the sun just risen.
47. He must not wear a garment, or shoes, or a garland, or a sacrificial string which had before been worn by another.
48. He must not give advice to a Sûdra ;
49. Nor (must he give him) the leavings of his food, nor the residue of an oblation (unless he is his own servant) ;

46. Besides the above interpretation of the term *bâlâtapa*, which is proposed by Kullûka also (on M. IV, 69), Nand. mentions two others: 1. the heat of that time of the day when the cows are collected for milking ; 2. the heat of the autumn season. The particle *ka*, according to Nand., is used in order to include the smoke of a burning corpse and the other forbidden objects mentioned by Manu IV, 69.

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50. Nor (must he give him) sesamum ;
51. Nor (must he point out) the sacred law to him ;
52. Nor (must he prescribe) a penance (for him for atonement of a sin).
53. He must not scratch his head or his belly with both hands joined.
54. He must not reject sour milk or the Sumanas flower (when offered to him).
55. He must not take off his garland (from his head) himself (but he may cause another to do so).
56. Let him not rouse (a superior) from sleep.
57. He must not (by harsh speeches and the like) render disaffected one who is well affected towards him.
58. He must not speak to a woman in her courses ;
59. Nor to barbarians or low-caste persons.
60. When a sacred fire, or an idol, or a Brâhmaṇa is near, he must stretch forth his right hand (from his upper garment).
61. If he sees a cow trespassing upon another man's field, he must not announce it (to the owner of that field).
62. And if he sees a calf sucking (at the udder of a cow, he must not announce it to the owner of the latter).
63. He must not endeavour to please overbearing men (by flattering their pretensions).
64. He must not dwell in a kingdom governed by a Sûdra king ;
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54. Nand. states that this rule does not contain a vain repetition of the rule laid down above (LVII, 10), as the latter refers to householders and the former to Snâtakas.

65. Nor in one abounding with wicked people ;
66. And he must not live (in a kingdom) in which there are no physicians ;
67. Nor in one afflicted (with a disease or other calamity).
68. And (he must not stay) long on a mountain.
69. He must not (walk or otherwise) exert himself without a purpose.
70. He must not dance or sing.
71. He must not make a noise by slapping (his left arm, after having placed it upon his right shoulder, with his right hand).
72. He must not make vulgar speeches.
73. He must not tell an untruth.
74. He must not say disagreeable things.
75. He must not strike any one upon a vital part.
76. He must not despise himself if he wishes to enjoy long life.
77. He must often repeat his prayers at each twilight (if he wishes to live long).
78. He must not play with (venomous) serpents or with weapons.
79. He must not touch the cavities of his body without a cause.
80. He must not raise a stick against another man.
81. One who deserves punishment he must strike in order to punish him.
82. (He must strike) him upon his back with a shoot of bamboo or with a rope.

75. 'Others' take this Sutra to mean, that he must not make public another man's misconduct. (Nand.) This interpretation is proposed by Vigñānesvara, on Yâgñavalkya I, 153.

79. See XXIII, 51.

83. He must take care not to revile a god, a Brāhmaṇa, the Sāstras, or the high-minded (*Rishis*).

84. And (he must avoid) gain and pleasure repugnant to duty.

85. (He must avoid) even lawful acts which may give offence to mankind.

86. On the days of new and full moon let him make a propitiatory offering.

87. He must not cut even grass (on those two days).

88. He must adorn himself (with garlands, sandal, and the like).

89. Thus he must observe established customs.

90. Those customs, which have been explicitly ordained in revealed and in traditional texts, and which are practised by the virtuous, must always be observed by a righteous man with subdued passions.

91. By adhering to established usage he attains to old age; this is the way to obtain that state in the next life which he desires, and imperishable riches, this is the way to destroy the effect of (bodily) marks foreboding future misfortunes.

92. He who observes the usages established among the virtuous, who is a believer in revelation, and free from ill-will, lives a hundred years, even

84. '“Or repugnant to the final liberation,” as the use of the particle *ka* implies.' (Nand.) See Manu VI, 37.

85. The use of the particle *ka*, Nand. argues from Manu IV, 176, implies that acts which may cause future pain should also be avoided.

88. The use of the particle *ka*, according to Nand., implies that he must also observe auspicious rites and established customs, as ordained by Manu IV, 145. The latter injunction is, however, expressly given in the next Sūtra.

though he does not possess any external marks of prosperity.

LXXII.

1. He must persist in keeping his mind and his organs of sense under restraint.

2. Restraint of the mind implies restraint of the senses.

3. One who has acquired complete command over himself, gains this world and the next.

4. One who has no command over himself, reaps no fruit from any of his acts (whether worldly or tending to the acquisition of spiritual merit).

5. Self-restraint is the best instrument of purification; self-restraint is the best of auspicious objects; by self-restraint he obtains anything he may desire in his heart.

6. The man who rides (as it were) in a chariot drawn by his five senses and directed by his mind (as the charioteer), who keeps it on the path of the virtuous, can never be overcome by his enemies (lust, wrath, and greed), unless the horses (unrestrained by the charioteer) run away with the chariot.

7. As the waters (of all streams) are stored up (and reabsorbed) in the ocean, which, though being filled with them, remains unmoved and tranquil, even so that man, in whose mind the passions are stored up (and dissolved), obtains perfect calmness: but not he who strives after the gratification of his desires.

LXXII. 7=Bhagavad-gîtâ II, 70. This chapter treats of duties which are common to all the four orders. (Nand.)

LXXIII.

1. One desirous of celebrating a *Srâddha* must invite the *Brâhmanas* on the day before (it is to take place).

2. On the next day, in the forenoon, if it falls in the bright half of the month, and in the afternoon, if it falls in the dark half of the month, the *Brâhmanas*, who must have duly bathed and duly sipped water, must be placed by him, in the order of their seniority¹ (or) of their sacred knowledge, upon seats covered with *Kusa* grass.

3. (He must entertain) two (*Brâhmanas*) facing the east at the *Srâddha* of the gods (*Visvedevâs*), and three facing the north at the *Srâddha* of the manes;

4. Or one only at each *Srâddha*.

5. After having (worshipped the *Visvedevâs* and) offered a burnt-oblation: during the recitation of the first *Pañkaka* (pentad) at a *Srâddha* repast con-

LXXIII. 1-32. Âsv. II, 5, 11-14; IV, 7; Gobh. IV, 2-4; Pâr. III, 10, 48-55; Sâṅkh. IV, 1; M. III, 125, 204-259; Y. I, 225-248; Âpast. II, 7, 17, 11-19; Gaut. XV. Regarding the corresponding section of the *Kâṭhaka Grîhya-sûtra*, see Introduction. This chapter opens the section on *Srâddhas* (funeral oblations), which consists of thirteen chapters (LXXIII-LXXXV. Nand.)

1. The *Ekoddishā* and *Sapindîkaraṇa* *Srâddhas* have been described above, XXI. The rules given in the present chapter refer to all the remaining kinds of *Srâddhas*. See 5-9, LXXIV, LXXVI-LXXVIII.

2. ¹ At the *Srâddha* of the manes the oldest *Brâhmana* represents 'he great-grandfather; the one next to him in age, the grandfather; the youngest of the three, the father of the sacrificer. (Nand.)

5-9. The three *Pañkakas* referred to in *Sûtras* 5-9 are respectively vv. 1-5, 6-10, and 11-15 of *Kâṭhaka* XXXIX, 10. (Nand.) The great majority of the Mantras quoted in *Sûtras* 11-26 have

sisting of undressed grain or performed for the gratification of a special desire¹;

6. At a *Srâddha* repast consisting of meat, during the recitation of the second *Pañkaka*;

7. At a new moon (*Srâddha*), during the recitation of the last *Pañkaka*;

8. On the *Ashṭakâs* (or eighth days) of the (three) dark halves subsequent to the full moon day of the month *Âgrahâyaṇa* (or *Mârgaśīrsha*)¹, during the recitation of the first, second, and last *Pañkakas* respectively;

9. Likewise, on the *Anvaṣṭakâs* (or ninth days of the dark halves of those months);

10. He must invite the manes, after having received permission to do so from the *Brâhmanas*¹.

11. Having driven away the *Yâtudhânas* by strewing grains of sesamum and by reciting the two

not been traced in the Berlin MS. of the *Kâṭhaka*, nor indeed in any other *Samhitâ* of the Veda, but there can be no doubt that they belong to the school of the *Kaṭhas*, as nearly all are quoted by their *Pratīkas* in the *Kâṭhaka Gṛihya-sūtra*, and given at full in Devapāla's Commentary on the latter. The above renderings of the *Pratīkas* rest upon Devapāla's interpretations. That the rules in 5 seq. teach the performance of a *Srâddha* according to the rites of the *Kaṭha* school, is confirmed by Nand. in his remarks on 5 seq. and 9 seq.

5. ¹ See LXXVIII.

8. ¹ The days referred to are the eighth days of the dark halves of the months *Mârgaśīrsha*, *Pausha*, and *Mâgha*.

9. 'And on the *Srâddhas* taking place on the seventh day of the dark half, as *ka* indicates.' (Nand.) This statement does not, however, deserve much credit, as such *Srâddhas* are neither mentioned in our work nor in the *Kâṭhaka Gṛihya-sūtra*.

10. ¹ 'The permission of the *Brâhmanas* has to be asked with the Mantra, "I shall invite (the manes);" and their answer must be, "Invite them."' (Nand.)

11. The *Yâtudhânas* are a class of demons supposed to disturb

Mantras (the first of which begins with the words), 'May the Asuras go away;'

12. He must invite the manes (with the four Mantras), 'Come near, O ye manes,' '(Conduct) them all (here), O Agni,' 'May my (ancestors) come near,' 'This is your (share), O ye manes.' Then let him prepare the water for washing the feet with scented water, which has been mixed up with Kusa grass and sesamum, while reciting (the three Mantras), 'Those standing¹,' 'Speech is imperishable,' and 'What my mother (has sinned)¹,' and offer it (to the Brâhmanas); let him prepare the Arghya (or water mixed with Dûrvâ grass, flowers, &c.) and offer it to them; let him offer to the Brâhmanas, to the best of his power, Kusa grass, sesamum, clothes, flowers, ornaments, incense, and lamps; let him take food sprinkled with clarified butter; let him look them in the face with the Mantra, 'O ye Âdityas, Rudras, and Vasus;'; let him say, 'I will offer an oblation in the fire,' and if the Brâhmanas say, 'Offer an oblation,' let him offer three burnt-oblations².

13. After having consecrated the offerings with the Mantras, 'They, who are my ancestors,' 'This is your (share), O ye manes,' and 'This offering,' he must pour (what is left of) the food into such vessels as happen to be there, or (into golden ones at the offering addressed to the Visvedevâs and) into silver

the effect of a Srâddha. The second Mantra, according to Devapâla, is from the Rig-veda, X, 15, 1.

12. ¹ These two Mantras are also quoted, with slight variations, by Sâṅkhâya III, 13, 5.—² The three burnt-oblations have to be accompanied by the recitation of the three Mantras, 'To Soma accompanied by the manes svadhâ namaḥ; to Yama Âṅgiras svadhâ namaḥ; to Agni who takes the offerings addressed to the manes svadhâ namaḥ.' (Nand.)

ones (at the offering addressed to the manes), and offer it first to the two Brâhmanas facing the east (who have been invited to the Srâddha of the gods).

14. Afterwards he must offer it to the (three) Brâhmanas facing the north (who represent his three ancestors, addressing himself) to his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, (and calling out) their name and race.

15. While the Brâhmanas are eating the food, let him mutter (the three Mantras), 'Whatever (trickles down) through my fault,' 'With days and nights¹,' and 'Whatever (limb) of yours, Agni.'

16. And (let him mutter) the Itihâsa (Epics), Purâna (Legends), and Dharmasâstra (Institutes of the Sacred Law).

17. Near the leavings let him deposit upon blades of Kusa grass with the ends turned towards the south one ball of rice for his father, while saying, 'Earth is (like) a spoon, imperishable (satisfaction).'

18. With the Mantra, 'Air is (like) a spoon, imperishable (satisfaction,' let him deposit) a second ball for his grandfather.

19. With the Mantra, 'Heaven is (like) a spoon, imperishable (satisfaction,' let him deposit) a third ball for his great-grandfather.

20. With the Mantra, 'Those ancestors who

14. The formula of this invocation, according to Nand., is this, 'To NN., my ancestor, of the Gotra NN., who is like a Vasu, (I offer) this food, svadhâ nama:h.' The use of the particle *ka*, according to the same, implies that the maternal grandfather and the other maternal ancestors must also be addressed, as ordained below (LXXV, 7).

15. ¹ A similar Mantra is quoted, Sâṅkh. III, 13, 5.

have died,' let him place a garment (upon the balls).

21. With the Mantra, 'Give us sons, O ye manes,' (let him place) food upon them.

22. With the Mantra, 'Enjoy it, O ye manes, partake of it, each according to his share ¹,' let him wipe off the grease from his hands with the ends of the blades.

23. With the Mantra, '(Ye waters) imparting vigour ¹,' let him sprinkle the balls to the right with the wet (remainder of the food), and offer the Argha ², flowers, incense, unguents, and rice, and other victuals and dainties to the Brâhmanas.

24. And (he must offer them) a jar with water, which has been mixed up with honey, clarified butter, sesamum, and (ointments, oil, and the like).

25. The Brâhmanas having eaten and being satisfied, let him sprinkle the food (as much as has been left by them) and the grass with the Mantra, 'Mayest thou not fail me,' and strew the food near the leavings; and having asked them, 'Are you satisfied? Is (the *Srâddha*) finished,' he must first give water for sipping to the Brâhmanas facing the north, and then to those facing the east; and he must sprinkle the place where the *Srâddha* has been offered (with water, with the Mantra), 'Well sprinkled.' All these rites he must perform while holding blades of sacred grass in his hand.

26. Afterwards he must, while turning his face towards the Brâhmanas facing the east, circumambu-

22. ¹ *Vâgasan. Samh.* II, 31; *Kâth.* IX, 6.

23. ¹ *Vâgasan. Samh.* II, 34.—² The Argha is a respectful offering, the ingredients of which vary.

late them from left to right, with the Mantra, 'What a crow (may have eaten of my offering),' and turn back again; he must honour them with sacrificial fees, to the best of his power, saying, 'May you be satisfied,' and on their answering, 'We are satisfied,' he must address them with the Mantra, 'The gods and the manes.'

27. After having given (to all) water (with the Mantra, 'May the food and water and whatever else I gave you be) imperishable,' (and) calling out their name and race, and having added the Mantra, 'May the *Visvedevâs* be satisfied,' he must ask, with folded hands, and with an attentive and cheerful mind, the following (benediction) from the *Brâhmanas* facing the east :

28. 'May the liberal-minded in our race increase in number, and may the (study of the) *Vedas* and our progeny (also increase). May faith not depart from us, and may we have plenty to bestow on the poor.'

29. They shall answer, 'Thus let it be.'

30. (The second half of the benediction shall be as follows), 'May we have plenty of food, and may we receive guests. May others come to beg of us, and may not we be obliged to beg of any one.'

31. After having received this double benediction (through the *Brâhmanas* saying, 'Thus let it be '),

32. He must dismiss the *Brâhmanas*, with the Mantra, 'With all food¹,' after having honoured them according to custom, accompanied them (as far as the limits of his estate), and taken his leave of them.

32. ¹ *Rig-veda* VII, 38, 8.

LXXIV.

1. After having worshipped, on each Ash/takâ, the gods and performed, with vegetables, meat, and cakes respectively, a Srâddha (according to the rules given in the last chapter), he must, on each Anvash-takâ¹, worship the gods and offer a burnt-oblation in the same way as on the Ash/takâs (i. e. reciting the same three Pañjakas successively), and entertain Brâhmanas in the same way as (directed) before (in the preceding chapter), in honour of his mother, his paternal grandmother, and his paternal great-grand-mother, honour them with presents, accompany them (as far as the limits of his estate), and dismiss them².

2. Then he must dig (six) trenches.

3. On the border of these trenches, to the north-east of them, he must light fires and place balls of rice.

4. On the border of three of the trenches (he must place balls) for the men, and on the border of the other three (he must place balls) for the women.

LXXIV. 1-8. Âsv. II, 5; Gobh. IV, 2; Pâr. III, 3, 10-12; Sâṅkh. III, 13, 6; M. IV, 150. Regarding the corresponding section of the Kâṭhaka Grîhya-sûtra, see the Introduction.

1. ¹See LXXIII, 8, 9; LXXVI, 1.—²Nand. considers the use of the particle *ka* to imply that the father together with the other paternal ancestors, and the maternal grandfather along with the other maternal ancestors, should also be invoked, which would make in all nine ancestors to be invoked. The first part of this observation appears to be correct, but the maternal grandfather and the rest are neither referred to in the following Sûtras, nor in the Kâṭhaka Grîhya-sûtra.

2. Nand. gives it as his opinion, that nine trenches should be made, three of which are to be for the maternal grandfather, &c. But Sûtra 4 refers to three trenches for the men only, and the Kâṭhaka Grîhya-sûtra expressly mentions the number of six trenches.

5. He must fill the three trenches for the men with water mixed with food.

6. (He must fill) the three trenches for the women with milk mixed with food.

7. (And he must fill up) each triad of trenches singly with sour milk, meat, and milk.

8. After having filled (the trenches), he must mutter the Mantra, 'May this (food) be imperishable for ye men and for ye women.'

LXXV.

1. He who makes a Srâddha-offering while his father is alive, must offer it to those persons to whom his father offers (his Srâddhas).

2. (If he offers a Srâddha) while both his father and grandfather are alive, (he must offer it to those persons) to whom his grandfather (offers his Srâddhas).

3. While his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather are alive, he must offer no Srâddha at all.

4. He whose father is dead (but whose grandfather is alive), must first of all offer a ball of rice to his father, after that, two balls to the two ancestors coming before his grandfather (or to his great-grandfather and to his fourth ascendant).

5. He whose father and grandfather are dead (but whose great-grandfather is alive), must first offer two balls to those two, and then offer one ball to the grandfather of his grandfather.

7. Nand. renders this Sûtra differently, in accordance with his own theory regarding the number of the trenches.

LXXV. 1. M. III, 220.—4. M. III, 221.—7. Y. I, 228.

6. He whose grandfather is dead (but whose father and great-grandfather are alive), must give one ball to his grandfather and two balls to the father and grandfather of his great-grandfather.

7. An intelligent man must offer *Srâddhas* to his maternal grandfather, and to the father and grandfather of him, in the same way (as to his paternal ancestors), duly modifying the Mantras. But the *Srâddhas* addressed to other relatives, (uncles, brothers, and the like, must be performed) without Mantras.

LXXVI.

1. The (twelve) days of new moon, the three *Ashṭakâs*, the three *Anvashṭakâs*, a *Mâgha* day (i.e. 'day on which the moon enters the lunar asterism *Maghâ*'), which falls on the thirteenth of the dark half of the month *Praushṭhapada*, and the two seasons when rice and barley grow ripe (or autumn and spring):

7. The Mantras are those quoted above, in Chapters LXXIII and LXXIV. They have to be modified, i.e. the names of the maternal ancestors must be put in, and the verb &c. of the sentence be altered accordingly. (Nand.)

LXXVI. 1. M. III, 122, 273, 281; IV, 150; Y. I, 217, 260; Gaut. XV, 2; Âpast. II, 7, 16, 4-6.

1. Nand. infers from a passage of *Âśvalâyana* (*Grihya-sûtra* II, 4, 3) that *Srâddhas* to be offered on the day before each *Ashṭakâ* are also intended here. See, however, note on LXXIII, 9. The same proposes two explanations of the term *Mâghî*: 1. It has to be separated from the following words, and refers directly to the day of full moon in the month *Mâgha*, and indirectly to the days of full moon in *Âshâdha*, *Kârttika*, and *Vaisâkha* as well, as indicated in a passage of the *Brâhma-purâṇa*. 2. It has to be connected with the clause following it. This latter interpretation, on which the rendering given above is based, is supported by *Manu* (III, 273, 274),

2. Thus have the regular times for a Srâddha been declared by the lord of creatures. He who fails to perform a Srâddha on those days, goes to hell.

LXXVII.

1. The sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac to another ;

2. The two equinoctial points ;

3. The two solstitial points particularly ;

4. The (Yoga) Vyatîpâta ;

5. The constellation under which (the sacrificer himself, or his wife, or his son) is born ;

6. A time of rejoicing (as, when a son has been born, or another happy event happened) ;

7. These occasions for a Srâddha the lord of creatures has pronounced optional ; a Srâddha which is performed on these occasions gives infinite satisfaction (to the manes).

8. No Srâddha must be performed in the twilight or at night by an intelligent man. A Srâddha may be performed at those times also when an eclipse (of the sun or of the moon) takes place.

9. For a Srâddha which is offered them at the time of an eclipse satisfies the manes, as long as the moon and the stars exist, and procures immense advantages and the satisfaction of all his desires to the sacrificer.

Yâgyñavalkya (I, 260), according to the interpretations of Kullûka and Vigñânesvara, and by the Vishnu-sûtra itself (LXXVIII, 52).

LXXVII. 1-6, 9. Y. I, 217, 218.—6. Âsv. IV, 7, 1 ; Sâṅkh. IV, 4.—8. M. III, 280 ; Âpast. II, 7, 17, 23, 25.

4. This is the seventeenth among the twenty-seven Yogas or astrological divisions of the zodiac. (Nand.)

7. The meaning is, that the Srâddhas mentioned in this chapter are naimittika, 'occasional.' (Nand.)

LXXVIII.

1. By performing a *Srâddha* on Sunday he procures everlasting freedom from disease.
2. (By performing a *Srâddha*) on Monday he becomes beloved¹.
3. (By performing it) on Tuesday (he procures) success in battle.
4. (By performing it) on Wednesday (he enjoys) all his desires.
5. (By performing it) on Thursday (he acquires) such religious knowledge as he desires.
6. (By performing it) on Friday (he acquires) wealth.
7. (By performing it) on Saturday (he procures) longevity.
8. (By performing it under the Nakshatra or constellation) *Kṛittikâs* (he gains) heaven.

LXXVIII. 8-35. M. III, 277; Y. I, 264-267.—36-50. M. III, 276; Y. I, 261-263; Âpast. II, 7, 16, 8-22; Gaut. XV, 4.—52, 53. M. III, 273, 274. Regarding *Sûtras* 1-7, see the Introduction.

1. Nand. states that the *Srâddhas* mentioned in this chapter are of the *kâmya* sort, i. e. 'offered for the gratification of a special desire.'

2. ¹ This is Nand.'s interpretation of the term *saubhâgyam*. It might also be taken in its usual acceptance, as meaning 'happiness.'

8-35. Those names of the twenty-eight Nakshatras or lunar asterisms, which I have included in parentheses, are from Nand.'s Commentary. Most of the objects which are said to be gained by the *Srâddhas* mentioned in *Sûtras* 8-35 are connected etymologically, or through their import, with the names of the particular Nakshatras under which they are performed. Thus the term *pushî*, 'prosperity,' in *Sûtra* 13, is etymologically connected with *Pushya*; the term *mitra*, 'friend,' in 22, is connected with *Maitra*; the term *râgyam*, 'royalty,' in 23, is connected with *Sâkra*, the name of that Nakshatra being derived from *Sakra*, a name of Indra, the king of the gods, &c.

9. (By performing it under the constellation) Rohini (he obtains) progeny.

10. (By performing it under the constellation) Saumya (or *Mṛigasiras* he procures) the superhuman power of a pious Brâhmaṇa.

11. (By performing it under the constellation) Raudra (or *Ârdrâ* he reaps) the fruit of his labours.

12. (By performing it under the constellation) Punarvasu (he procures) land.

13. (By performing it under the constellation) Pushya (or *Tishya* he procures) prosperity.

14. (By performing it under the constellation) Sârpa (or *Âsleshâs* he obtains) beauty.

15. (By performing it under the constellation) Paitrya (or *Maghâ* he enjoys) all his desires.

16. (By performing it under the constellation) Bhâgya (or *Pûrvaphâlgunî*) he becomes beloved¹.

17. (By performing it under the constellation) Âryamaṇa (or *Uttaraphâlgunî* he procures) wealth.

18. (By performing it under the constellation) Hasta (he acquires) superiority among his kindred.

19. (By performing it under the constellation) Tvâshṭra (or *Kîtrâ* he procures) handsome sons.

20. (By performing it under the constellation) Svâti (he procures) success in trade.

21. (By performing it under the constellation) Visâkhâs (he acquires) gold.

22. (By performing it under the constellation) Maitra (or *Anurâdhâ* he procures) friends.

23. (By performing it under the constellation) Sâkra (or *Gyeshṭhâ* he procures) royalty.

24. (By performing it under the constellation) Mûla (he procures good results in) agriculture.

16. ¹ See 2, note.

25. (By performing it under the constellation) *Âpya* (or *Pûrvâshâdhâs* he procures) success in sea-voyages.

26. (By performing it under the constellation) *Vaisvadeva* (or *Uttarâshâdhâs* he enjoys) all his desires.

27. (By performing it under the constellation) *Abhigit* he (procures) superiority.

28. (By performing it under the constellation) *Śravana* (he enjoys) all his desires.

29. (By performing it under the constellation) *Vāsava* (or *Dhanishthâs* he procures success in preparing) salt¹.

30. (By performing it under the constellation) *Vârûna* (or *Satabhishâ* he obtains) freedom from disease.

31. (By performing it under the constellation) *Âga* (or *Pûrvabhâdrapadâ* he obtains) copper vessels.

32. (By performing it under the constellation) *Âhîrbudhnya* (or *Uttarabhâdrapadâ* he obtains) a house.

33. (By performing it under the constellation) *Paushna* (or *Revati* he acquires) cows.

34. (By performing it under the constellation) *Âsvina* (or *Asvinî* he obtains) a horse.

35. (By performing it under the constellation) *Yâmya* (or *Bharanî* he procures) longevity.

36. (By offering it) on the first day of a lunar fortnight (he procures) a house and handsome wives.

29. ¹ *Lavanam* means either 'salt' or 'beauty' or 'medicinal herbs and fruits.' (Nand.)

37. (By offering it) on the second day (he procures) a beautiful daughter (and sons-in-law).

38. (By offering it) on the third day (he enjoys) all his desires.

39. (By offering it) on the fourth day (he procures) cattle.

40. (By offering it) on the fifth day (he procures) handsome sons.

41. (By offering it) on the sixth day (he obtains) success in gaming.

42. (By offering it) on the seventh day (he procures good results in) agriculture.

43. (By offering it) on the eighth day (he procures success in) trade.

44. (By offering it) on the ninth day (he procures) cattle¹.

45. (By offering it) on the tenth day (he procures) horses.

46. (By offering it) on the eleventh day (he procures) sons endowed with the superhuman power of a pious Brâhmaṇa.

47. (By offering it) on the twelfth day (he procures) gold and silver.

48. (By offering it) on the thirteenth day he becomes beloved.

49. (By offering it) on the fifteenth day (he enjoys) all his desires.

44. ¹ Nand. infers from a passage of Yâgñavalkya (I, 266) that the term 'cattle' here refers to horses and other one-hoofed animals. See, however, the next Sûtra.

48. The term saubhâgyam is stated by Nand. (with reference to Y. I, 264) to denote 'superiority among his kindred,' in this Sûtra. But there is no cogent reason for deviating here from that interpretation of the term which he proposes in his Commentary on Sûtras 2 and 16. See above.

50. For Srâddhas for those who have been killed in battle the fourteenth day is ordained.

51. There are two stanzas on this subject recited by the manes :

52. 'May that excellent man be born to our race, whosoever he may be, who attentively offers a Srâddha in the rainy season¹ on the thirteenth of the dark half,

53. 'With milk profusely mixed with honey; and (he who offers such Srâddhas) during the whole month Kârttika and (in the afternoon) when the shadow of an elephant falls towards the east.'

LXXIX.

1. He must not perform a Srâddha with water collected at night.

2. On failure of Kusa grass he must employ Kâsa or Dûrvâ grass instead.

3. Instead of a garment (he may give) cotton thread.

4. He must avoid (giving) the fringe of cloth, though it be of cloth not yet used.

5. And (he must not give) flowers having a nasty odour, or no odour at all, the blossoms of thorny plants, and red flowers.

52. ¹ The term *prâvri/kâle*, 'in the rainy season,' probably refers to one month only of the rainy season, the month Bhâdrapada or Praush/âpada. See above, LXXVI, 1, and M. III, 273, 274, with Kullûka's Commentary; Y. I, 260, with Vigñânesvara's Comment.

LXXIX. 8, 16. M. III, 226, 227, 235, 257; Âpast. II, 8, 19, 19-22. — 19-21. M. III, 229.

5. The use of the particle *ka* implies, according to Nand., who quotes a text in support of his assertion, that the leaves of the Kadamba, Bèl, Ketaka, and Bakula trees, as well as those of the Barbara plant and of the thorn-apple tree, are also included in this prohibition.

6. He may give white and sweet-smelling flowers, even though grown on thorny plants, and aquatic flowers, even though they be red.

7. He must not give marrow or fat instead of a lamp.

8. He may give clarified butter or sesamum-oil.

9. He must not give (the nails or horns) of animals instead of the incense of all kinds (prescribed for a *Srâddha*).

10. He may give bdellium mixed up with honey and clarified butter.

11. He may give sandal, saffron, camphor, aloe wood, or *Padmaka* wood instead of an ointment.

12. He must not salt (the dishes) publicly (after they have been cooked).

13. He must not give clarified butter, condiments, or the like (i. e. sour milk, milk, &c.) with his hands.

14. He must use metallic vessels ;

15. Especially vessels made of silver.

16. He must place (on the sacrificial ground) vessels made of the horn of the rhinoceros, blankets made of the hair of the mountain-goat, the skin of a black antelope, sesamum, white mustard, unbroken grains, (silver and copper vessels and other) purificatory objects, and (a goat and other animals or objects), by which the demons are kept aloof.

7. 'Or mustard-oil or any other such substance, as *ka* indicates.' (Nand.)

8. 'Or the juice of plants, as mentioned by *Saṅkha*, on account of *vā*.' (Nand.)

13. He must give those liquids with a spoon or similar implement. (Nand.)

16. According to Nand., the particle *ka* refers to other purificatory things, viz. the following seven, 'milk, water from the Ganges, honey, silken cloth, a grandson, blankets made of the hair of the

17. He must avoid to use pepper, (the onion called) *Mukundaka*, (the pot-herb called) *Bhûstrina*, (the leaves, blossoms, or roots of) the *Sîgru* tree, mustard-seeds, (the plant) *Nirgunâ*, (the fruit or leaves of) the *Sâl* tree, the plant *Suvarkalâ*, the (pumpkin-gourd called) *Kûshmânda*, the bottle-gourd, the egg-plant, (the plants or pot-herbs called) *Pâlakya*, *Upotakt*, and *Tanduliyaka*, the herbs of the safflower, the *Pindâluka* (root), and the milk of female buffalos.

18. And (he must not use the bean called) *Râgamâsha*, (the lentil called) *Masûra*, stale food, and factitious salt.

19. Let him avoid wrath.

20. He must not shed a tear.

21. He must not be in a hurry.

22. In offering the clarified butter and other (liquids, such as condiments, sour milk, milk, and the like) he must use metallic vessels, vessels made of the horn of the rhinoceros, and vessels made of the wood of the *Phalgu* tree.

23. There is a *Sloka* on this subject :

24. 'That which has been offered in vessels made of gold, or of silver, or of the horn of the rhinoceros, or of copper, or of *Phalgu* wood, becomes imperishable (and brings infinite reward to the sacrificer).'

mountain-goat, and sesamum.' The last two are, however, already contained in the above enumeration.

17. The term 'buffalo's milk' includes here, according to a text quoted by Nand., the milk of sheep, of antelopes, of camels, and of all one-hoofed animals.

18. 'As shown by *kā*, chick-peas and other grains and herbs mentioned in a *Smṛiti* must also be avoided.' (Nand.)

19. 'This rule applies both to the sacrificer and to the guests at a *Srâddha*.' (Nand.)

LXXX.

1. Sesamum, rice, barley, beans, water, roots, fruits, vegetables, Syâmâka grain, millet, wild rice, kidney-beans, and wheat satisfy (the manes) for a month ;

2. The flesh of fishes (excepting those species that are forbidden), for two months ;

3. The flesh of the common deer, for three months ;

4. The flesh of sheep, for four months ;

5. The flesh of birds (of those kinds that may be eaten), for five months ;

6. The flesh of goats, for six months ;

7. The flesh of the spotted deer, for seven months ;

8. The flesh of the spotted antelope, for eight months ;

9. Beef, for nine months ;

10. Buffalo's meat, for ten months ;

11. The meat of a hornless goat, for eleven months ;

12. The milk of a cow, or preparations from it, for a year.

13. On this subject there exists a stanza, which the manes utter :

14. ' (The pot-herb) Kâlasâka (sacred basil), (the prawn) Mahâsalka, and the flesh of the (crane called) Vârdhrînasa¹, (and of) a rhinoceros having no horn, is food which we always accept.'

LXXX. 1-14. M. III, 267-272 ; Y. I, 257-259 ; Âpast. II, 7, 16, 23-II, 7, 17, 3 ; II, 8, 18, 13 ; Gaut. XV, 15.

14. ¹ This is the first of the two interpretations which Nand. proposes of the term Vârdhrînasa. It is supported by Âpastamba's

LXXXI.

1. He must not place the food upon a chair.
2. He must not touch it with his foot.
3. He must not sneeze upon it.
4. He must drive the Yâtudhânas away by means of sesamum or mustard-seeds.
5. Let him perform the Srâddha in an enclosed place.
6. He must not look at a woman in her courses ;
7. Nor at a dog ; 8. Nor at a tame pig ;
9. Nor at a tame cock.
10. Let him strive to perform the Srâddha in sight of a goat.
11. The Brâhmanas must eat in silence.
12. They must not eat with their heads covered ;
13. Nor with shoes on their feet ;
14. Nor with their feet placed upon a stool.
15. Let not men with a limb too little, or with a limb too much, look at a Srâddha ;
16. Nor Sûdras ; 17. Nor outcasts.

commentator, Haradatta, and by Âpastamba himself (I, 5, 17, 36). Nand.'s second interpretation, 'an old white goat,' is probably wrong, although it is supported by the authority of Kullûka and Vigñânesvara.

LXXXI. 2, 6-9, 11-13, 15, 16, 19. M. III, 229, 236-242. — 4, 5. Gaut. XV, 25, 26. — 7, 16, 17. Âpast. II, 7, 17, 20 ; Gaut. XV, 24. — 18. M. III, 243. — 20. M. III, 237. — 21-23. M. III, 244-246.

4. Nand. quotes the following Mantra, which has to be recited on this occasion, 'The Asuras, the Râkshasas, and the Pisâkas have been driven away.' A similar Mantra occurs in the Vâgasan. Samh. II, 29.

5. 'Ka indicates that it must be a place inclining to the south, as stated in a Smṛiti.' (Nand.)

6. This and the following Sûtras refer both to the host at a Srâddha and to the guests invited by him. (Nand.)

18. If at the time of a *Srâddha* a *Brâhmana* or an ascetic (has come to his house), he must feed him, if (the invited) *Brâhmanas* permit it.

19. The *Brâhmanas* must not declare the qualities of the sacrificial dishes, even though asked to do so by their host.

20. As long as the dishes remain warm, as long as (the *Brâhmanas*) eat in silence, as long as the qualities of the sacrificial food are not declared by them, so long the manes enjoy it.

21. Having brought together (the remainder of) all the sorts of substantial food and (of the vegetables and) the like, he must sprinkle it with water, and place it before the *Brâhmanas*, who have taken their meal, strewing it on the ground.

22. The leavings (that have remained in the dishes) and what has been strewn (in the manner just mentioned) upon the blades of *Kusa* grass (spread on the ground) is the share of such (*Brâhmanas*) as have died before they were initiated, and of husbands who have deserted wives descended from good families.

23. What has dropped on the ground from the dishes, at a sacrifice addressed to the manes, they declare to be the share of servants, provided they be not dishonest or depraved.

LXXXII.

1. At a (*Srâddha*) offering to the *Visvedevâs* let him not enquire (into the qualities or descent of) a *Brâhmana* (whom he means to invite).

LXXXII. 1, 2. M. III, 149.—3-29. M. III, 150-166; Y. I, 222-224; Âpast. II, 7, 17, 21; Gaut. XV, 16-18.

2. But at a (*Srâddha* offering) to the manes he must enquire as closely as possible (into the qualities and descent of a *Brâhmaṇa*, whom he means to invite).

3. He must not invite (to a *Srâddha*) such as have a limb too little, or a limb too much;

4. Nor such as follow an occupation forbidden (by the *Veda* or by the traditional law)¹.

5. Nor those who act (deceitfully) like cats;

6. Nor those wearing the insignia of some particular order, without having a claim to them;

7. Nor astrologers;

8. Nor *Brâhmaṇas* who subsist upon the offerings made to an idol which they attend;

9. Nor physicians;

10. Nor sons of an unmarried woman;

11. Nor sons of the son of an unmarried woman;

12. Nor those who sacrifice for a multitude of persons;

13. Nor those who offer sacrifices for a whole village;

14. Nor those who offer sacrifices for *Sûdras*;

15. Nor those who offer sacrifices for those for whom it is forbidden to sacrifice (such as outcasts and others);

16. Nor those for whom the ceremony of initiation has not been performed;

17. Nor those who sacrifice for such;

4. ¹ The particle *ka*, according to Nand., in this *Sûtra*, refers to other categories, mentioned by Atri, viz. persons belonging to the same *Gotra*, or descended from the same *Rishi* ancestors as the sacrificer, and unknown persons.

8. ' *Ka* indicates here that thieves and wicked persons are also intended, as stated in a *Smṛiti*.' (Nand.)

18. Nor those who do work on holidays ;
19. Nor malignant informers ;
20. Nor those who teach (the Veda) for a fee ;
21. Nor those who have been taught (the Veda) for a fee ;
22. Nor those who subsist on food given to them by a Sûdra ;
23. Nor those who have intercourse with an outcast ;
24. Nor those who neglect their daily study of the Veda ;
25. Nor those who neglect their morning and evening prayers ;
26. Nor those who are in the king's service ;
27. Nor ' naked persons ;
28. Nor those who quarrel with their father ;
29. Nor those who have forsaken their father, mother, Guru, holy fire, or sacred study.
30. All those persons are said to defile a company, because they have been expelled from the community of Brâhmanas. Let a wise man avoid carefully, therefore, to entertain them at a Srâddha.

LXXXIII.

1. The following persons sanctify a company :
2. A Trinâkiketa ;

27. See LXIV, 5, note.

29. The particle *kā* here refers to the following further persons mentioned in a Smṛiti : a shepherd, one who lives by the prostitution of his own wife, the husband of a woman who had another husband before, and one employed to carry out dead bodies. (Nand.)

LXXXIII. 1-19. M. III, 128-148, 183-186 ; Y. I, 219-221 ; Âpast. II, 7, 17, 22 ; Gaut. XV, 28.

2. Nand. has two explanations of the term Trinâkiketa : 1. One who has thrice kindled the Nâkiketa fire. 2. One who has studied,

3. One who keeps five fires ;
4. One who can sing the Sâmans called *Gyeshtha* ;
5. One who has studied the whole Veda ;
6. One who has studied one Vedânga ;
7. One who has studied either the *Purânas* (Legends), or the *Itihâsas* (Epics), or grammar ;
8. One who has studied one of the *Dharmasâstras* (Institutes of the Sacred Law) ;
9. One purified by visiting sacred places of pilgrimage ;
10. One purified by offering sacrifices ;
11. One purified by austere devotion ;
12. One purified by veracity ;
13. One purified by (constantly muttering) *Mantras* ;
14. One intent upon muttering the *Gâyatri* ;
15. One in whose family the study and teaching of the Veda are hereditary.
16. One who knows the *Trisuparna* (the text which thrice contains the word *Suparna*).

in consequence of a vow, the portion of the *Yagur-veda* called *Trinâkiketa*. See *Âpast.* II, 7, 17, 22, with Dr. Bühler's note, and the *Petersburg Dictionary*.

4. *Sâma-veda* II, 209-211, &c.

7. Grammar is again mentioned here, although it forms part of the *Vedângas* mentioned in *Sûtra* 6. But there the *Prâtisâkhyas* are meant. (Nand.)

8. The number of the *Smritis* or *Dharmasâstras*, according to Nand., amounts to fifty-seven. The now current tradition gives thirty-six as their number ; but upwards of a hundred works of this description must have been actually in existence. See Dr. Bühler's *Introduction to the Bombay Digest*, p. xii seq.

16. See above, LVI, 23, and Dr. Bühler's note on *Âpast.* loc. cit. Nand. proposes another interpretation also of the term *Trisuparna*, 'one who has thrice kindled a fire in honour of *Suparna*.'

17. A son-in-law ;
18. And a grandson. All these persons are worthy (to be fed at a *Srâddha*) ;
19. And, particularly, devotees.
20. There is a stanza recited by the manes, which refers to this subject :
21. 'May that man be born to our race, who feeds a *Brâhmaṇa* devotee assiduously at a *Srâddha*, by which repast we are satisfied ourselves.'

LXXXIV.

1. He must not offer a *Srâddha* in a country inhabited by barbarians.
2. He must not visit a country inhabited by barbarians (excepting on a pilgrimage).
3. By (constantly) drinking water from (or bathing in) a pool situated in a foreign (barbarous) country, he becomes equal to its inhabitants.
4. Those countries are called barbarous (*mleḥ-kha*) where the system of the four castes does not exist ; the others are denoted *Âryāvarta* (the abode of the *Âryans*).

18. According to Nand., the particles *ka* and *iti* refer to the sister's son and other relatives, as enumerated by *Yâgñavalkya* I, 220, 221.

19. Nand. thinks that *ka* here refers to ascetics.

LXXXIV. 2. Nand. quotes a stanza of *Devala* to the effect that one who has visited the countries of *Sindh*, of the *Sauvîras*, *Surât*, and the adjacent parts, *Bengal* proper, *Kaliṅga*, *South Bihâr*, and *Malwa* requires to be initiated a second time.

3. '*Ka* refers to pools belonging to *Kandâlas* or other degraded castes.' (Nand.)

4. *Âryāvarta* is the name of the whole tract of land which extends from the eastern to the western ocean, and is bounded by the *Himâlayas* and by the *Vindhya* mountains in the north and south. See *Manu* II, 21, 22.

LXXXV.

1. A Srâddha offered at the (Tîrtha or place of pilgrimage called) Pushkaras confers eternal bliss upon the giver ;

2. And so does the muttering of prayers, the offering of burnt-oblations, and the practice of austerities in that place.

3. Even by merely bathing at Pushkara he is purified from all his sins.

4. The same effect may be produced at Gayâ-sîrsha ;

5. And near Vata (Akshayavata) ;

6. And on the Amarakantaka mountain ;

7. And on the Varâha mountain ;

LXXXV. 1. Pushkara, according to the common acceptation of the term, is the name of a celebrated place of pilgrimage near Agmîr, the modern Pokur. See Lassen, *Indian Antiquities*, I, 113. Nand. quotes a *Smṛiti* passage to the effect that there are three Pushkaras, and a passage of the *Mahâbhârata*, in which it is stated that one Pushkara is sacred to Brahman, another to Vishnu, and a third to Rudra.

3. Nand. asserts with regard to the use of the name Pushkara in the singular number in this Sûtra, that it means even a single bath has the consequence here mentioned.

4. Gayâsîrsha is the name of a mountain near Gayâ in Bihâr, a celebrated place of pilgrimage. Compare *Yâgyavalkya I*, 260.

5. There exists one Akshayavata in Bihâr (Nand.) and another in Prayâga (Allahabad). The 'undecaying banyan-tree' (Akshay Vat) is an object of worship at Allahabad even now, and was so already in the times of Hwen Thsang. See Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 389 ; St. Julien, *Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, II, 278.

6. Nand. states that both the Tîrtha called Amarakantaka on the Mekalâ mountain in the Vindhya range and the whole mountain of that name are meant.

7. 'This is a certain boar-shaped mountain.' (Nand.) It seems very probable that the Tîrtha of Bâramûla, the ancient Varâha-

8. And anywhere on the bank of the Narmadâ (Nerbudda) river ;
 9. And on the bank of the Yamunâ (Jumna) ;
 10. And, particularly, on the Gaṅgâ ;
 11. And at Kusâvarta ;
 12. And at Binduka ; 13. And upon the Nilgiri hills ; 14. And at Kanakhala ; 15. And at Kub-gâmbra ; 16. And on the Bhrîgutuṅga (mountain) ; 17. And at Kedâra ; 18. And on the Mahâlaya (mountain) ; 19. And on the Nadantikâ (river) ; 20. And on the Sugandhâ (river) ; 21. And at Sâkam-bhari ; 22. And at Phalgutîrtha ; 23. And on the

mûla in Kasmîr, is meant. See Bühler, Kasmîr Report, p. 12, where a 'Varâha hill' is mentioned as adjacent to that town.

11. This Tîrtha 'is situated upon the mountain called Tryambaka, where the Godâvarî river takes its rise.' (Nand.) Tryambaka is the modern Trimbak (the name of a place of pilgrimage situated near Nâsik).

12. 'Binduka is the name of a Tîrtha in the Dekhan. Bilvaka, as other texts read (the MS. on which the two Calcutta editions are based among the number), is the name of another Tîrtha in the Dekhan.' (Nand.)

14. There is one Kanakhala in the Himâlayas, and another near Trimbak. (Nand.)

15. There is one plain of that name in Orissa, and another in Haridvâr. (Nand.)

16. This is the name of a sacred mountain near the Amarakantaka range, according to Nand. ; in the Himâlayas, according to others. See the Petersburg Dictionary.

17. Kedâra (the Kedâr mountains?) is in the Himâlayas. (Nand.)

18, 19. These two names are not defined by Nand.

20. This is a river in the vicinity of the Saugandhika mountain. (Nand.)

21. Sâkambarî is the modern Shâmbhar, which lies 'in the desert of Marudera, on the salt lake.' (Nand.)

22. 'Phalgutîrtha is a Tîrtha in Gayâ.' (Nand.)

23. Mahâgaṅgâ, 'the great Gaṅgâ,' is the Alakânandâ river

Mahâgaṅgâ; 24. And at Trihalikâgrâma; 25. And at Kumâradhârâ; 26. And at Prabhâsa; 27. And particularly anywhere on (the bank of) the Sarasvatî;

28. At Gaṅgâdvâra (Haridvâr), at Prayâga (Allahabad), where the Gaṅgâ falls into the ocean, constantly in the Naimisha forest, and especially at Benares;

29. And at Agastyâsrama;

30. And at Kaṇvâsrama (on the Mâlîni river);

31. And on the Kausikî (Kosi river);

32. And on the bank of the Sarayû (Surju river in Oudh);

33. And on the confluence of the Sona (Sone) and Gytishâ rivers;

34. And on the Sripurvata (mountain);

(Nand.), which takes its rise in the Himâlayas and falls into the Ganges.

24. 'Trihalikâgrâma means Sâlagrâma. There is another reading, Tândulikâsrama.' (Nand.)

25. This is the name of a lake in Kasmîr, which the god Kumâra by a mighty stroke caused to stream forth from the Krauñka mountain (see Vâyu-purâṇa); or Kumâradhârâ is situated near the southern ocean in the plain of Ishupâta. (Nand.)

26. Prabhâsa is the name of a Tîrtha near Dvârakâ, on the western point of Kattivar. (Nand.)

27. Regarding the river Sarasvatî and its reputed holiness, see particularly Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, I, 331 seq., and *Manu* II, 17.

28. The Naimisha forest is in the northern country. (Nand.)

29. 'Agastyâsrama is situated near Pushkara (Sûtra 1), on the bank of the Sarasvatî. There is another Agastyâsrama in the south, near Svâmisthâna.' (Nand.)

33. The confluence of those two rivers is in the centre of the Vindhya range. For the name of the second, another reading is Gytîratha. (Nand.)

34. The Sripurvata or Srisaila, where the Mallikârguna (symbol of Siva) is worshipped, is in the Dekhan. (Nand.)

35. And at (the Tirtha situated on the Yamunâ, which is called) Kâlodaka.
36. And at Uttaramânasa (in the Kedâr mountains, in the Himâlayas).
37. And at Vadavâ (in the Dekhan).
38. And at Mataṅgavâpî (in the southern part of Gayâ) ;
39. And at Saptârsha ; 40. And at Vishṇupada ;
41. And at Svargamârgapada (or Rathamârga) ;
42. And on the Godâvarî river (in the Dekhan) ;
43. And on the Gomatî (river) ;
44. And on the Vetravatî (river) ;
45. And on the Vipâsâ (river) ;
46. And on the Vitastâ (river) ;
47. And on the banks of the Satadru (river) ;
48. And on the Kandrabhâgâ (river) ;
49. And on the Îrâvatî (river) ;
50. And on the banks of the Indus ;
51. And on the southern Pañkanada ;
52. And at Ausaga (?) ;
53. And at other such Tîrthas ;

39. Saptârsha, 'the Tîrtha of the seven Rishis' (Nand.), is perhaps the present Satara, in the country of the Mahrattas.

40. Nand. places this Tîrtha in the centre of Gayâ. There is another of the same name, which is placed on the Kailâsa mountain.

43. The Gomatî (the Gunti, near Lucknow) rises in the Naimisha forest. (Nand.) See 28.

44. The Vetravatî (the modern Betwah, near Bhilsah) is situated in Ahikkhatra. (Nand.)

45-49. The Vipârâ (Beas), Vitastâ (Jhelum or Behut), Satadru (Sutlej), Kandrabhâgâ (Chenâb), and Îrâvatî (Ravee) are the five rivers of the Pañgâb (Pañkanada in Sanskrit).

51. This is the name of the confluence of five rivers in the Dekhan : the *Krishnâ*, *Venâ*, *Tuṅga*, *Bhadrà*, and *Kona*. (Nand.)

52. 'Ausaga (v. l. Augasa ; read Ausiga ?) means *Sûrpâraka*' (Nand.), which was situated probably on the mouth of the *Krishnâ* (Kistna).

54. And on the banks of (other) holy rivers ;
 55. And anywhere at the birth-place of a deity, (such as Râma, *Krishna*, and others) ;
 56. And on sand-banks ; 57. And near water-falls ; 58. And on mountains ; 59. And in arbours (the sporting-places of *Krishna*) ; 60. And in woods ; 61. And in groves ; 62. And in houses smeared with cow-dung ; 63. And in 'pleasant spots.'
 64. There are some stanzas recited by the manes, which refer to this subject :

65. 'May that person be born to our race, who will give us libations of water, taken from streams abounding with water, especially if their floods (coming from the Himâlayas) are cool.

66. 'May that excellent man be born to our race, who offers us a *Srâddha* attentively at Gayâsirsha or at *Vaṭa*.'

67. A man must wish to have many sons, because if only one of them goes to Gayâ (and offers a *Srâddha* to him after his death), or if he performs a horse-sacrifice, or if he sets a dark-coloured bull at liberty¹, (he will acquire final emancipation through him.)

LXXXVI.

1. Now follows the ceremony of setting a bull at liberty, (which should take place)

2. On the days of full moon in *Kârttika* or *Âsvina*.

3. When performing this rite, he must first examine the bull.

63. The term *manogṛha*, 'a pleasant spot,' means 'a place close by the house, where sacred basil is planted,' or other such places. (Nand.)

67. ¹ See the next chapter.

LXXXVI. 1-18. *Pâr.* III, 9 ; *Sâṅkh.* III, 11. Regarding the corresponding section of the *Kâṭhaka Gṛhya-sûtra*, see Introduction.

4. (The bull must be) the offspring of a milch cow having young ones living.

5. He must have all marks.

6. He must be dark-coloured;

7. Or red, but having a white mouth, a white tail, and white feet and horns.

8. He must be one who protects the herd.

9. Then, after having (kindled) a blazing fire among the cows (in the cow-pen) and strewed Kusa grass around it, let him boil with milk a dish sacred to Pûshan, and offer (two oblations) in the fire with the Mantras, 'May Pûshan follow our cows¹,' and 'Here is pleasure².' And let a blacksmith mark the bull:

10. On the one flank (the right), with a discus; on the other flank (the left), with a trident.

11. After he has been marked, let him wash the bull with the four Mantras, (beginning with the words), 'The golden-coloured¹,' and with (the five Mantras, beginning with the words), 'May the divine (waters help and propitiate us)².'

12. Having washed and adorned the bull, he must bring him near, together with four young cows,

5. 'I.e. the bull must not be deficient in any limb.' (Nand.) This interpretation is supported by the *Grîhya-sûtras*.

6. Nand. mentions two interpretations of the term *nîla*, 'dark-coloured': 1. a bull who is all white, and is therefore said to be of the 'Brâhmaṇa kind'; 2. one whose body is white, whereas his tail, his hoofs, and his face are black, and his horns blue. Cf. L, 25.

8. Nand. interprets *yûthasyâkâḥâdakam* by *nishektâram*, 'one who covers the cows.' My rendering is based upon Devapâla's comment on the corresponding passage of the *Kâṭhaka Grîhya-sûtra*. See also Pâr. and Sâṅkh. loc. cit.

9. ¹ Rig-veda VI, 54, 5, &c. — ² Vâgas. Samh. VIII, 51; Kâṭh. Âsv. IV, 6, &c.

11. ¹ Taitt. Samh. V, 6, 1, 1, 2, &c. — ² Rig-veda X, 9, 4-8, &c.

which must also have been washed and decorated, and he must mutter the Rudras¹, the Purushasûkta, and the Kûshmândîs².

13. Then let him pronounce in the bull's right ear the Mantra, 'The father of calves;'

14. And the following (Mantras):

15. 'Holy law is a bull and is declared to have four feet¹: him I choose for the object of my worship; may he protect me wholly.

16. 'This young (bull) I give you as husband (O ye calves), roam about sportingly with him for your lover. May we not be deficient in progeny, O king Soma, and may we live long, and may we not be oppressed by our enemies.'

17. He must drive away the bull together with the calves in a north-eastern direction and give a pair of garments, gold, and a vessel made of white copper to the officiating priest.

18. The blacksmith shall receive as wages as much as he claims, and food prepared with a great deal of butter, and (three) Brâhmanas shall be fed.

19. Any pool from which the bull drinks after

12. ¹Taitt. Samh. IV, 5, 1-11.—²See LVI, 7.

13. Nand. states expressly that this Mantra is from the Kâṭhaka. It is found Kâṭh. XIII, 9; Taitt. Samh. III, 3, 9, 2; Kâṭh. Grîhya-sûtra XLVII.

15. ¹This term refers perhaps to the 'four feet of a judicial proceeding.' See Nârada I, 11; 2, 9.

16. Taitt. Samh. III, 3, 9, 1, &c. The second half of this Mantra is found in the Kâṭhaka Grîhya-sûtra only.

18. The clause regarding the 'food,' which has been rendered in accordance with Nand.'s Commentary, might also be construed with 'fed,' which would bring the whole into accordance with the precepts of the Kâṭhaka Grîhya-sûtra and of the two other Grîhya-sûtras.

having been set at liberty, that entire pool will refresh the manes of him who has set the bull at liberty.

20. The earth which is anywhere dug up by the bull exulting in his strength, is converted into delicious food and drink to satisfy the manes.

LXXXVII.

1. Now on the day of full moon in the month Vaisākha he must spread out upon a woollen blanket the skin of a black antelope (together with the horns and hoofs), after having adorned the former with gold and the latter with silver, and after having ornamented the tail with a string of pearls.

2. After that, he must cover (that part of the blanket which is not covered by the skin) with sesamum.

3. And he must adorn the navel with gold.

4. He must cover (the skin) with a couple of new garments.

5. He must place all sorts of perfumes and jewels upon it.

LXXXVII. 1. The particle *atha*, 'now,' indicates the beginning of a new section, treating of gifts. It comprises Chapters LXXXVII-XCIII. (Nand.) The commentator infers from a corresponding passage of the *Matsya-purāṇa*, that the following further rules are implied in this *Sūtra*. The ceremony may also take place on the full moon days in the months *Māgha*, *Kārttika*, and *Āshāḍha*, on the twelfth day after the summer solstice, and during an eclipse of the sun or moon. The silver on the hoofs must weigh five *Palas*, and the gold on the horns ten *Suvarṇas* (or two *Palas* and a half). The place must be pure, smeared with cow-dung, and covered with *Kusa* grass.

3. 'The *Skānda-purāṇa* states that the eyes must be adorned with jewels.' (Nand.)

5. 'And garlands of flowers and other objects must be placed upon it, as *ka* indicates.' (Nand.)

6. After having placed on its four sides (beginning with the eastern side) four metallic dishes (of copper, silver, white copper, and gold respectively) filled with milk, sour milk, honey, and clarified butter respectively, (and having poured out water) he must give (the skin, seizing it by the tail), to a Brâhmana, who is an Agnihotrin¹, decked with ornaments, and clad in two garments.

7. There are (the following) stanzas in regard to this subject :

8. 'He who bestows (upon a pious Brâhmana) the skin of a black antelope, together with the hoofs and horns, after having covered it with seeds of sesamum and garments, and adorned it with all sorts of jewels :

9. 'That man doubtless obtains the same reward as if he were to bestow the whole earth on him, bordered as it is on every side (by the oceans), together with the oceans and caverns, and with rocks, groves, and forests.

10. 'He who places sesamum, gold, honey, and butter on the skin of a black antelope and gives the whole to a Brâhmana, annihilates the consequences of all his own evil actions.'

LXXXVIII.

1. A cow in the act of bringing forth a young one is (comparable to) the earth.

2. By bestowing such a cow upon a Brâhmana, after having decked her with ornaments, he obtains the same reward as if he were to bestow the earth (upon him).

6. ¹ See LXVIII, 6, note.

LXXXVIII. 1. Y. I, 207.—4. Y. I, 206.

3. There is a stanza in regard to this subject :
4. ' One who full of faith and with intense application of mind gives away a pregnant cow, enters heaven for as many Yugas (or ages of the world) as that cow and her calf together have hairs on their bodies.'

LXXXIX.

1. The month Kârttika is sacred to the god Agni.
2. Agni is the first of all gods.
3. Therefore is that man purified from every sin committed during the past year, who persists during the month Kârttika in bathing (daily) out of the village, in muttering the Gâyatrî, and in taking a single meal each day, consisting of food fit for oblations.
4. He who bathes (at the prescribed time, early in the morning) constantly, during the whole month Kârttika, who keeps his organs of sense under control, who mutters (the Gâyatrî), who eats food fit for oblations only, and who governs his passions, is purified from every sin.

XC.

1. If on the fifteenth of the bright half of the month Mârgasîrsha the moon enters the lunar asterism *Mrigasîras*, he must give at the time when the moon rises (a vessel with) a golden centre, containing a Prastha of ground salt, to a Brâhmaṇa.
2. By (performing) this rite he obtains beauty and good fortune in a future birth.

XC. 3, 5. Âpast. II, 8, 18, 19 ; II, 8, 19, 1. — 7. M. IV, 232.

1. One Prastha = sixteen Palas. (Nand.)

3. If on the full moon day of the month Pausha the moon enters the lunar asterism Pushya, he must rub over his body with a dough prepared with white mustard-seeds, anoint himself with a kumbha¹ of clarified butter made of cow-milk, wash himself with (water and with) all sorts of medicinal herbs, all sorts of perfumes, and all sorts of seeds, wash (an image of) Bhagavat Vâsudeva (Vishnu) with clarified butter, and worship him with perfumes, flowers, incense, with a lamp, with eatables, and the like², offer an oblation in the fire with Mantras tending to the praise of Vishnu (such as Rig-veda I, 22, 17, and others), Mantras tending to the praise of Indra (such as Rig-veda VI, 47, 11, and others), Mantras tending to the praise of Brîhaspati (such as Rig-veda II, 23, 15, and others, and with one Mantra tending to the praise of Agni Svishṭakṛit), and cause three Brâhmaṇas to pronounce the benediction, after having bestowed clarified butter and gold upon them³.

4. To the priest (who has performed the burnt-oblation for him) he must give a pair of garments.

5. By (performing) this rite he obtains prosperity (pushyate)¹.

6. If on the full moon day in the month Mâgha the moon enters the lunar asterism Maghâ and he performs a Śrâddha with sesamum on that day, he is purified.

3. ¹ See V, 12, note.—² ‘And the like’ means ‘betel.’ (Nand.)—

³ The rite described in this Sûtra appears to be identical with the ceremony called Yugâdya, ‘the beginning of the present age of the world,’ in later works. See Wilson, On the Religious Festivals of the Hindus, in the Royal Asiatic Society’s Journal, IX, 89.

5. ¹ This is a play upon words. See LXXVIII, 8, note, and below, Sûtra 9; XCII, 14, &c.

7. If on the full moon day in the month Phâlguna the moon enters the lunar asterism Uttaraphâlgunî, and he gives on that day a bedstead, quite complete and covered with good rugs, to a Brâhmana, he obtains an amiable, handsome, and wealthy wife.

8. A woman who does the same, (obtains) a husband (possessing those qualities).

9. If on the full moon day of the month Kâitra the moon enters the lunar asterism Kîtrâ, and he gives a variegated (kîtra) garment (to a Brâhmana) on that day, he obtains good fortune.

10. If on the full moon day of the month Vaisâkha the moon enters the lunar asterism Visâkhâ, and he feeds on that day seven Brâhmanas with sesamum mixed with honey, in order to please king Dharma, he is purified from his sins.

11. If on the full moon day of the month Gyaishtha the moon enters the lunar asterism Gyeshthâ and he gives on that day an umbrella and a pair of shoes (to a Brâhmana), he becomes possessed of many cows.

12. If on the full moon day of the month Âshâdha the moon is seen in conjunction with the lunar asterism Uttarâshâdhâ and he gives food and drink (to a Brâhmana) on that day, he renders (the satisfaction effected by) them imperishable.

13. If on the full moon day of the month Srâvana the moon is seen in conjunction with the lunar asterism Sravana and he gives a milch cow covered with two garments, together with food (to a Brâhmana), he attains heaven.

14. If on the full moon day of the month Praush-

7. *Susamskrîta*, 'quite complete,' means 'provided with curtains and the like.' (Nand.)

thapada (or *Bhâdrapada*) the moon is seen in conjunction with the lunar asterism *Uttaraproshtthapadâ* (or *Uttarabhâdrapadâ*), and he gives a cow (to a *Brâhmaṇa*) on that day, he is cleansed from every sin.

15. If on the full moon day of the month *Âsvayuga* (or *Âsvina*) the moon is seen in conjunction with the lunar asterism *Asvinî*, and he gives a vessel filled with clarified butter, and gold (to a *Brâhmaṇa*) on that day, he obtains an excellent digestive faculty.

16. If on the full moon day of the month *Kârttika* the moon enters the lunar asterism *Kṛtîkâ*, and he bestows on that day, at the time of moonrise, upon a *Brâhmaṇa*, a white bull, or one of a different colour, together with all sorts of grains, all sorts of jewels, and all sorts of perfumes, after having lighted lamps on both sides (of the bull), he will meet with no danger on perilous roads.

17. If on the third day of the bright half of the month *Vaisâkha* he worships, after having fasted, *Vâsudeva* (*Vishṇu*) with (one thousand and eight, or one hundred) unbroken grains (of barley, while muttering the Mantra, *Om namo bhagavate vâsudevâya*¹), and offers up the same in fire, and gives them (to a *Brâhmaṇa*), he is purified from every sin.

18. And whatever he gives on that day becomes imperishable.

19. If on the twelfth day of the dark half following on the full moon day of the month *Pausha*, he washes himself, after having kept a fast, with sesamum-seeds, gives water mixed with sesamum

17. ¹See XLIX, 1, note.

19. This is evidently the ceremony which is called *Shatîladâna*

(to the manes), worships Vāsudeva with sesamum, offers up (part of) the same in fire, gives to Brāhmaṇas of it, and eats (the remainder himself) he is purified from his sins.

20. (If) on the twelfth day of the dark half following on the full moon day of the month Māgha, (the moon enters *Sravana*), he must keep a fast till the moon has entered that asterism, and place two lamps with two large wicks near (an image of) Vāsudeva ;

21. Placing on the right hand (of the image of Vāsudeva, and kindling, a lamp) containing one hundred and eight Palas of clarified butter, with an entire piece of cloth (together with the fringes) dyed with saffron (as wick) in it ;

22. (And placing) on its left, (and kindling, a lamp) containing one hundred and eight Palas of sesamum oil, with an entire piece of white cloth (as wick) in it.

23. He who has performed this rite obtains exquisite happiness, in whatever kingdom, in whatever province, and in whatever race he may be born again.

24. He who gives daily during the whole month Āsvina clarified butter to Brāhmaṇas, in order to please the two Asvins, obtains beauty.

25. He who feeds daily during that month (three) Brāhmaṇas with (milk and other) bovine productions, obtains a kingdom.

26. He who feeds on the Revati day of every month (three) Brāhmaṇas with rice boiled in milk

in later works ; see Wilson loc. cit. The name of the latter is derived from the fact that it consists, precisely like the ceremony described in the present Sūtra, of six acts, in all of which Tila, i. e. sesamum-seeds, forms an essential ingredient.

with sugar and mixed with honey and clarified butter, in order to please (the goddess) Revati, obtains beauty.

27. He who daily throughout the month Mâgha offers sesamum-seeds in fire and feeds (three) Brâhmanas with sour rice-gruel mixed with clarified butter, obtains an excellent digestive power.

28. He who bathes in a river and worships king Dharma on the fourteenth of both halves of every month, is purified from every sin.

29. One desirous of obtaining the manifold advantages attending an eclipse of the sun or moon must constantly bathe in the mornings during the two months Mâgha and Phâlguna.

XCI.

1. The digger of a well has (the consequences of) the half of his evil acts taken from him as soon as the water comes forth from it.

2. A digger of pools is for ever freed from thirst, and attains the world of Varuna.

3. A giver of water shall never suffer from thirst (in heaven, for a hundred Yugas or ages of the world).

4. He who plants trees will have those trees for his sons in a future existence.

5. A giver of trees gladdens the gods by (offering up) their blossoms to them.

6. (He gladdens) his guests by (giving) their fruits to them;

7. (He gladdens) travellers with their shade;

8. (He gladdens) the manes with the water (trickling down from their leaves) when it rains.

9. A maker of dikes attains heaven.

10. A builder of temples enters the dwelling-place of that deity to whom he has erected a temple.

11. He who causes (a temple erected by another) to be whitewashed acquires brilliant fame.

12. He who causes (such a temple) to be painted with (a different) colour (such as blue, yellow, and others) attains the world of the Gandharvas.

13. By giving flowers he becomes fortunate.

14. By giving ointments he acquires renown.

15. By giving a lamp he obtains an excellent eyesight and exquisite happiness.

16. By giving food he obtains strength.

17. By removing the remains of an offering to a deity he obtains the same reward as for giving a cow.

18. The same reward is also obtained by scouring a temple, by smearing it (with cow-dung and the like), by removing the leavings of the food of a Brâhmana, by washing his feet, and by nursing him when sick.

19. He who consecrates anew a well, or a park, or a pool, or a temple (when they have been soiled) obtains the same reward as he who first made them.

XCII.

1. Protecting (one attacked by robbers, or by tigers, or otherwise in danger) is more meritorious than any (other) gift.

2. By doing so he obtains that place of abode (after death) which he desires himself.

3. By giving land he obtains the same (heavenly reward).

4. By giving land to the extent of a bull's hide only he is purified from every sin.

5. By giving a cow he attains heaven.

6. A giver of ten milch cows (obtains) the mansion of cows (after death).

7. A giver of a hundred milch cows enters the mansions of Brahman (after death).

8. He who gives (a milch cow) with gilt horns, with hoofs covered with silver, with a tail wound with a string of pearls, with a milk-pail of white copper, and with a cover of cloth, shall reside in heaven for as many years as the cow has hairs on her body ;

9. Particularly, if it is a brown cow.

10. He who has given a tamed bull is (equal in virtue to) a giver of ten milch cows.

IV, 231; Y. I, 208.—8, 9. Y. I, 204, 205.—10. Y. I, 210.—10—12. M. IV, 231.—12, 13. Y. I, 210.—13, 14. M. IV, 230.—19, 20. M. IV, 232; Y. I, 211.—21—23. M. IV, 229, 232.—21. Y. I, 210.—27. M. IV, 232; Y. I, 211.—28—32. Y. I, 211.—31. M. IV, 230.

4. Nand. defines 'a bull's hide' as a measure of surface 300 Hastas (see X, 2, note) long by ten Hastas broad. See, however, V, 183.

8. According to a *Smṛiti* quoted by Nand., the gold upon the horns of the cow shall weigh ten *Suvarṇas*, the silver on her hoofs ten *Palas*, the white copper of which the milk-pail is made fifty *Palas*, and she shall have copper on her back, which must also weigh fifty *Palas*.

9. 'The meaning is, that a brown cow sends even his ancestors as far as the seventh degree to heaven, as *Yâgñavalkya* (I, 205) says.' (Nand.)

11. The giver of a horse attains the mansion of Sûrya (the sun-god).

12. The giver of a garment (attains) the mansion of Kandra (the god of the moon).

13. By giving gold (he attains) the mansion of Agni (the god of fire).

14. By giving silver (rûpya, he obtains) beauty (rûpa).

15. By giving dishes (pâtra) made of (gold or silver or other) metal he renders himself worthy (pâtra) to obtain everything he may desire.

16. By giving clarified butter, honey, or oil (he acquires) freedom from disease;

17. The same by giving (boiled or otherwise dressed) drugs.

18. By giving salt (lavana, he obtains) personal charms (lâvanya).

19. By giving grain (produced in the rainy season, such as Syâmâka grain, he acquires) satiation;

20. The same (effect is obtained) by giving grain (produced in winter or spring, such as wild turmeric or wheat).

21. A giver of food (obtains) all the rewards (enumerated above).

22. By giving grain (of any of the kinds not mentioned before, such as Kulattha or Kodrava grain, he obtains) good fortune.

23. A giver of sesamum (obtains) such offspring as he desires.

24. A giver of fuel (obtains) an excellent digestive power;

25. And he obtains victory in every fight.

26. By giving a seat (he obtains) high rank.

27. By giving a bed (of the kind declared above,

XC, 7, he procures) a wife (possessed of the qualities mentioned above).

28. By giving a pair of shoes (he obtains) a carriage yoked with mules.

29. By giving an umbrella (he attains) heaven.

30. By giving a fan or a chowrie (he obtains) prosperity in travelling.

31. By giving a house (he receives) the post of governor of a town.

32. Whatever a man is most fond of in this world (himself) and what his family like best, all that he must bestow upon a virtuous (Brâhmaṇa), if he wishes it to become imperishable.

XCIII.

1. What is given to another than a Brâhmaṇa produces the same fruit in the world to come.

2. (What is given) to one who calls himself a Brâhmaṇa (because he was born and initiated as such, but who does not perform his daily duties) produces twice the same fruit.

3. (What is given) to one who has studied the main portions of the Veda produces a thousand times the same fruit.

XCIII. 1-4. M. VII, 85; Gaut. V, 20.—7. M. IV, 192.—8. M. IV, 195.—9-13. M. IV, 196-200.

1. 'The term *abrâhmaṇa* (one not a Brâhmaṇa) refers to Kshatriyas and the like.' Kullûka on M. VII, 85. Dr. Bühler's rendering of Gautama V, 20 agrees with this interpretation. Nand., on the other hand, refers the term *abrâhmaṇa* to six kinds of Brâhmaṇas enumerated by Sâtâtapa, who have infringed the rule of their caste by taking their substance from a king, or by selling or buying forbidden articles, or by sacrificing for a multitude of persons, &c. The term 'the same fruit' means that a person shall receive in a future world what he has given in this. (Nand.)

4. (What is given) to one who has mastered the whole Veda, produces infinite fruit.

5. A domestic priest may claim gifts from his own employer (but from no one else).

6. And so may a sister, a daughter and sons-in-law (or other connections claim gifts from their brother, father, &c., but not from a stranger).

7. One who knows his duty must not give even water to a twice-born man who acts like a cat, or to a Brâhmaṇa who acts like a crane, or to one who has not studied the Veda.

8. One who constantly hoists the flag of religion, and who is avaricious, crafty, deceitful, pitiless, and a calumniator of everybody, such a man is said to act like a cat.

9. One who hangs his head, who is bent upon injuring others and upon his own gain, artful, and falsely demure, such a man is said to act like a crane.

10. Those who act like cranes in this world, and those who act like cats, fall into (the hell called) Andhatâmisra¹ on account of their wickedness.

11. If a man has committed an offence and does penance for it, he must not do so under pretext of performing an act of piety, covering his crime under a (fictitious) vow, and imposing on women and Sûdras.

12. A Brâhmaṇa who acts thus, is despised in the next life and in this by those who know the Veda, and the penance performed by him under such false pretence goes to the (demons called) Rākshasas.

10. ¹ See XLIII, 3.

13. One who gains his subsistence by wearing (a lock on the crown of the head or other) distinguishing marks of a caste or religious order, to which he does not belong, takes upon himself the (consequences of the) sins committed by those who have a right to those marks, and enters in a future birth the womb of an animal.

14. He must not give (to a panegyrist) from vain-glory, or from fear, or to a friend (from whom he hopes to obtain benefit), nor (must he bestow gifts), with a view to acquire religious merit, upon dancers or singers: that is a fixed rule.

XCIV.

1. A householder, when he sees his skin has become wrinkled and his hair turned grey, must go to live in a forest.

2. Or (he must do so) when he sees the son of his son.

3. Let him (before going into the forest) entrust the care of his wife to his sons, or let her accompany him.

4. Let him keep the sacred fires in his new abode as before.

5. He must not omit to perform the five sacri-

XCIV. 1, 2. M. VI, 2.—3, 4. M. VI, 3, 4; Y. III, 45; Âpast. II, 9, 22, 8, 9.—5. M. VI, 5, 16; Y. III, 46; Gaut. III, 29.—6. M. VI, 8; Y. III, 48.—7. M. VI, 26; Y. III, 45; Âpast. II, 9, 21, 19.—8. M. VI, 6; Âpast. II, 9, 22, 1; Gaut. VI, 34.—9, 10. M. VI, 6; Y. III, 46, 48.—9, 11. Gaut. III, 34, 35.—11. M. VI, 18; Y. III, 47.—12. M. VI, 15; Y. III, 47; Âpast. II, 9, 22, 24.—13. M. VI, 28; Y. III, 55. 'The duties of a householder having been declared, he now goes on to expound the duties of an hermit.' (Nand.)

5. See LIX, 20 seq.

fices, but (he must perform them) with (fruits, herbs, or roots) growing wild.

6. He must not relinquish the private recitation of the Veda.

7. He must preserve his chastity.

8. He must wear a dress made of skins or bark.

9. He must suffer the hairs of his head, of his beard, and of his body, and his nails to grow.

10. He must bathe at morning, noon, and evening.

11. He must either collect provisions, after the manner of the pigeon, for a month, or he must collect them for a year.

12. He who has collected provisions for a year, must throw away what he has collected on the day of full moon in the month Āsvina.

13. Or an hermit may bring food from a village, placing it in a dish made of leaves, or in a single leaf, or in his hand, or in a potsherd, and eat eight mouthfuls of it.

XCV.

1. An hermit must dry up his frame by the practice of austerities.

2. In summer he must expose himself to five fires.

6. The use of the particle *ka* implies, according to Nand., that the practice of distributing gifts should likewise be continued.

11. The particle *vā* here refers, according to Nand., to a third alternative mentioned by Manu (VI, 18), that he should gather provisions sufficient for six months.

XCV. 1. M. VI, 24.—2-4. M. VI, 23; Y. III, 52.—5, 6. M. VI, 19; Y. III, 50.—7-11. M. VI, 5, 21; Y. III, 46; Āpast. II, 9, 22, 2; Gaut. III, 26.—12, 13. M. VI, 20; Y. III, 50.—14, 15. M. VI, 17; Y. III, 49.—16, 17. M. XI, 235, 239.

3. During the season of the rains he must sleep in the open air.
4. In winter he must wear wet clothes.
5. He must eat at night.
6. He may eat after having fasted entirely for one day, or for two days, or for three days.
7. He may eat flowers. 8. He may eat fruits.
9. He may eat vegetables.
10. He may eat leaves. 11. He may eat roots.
12. Or he may eat boiled barley once at the close of a half-month.
13. Or he may eat according to the rules of the *Kāndrâyana*.
14. He shall break his food with stones.
15. Or he shall use his teeth as a pestle.
16. This whole world of deities and of men has devotion for its root, devotion for its middle, devotion for its end, and is supported by devotion.
17. What is hard to follow¹, hard to reach, remote, or hard to do, all that may be accomplished by devotion; since there is nothing that may not be effected by devotion.

6. Nand. considers the particle *vâ* to refer to the precept of *Yâgñavalkya* (III, 50), that the fast may also extend over a half-month or an entire month.

13. The particle *vâ*, according to Nand., implies that he may also perform *Krikṣhras*, as ordained by *Yâgñavalkya* (III, 50). Regarding the *Kāndrâyana*, see XLVII.

17. ¹*Duskara* has been translated according to the usual acceptance of this term. Nand. interprets it by 'hard to understand.' This proverb is also found *Subhâshitârnava* 109, *Vṛiddhakānakya's Proverbs* XVII, 3. See Böhrtlingk, *Ind. Sprüche*, 5265.

XCVI.

1. After having passed through the first three orders and annihilated passion, he must offer an oblation to Pragâpati, in which he bestows all his wealth (upon priests) as fee for the performance of the sacrifice, and enter the order of ascetics.

2. Having repositied the fires in his own mind, he must enter the village, in order to collect alms, (but never for any other purpose).

3. He must beg food at seven houses.

4. If he does not get food (at one house), he must not grieve.

5. He must not beg of another ascetic.

6. When the servants have had their meal, when the dishes have been removed, let him beg food (consisting of the leavings).

7. (He must receive the food) in an earthen vessel, or in a wooden bowl, or in a vessel made of the bottle-gourd.

8. He must cleanse those vessels with water.

9. He must shun food obtained by humble salutation.

XCVI. 1. M. VI, 38; Y. III, 56.—2. M. VI, 38, 43; Y. III, 56, 58.—4. M. VI, 57.—6. M. VI, 56; Y. III, 59; Gaut. III, 15.—7, 8. M. VI, 54, 53; Y. III, 60.—9. M. VI, 58.—11. M. VI, 44.—12. Gaut. III, 21.—13. Gaut. III, 18.—14-17. M. VI, 46.—18. M. VI, 45.—19, 20. M. VI, 47.—23. Y. III, 53; Mahâbhârata I, 4605.—24. M. VI, 49; Y. III, 201.—25-42. M. VI, 61-64; Y. III, 63, 64.—43. Y. III, 72.—45-50. M. VI, 76, 77.—51, 54-79. Y. III, 70, 84-90.—80-88. Y. III, 100-104.—89, 91. Y. III, 93-95.—92. Y. III, 96-99.—93-95. Y. III, 91, 92.—96. Y. III, 179.—97. M. XII, 12; Y. III, 178.—97, 98. Bhagavad-gîtâ XIII, 1, 2. This chapter treats of ascetics. (Nand.)

4. 'This implies that he must not rejoice if he does get it, as Manu (VI, 57) says.' (Nand.)

10. He must live in an empty house.
11. Or (he must) live at the root of a tree.
12. He must not stay for more than one night in one village (except during the rainy season).
13. His only dress must be a small piece of cloth worn over the privities.
14. He must set down his feet purified by looking down.
15. He must drink water purified (by straining it) with a cloth.
16. He must utter speeches purified by truth.
17. He must perform acts purified by his mind.
18. He must neither wish for death nor for (a long) life.
19. He must bear abuse patiently.
20. He must treat no one with contempt.
21. He must not pronounce a benediction.
22. He must not salute any one reverentially.

10. 'Empty' means 'inhabited by no one else,' and implies that the house in question should be situated in a dark place, difficult of access. (Nand.)

11. 'The article *vâ* implies that he must live there alone.' (Nand.)

14, 15. Nand. assigns as the reason of both these rules, 'lest he should not kill some insect.' Kullûka (on M. VI, 46) gives the same reason for the second rule, but the looking down, according to him, is ordained in order that he may not accidentally tread upon a hair or other impure substance.

17. The sense of this Sûtra is, that in doubtful cases he must act as his mind prompts him to do. (Nand.)

21. 'The meaning is, that he must not utter a benediction when he has been reverentially saluted by any one. He must confine himself to saying, "O Nârâyana." Others explain, that he must not utter a benediction in begging food.' (Nand.)

22. 'The sense is, that he must not salute any one reverentially who has reverentially saluted him, nor return his greeting other-

23. Should one man chop his one arm with an axe, and another sprinkle his other arm with sandal, he must neither curse the one in his mind, nor bless the other.

24. He must constantly be intent upon stopping his breath, upon retention of the image formed in his mind, and upon meditation.

25. He must reflect upon the transitoriness of the passage through mundane existence ;

26. And upon the impure nature of the body ;

27. And upon the destruction of beauty by old age ;

28. And upon the pain arising from diseases bodily, mental, or due to an excess (of the bile, &c.)

29. And upon (the pain arising from) the (five) naturally inherent (affections).

30. On his having to dwell in an embryo, covered with everlasting darkness ;

wise than by saying, " O Nârâyana." Others explain, that he must not make an obeisance in begging food.' (Nand.)

24. Nand. quotes a passage of the Yogasâstra, which states that one Dhâranâ = three Prânâyâmas (stoppings or regulations of the breath). A passage of the Gârûḍa-purâṇa (quoted in the Petersburg Dictionary) states that one Dhâranâ = sixteen Prânâyâmas. I have taken the term dhâranâ in its ordinary acceptation of 'retention of an idea' (cf. Wilson, Vishnu-purâṇa V, 237) with regard to an analogous passage of Yâgñavalkya (III, 201), which is also quoted by Nand.

28. According to Nand., the particle *ka* is used to include other diseases, love, anxiety or wrath, caused by enemies, and other mental pangs.

29. They are, ignorance, egotism, love, wrath, and dread of temporal suffering (Nand., according to Patañjali). The particle *ka*, according to Nand., is used in order to imply meditation upon the thousand births which man has to pass through, as stated by Yâgñavalkya (III, 64).

31. And on (his having to dwell) between urine and fæces ;

32. On his having to suffer, (as an embryo,) pain from the cold and hot (food and drink, which his mother happens to have taken) ;

33. On the dreadful pain which he has to suffer, at the time of his birth, while the embryo is coming forth from the narrowness of the womb ;

34. On his ignorance and his dependency upon his (parents and other) Gurus in childhood ;

35. On the manifold anxieties arising from the study of the Veda (and from the other obligations of a student) ;

36. And (on the anxieties arising) in youth from not obtaining the objects of pleasure, and upon the abode in hell (ordained as punishment) for enjoying them, after they have been obtained unlawfully ;

37. On the union with those whom we hate, and the separation from those whom we love ;

38. On the fearful agonies of hell ;

39. And (on the agonies) that have to be suffered in the passage of the soul through the bodies of animals (and of plants).

40. (And let him reflect thus that) there is no pleasure to be met with in this never-ceasing passage of the soul through mundane existence ;

41. (And that) even what is called pleasure, on account of the absence of pain, is of a transient nature ;

42. (And that) he who is unable to enjoy such pleasures (from sickness or some such cause), or who is unable to procure them (from poverty), suffers severe pangs.

43. He must recognise this human frame to consist of seven elements.

44. Those elements are, adeps, blood, flesh, serum of flesh, bone, marrow, and semen.

45. It is covered with skin.

46. And it has a nasty smell.

47. It is the receptacle of (the above-named) impure substances (adepts and the rest).

48. Though surrounded by a hundred pleasures, it is subject to change.

49. Though carefully supported (by elixirs and the like), it is subject to destruction.

50. It is the stay of carnal desire, wrath, greed, folly, pride, and selfishness.

51. It consists of earth, water, fire, air, and ether.

52. It is provided with bone, tubular vessels (carrying bile and phlegm through the body), tubes (conducting the vital airs), and sinews.

53. It is endowed with the quality of ragas (passion).

54. It is covered with six skins.

55. It is kept together by three hundred and sixty bones.

56. They are distributed (as follows):

57. The teeth together with their receptacles are sixty-four in number.

46. The particle *ka*, according to Nand., refers to the fact that the human body is defiled by the touch of impure objects.

48. 'The meaning is that, though food and drink and other sensual enjoyments abound, they may cause pain as well as pleasure by producing phlegm, &c.' (Nand.)

51. 'Earth,' i.e. the flesh and bone, &c.; 'water,' i.e. the blood; 'fire,' i.e. the digestive faculty, the eyesight, &c.; 'air,' i.e. the five vital airs; 'ether,' i.e. the space enclosed by the airs, in the mouth, in the belly, &c. (Nand.)

58. There are twenty nails.
59. There are as many bones to the hands and feet (one at the root of each finger and toe).
60. There are sixty joints to the fingers and toes.
61. There are two (bones) to the two heels.
62. There are four to the ancles.
63. There are four to the elbows.
64. There are two to the shanks.
65. There are two to the knees and two to the cheeks.
66. (There are two) to the thighs and (two) to the shoulders.
67. (There are two) to the lower part of the temples, (two) to the palate, and (two) to the hips.
68. There is one bone to the organs of generation.
69. The backbone consists of forty-five (bones).
70. The neck consists of fifteen (bones).
71. The collar-bone consists of one (bone on each side).
72. The jaw likewise.
73. There are two (bones) at its root.
74. There are two (bones) to the forehead, (two) to the eyes, and (two) to the cheeks.
75. The nose has one bone, the nose-bone.
76. The ribs together with the joints called 'arbuda,' and with the joints called 'sthânaka,' consist of seventy-two (bones).
77. The breast contains seventeen bones.

76. 'There are thirteen ribs to each flank, which makes in all twenty-six ribs. There are twenty joints to them in the breast, called "arbuda," and twenty-six joints in the back, called "sthânaka," which makes a total of seventy-two bones.' (Nand.)

78. There are two temporal bones.

79. The head has four skull-bones. Thus (the bones have been enumerated).

80. There are in this human frame seven hundred tubular vessels (carrying bile and phlegm through the body, or arteries).

81. Of sinews, there are nine hundred.

82. Of tubes (conducting the vital airs, or nerves), there are two hundred.

83. Of muscles, there are five hundred.

84. Of tubular vessels (or arteries), the branches of the smaller tubular vessels, there are twenty-nine Lakshas (two millions nine hundred thousand) and nine hundred and fifty-six.

85. Of hair-holes, of the hair of the beard and of the head, there are three hundred thousand.

86. Of sensitive parts of the body, there are one hundred and seven.

87. Of joints, there are two hundred.

88. Of (atoms of) hairs (of the body), there are fifty-four Kofis (or five hundred and forty millions) and sixty-seven Lakshas (making in all five hundred and forty-six millions and seven hundred thousand).

89. The navel, the principle of vital action (which dwells in the heart), the anus, semen, blood, the temples, the head, the throat, and the heart are the seats of the vital airs.

90. The two arms, the two legs, the belly, and the head are the six limbs.

91. Adeps, marrow, the left lung, the navel, the right lung, the liver, the spleen, the small cavity of the heart, the kidneys, the bladder, the rectum, the stomach, the heart, the large cavity (intestine), the

anus, the belly, and the two bowels in it (are the inner parts of the body).

92. The pupils of the eye, the eyelashes¹, the outer parts of the ears, the ears themselves, the tragus of each ear, the cheeks, the eyebrows, the temples, the gums, the lips, the cavities of the loins, the two groins, the scrotum, the two kidneys and breasts of females, which are composed of phlegm, the uvula, the hindparts, the arms, the shanks, the thighs, the fleshy parts of the shanks and thighs, the palate, the two bones (or muscles) at the upper end of the bladder, the chin, the soft palate, and² the nape of the neck: these are the 'places' (of vital energy) in the body.

93. Sound, tangibility, form or colour, savour, and odour are the (five) objects of sense.

94. Nose, eye, skin, tongue, and ear are the (five) organs of perception.

95. Hands, feet, anus, parts of generation, and tongue are the (five) organs of action.

96. Mind, intellect, the individual Self, and the indiscrete¹ are 'that which exceeds the senses.'

97. This human frame, O Earth, is called 'field.' He who knows (how to enter and how to leave) it is denominated, by those conversant with the

92. ¹ Others interpret *akshikûṭe*, 'the eyelashes,' by 'the joints between the eyes and the nose.' (Nand.) See also Böhrtlingk's new Dictionary.—² The use of the particle *ka* implies, according to Nand., that the feet, hands, and other limbs mentioned in an analogous passage of *Yâgñavalkya* (III, 99) have also to be included in this enumeration.

96. ¹ Nand. interprets *avyaktam*, 'the indiscrete,' by *pradhânam*, 'the chief one.' Both terms are in the *Sâṅkhya* system of philosophy synonyms of *prakṛiti*, 'that which evolves or produces everything else.'

subject, 'the knower of the field' (i. e. Self or Soul).

98. Know me, O illustrious one, to be the Self of all fields (whether born from the womb, or arisen from an egg, or from sweat, or from a germ or shoot). Those striving after final emancipation must constantly seek to understand the 'field' and to obtain a knowledge of the knower of the field.

XCVII.

1. Sitting with the feet stretched out and crossed so as to touch the thighs, with the right hand (stretched out and) resting upon the left, with the tongue fixed in the palate, and without bringing the one row of teeth in contact with the other, with the eyes directed to the tip of the nose, and without glancing at any of the (four) quarters of the sky, free from fear, and with composure, let him meditate upon (Purusha), who is separate from the twenty-four entities,

XCVII. 1. Y. III, 198-200.—9. Y. III, 111, 201. This chapter treats of the means for obtaining that knowledge of the Âtman or Self, which has been declared at the end of the last chapter to be the road to final emancipation. (Nand.)

1. 'The twenty-four (it should be twenty-five) entities are stated in the Sâṅkhya to consist of the root-principle (*mūlaprakṛiti*), the seven productions evolved from it (*vikṛitayaḥ*), the sixteen productions evolved from these, and Purusha (the soul), who is neither producer nor produced. (1) The "root-principle" is composed of the three qualities in equipoise: *sattva*, *ragas*, and *tamas* (the most accurate rendering of these terms is perhaps that proposed by Elliot, "pure unimpassioned virtue," "passion," and "depravity inclining to evil." See Fitz-Edward Hall, Preface to *Sâṅkhyapravāṇabhāṣya*, p. 44). (2) The "great entity" (*Mahat*) is the cause of apprehension. (3) The "self-consciousness" (*ahamkāra*) is the cause of refer-

2. He who is eternal, beyond the cognisance of the senses, destitute of qualities, not concerned with sound, tangibility, form, savour, or odour, knowing everything, of immense size,

3. He who pervades everything, and who is devoid of form,

4. Whose hands and feet are everywhere, whose eyes, head, and face are everywhere, and who is able to apprehend everything with all the senses.

5. Thus let him meditate.

6. If he remains absorbed in such meditation for a year, he obtains the accomplishment of Yoga (concentration of the thought and union with the Supreme).

7. If he is unable to fix his mind upon the being

ring all objects to self. (4-8) The "subtile elementary particles" (tanmâtras) are identical with sound, tangibility, form, taste, and odour. (9-19) The eleven senses (i. e. the organs of perception and action enumerated in CXVI, 94, 95, and manas, "the mind"), and (20-24) the five "grosser elements" (ether, air, fire, water, and earth) are productions (from the former entities). Purusha, who is neither producer nor produced, is the twenty-fifth entity.' (Nand.)

2, 3. According to Nand., all the properties of Purusha mentioned in this Sûtra are such as distinguish him from the rest of the entities, the first two distinguishing him from 'self-consciousness' (ahamkâra), the voidness of quality distinguishing him from the 'root-principle' (mûlaprakṛti), which is composed of three qualities, &c.

4. The properties of Purusha here mentioned are faculties only, so that there is no contradiction to the 'voidness of form' and the other properties enumerated in the preceding Sûtras. (Nand.)

6. The external signs of the accomplishment of Yoga, as stated by Yâgñavalkya (III, 202 seq.), are, the faculty of entering another body and of creating anything at will, and other miraculous powers and qualities. (Nand.)

destitute of form¹, he must meditate successively on earth, water, fire, air, ether, mind, intellect, self², the indiscrete³, and Purusha⁴: having fully apprehended one, he must dismiss it from his thoughts and fix his mind upon the next one in order.

8. In this way let him arrive at meditation upon Purusha.

9. If unable to follow this method also, he must meditate on Purusha¹ shining like a lamp in his heart, as in a lotus turned upside down.

10. If he cannot do that either, he must meditate upon Bhagavat Vāsudeva (Vishnu), who is adorned with a diadem, with ear-rings, and with bracelets, who has the (mystic mark) *Srivatsa* and a garland of wood-flowers on his breast, whose aspect is pleasing, who has four arms, who holds the shell, the discus, the mace, and the lotus-flower, and whose feet are supported (and worshipped) by the earth.

11. Whatever he meditates upon, that is obtained by a man (in a future existence): such is the mysterious power of meditation.

12. Therefore must he dismiss everything perish-

7. ¹ The term *nirākāra*, 'the being destitute of form,' evidently refers to Purusha here (cf. *Sūtra* 3), though Nand. interprets it as an epithet of 'Brahman.'—² 'Intellect' (*buddhi*) and 'self' (*ātman*), according to Nand., mean 'the great entity' (*mahat*) and 'self-consciousness' (*ahamkāra*), cf. note on *Sūtra* 1.—³ 'The indiscrete' (*avyaktam*) means 'the chief one' (*pradhānam*), i.e. the *Sāṅkhya* 'root-principle' (see XCVI, 96).—⁴ Nand. takes Purusha in this *Sūtra* and in 13, 15 to mean 'the twenty-sixth entity;' but it appears clearly from *Sūtra* 1, as from 16 also, that the *Vishnu-sūtra*, like the *Sāṅkhya* system, assumes twenty-five entities only, not twenty-six, like Yama, upon whose authority Nand.'s statement is based.

9. ¹ Nand. interprets the term Purusha here by *ātman*, 'self.'

able from his thoughts and meditate upon what is imperishable only.

13. There is nothing imperishable except Purusha.

14. Having become united with him (through constant meditation), he obtains final liberation.

15. Because the great lord pervades the whole universe (pura), as he is lying there (sete), therefore is he denominated Puru-sha by those who reflect upon the real nature (of the Supreme Spirit).

16. In the first part and the latter part of the night must a man bent on contemplation constantly and with fixed attention meditate upon Purusha Vishnu, who is destitute of (the three) qualities (sattva, ragas, and tamas¹) and the twenty-fifth entity.

17. He (or it) is composed of the entities, beyond the cognisance of the senses, distinct from all the (other) entities, free from attachment (to the producer, &c.), supporting everything, devoid of qualities and yet enjoying (or witnessing the effect of) qualities.

18. It exists without and within created beings (as being enjoyed and as enjoyer), and in the shape both of immovable things (such as trees or stones) and of movable things (such as water or fire); it is undistinguishable on account of its subtlety; it is out of reach (imperceptible), and yet is found in the heart.

16. ¹ See Sûtra I, note.

17. Thus according to the reading *asaktam*, which is mentioned and explained as a var. lect. by Nand. He himself reads *asaktam*, 'independent of Sakti, power, i.e. the producer, the power of creation (*prakṛiti*), or illusion (*mâyâ*).'¹ *Mâyâ* and *prakṛiti* are occasionally used as synonymous terms in the Sāṅkhya.

19. It is not distinct from creation, and yet distinct from it in outward appearance; it annihilates and produces by turns (the world), which consists of everything that has been, that will be, and that is.

20. It is termed the light of the sidereal bodies and the enemy of darkness (ignorance), it is knowledge, it should be known, it may be understood (by meditation), it dwells in every man's heart.

21. Thus the 'field,' knowledge (or meditation), and what should be known¹ have been concisely declared; that faithful adherent of mine who makes himself acquainted therewith, becomes united to me in spirit.

XCVIII.

1. When Vishnu had finished his speech¹, the goddess of the earth inclined her knees and her head before him and said:

2. 'O Bhagavat! Four (out of the five) grosser elements¹ are receiving their support from thee, and are constantly about thee: the ether, in the form of the shell; the air, in the form of the discus; the fire, in the form of the mace; and the water, in the form of the lotus. Now I also desire to attend upon thee, in my own shape, as the ground which Bhagavat's feet tread upon.'

21. ¹ The 'field' has been discussed in XCVI, 43-97, 'knowledge' in XCVII, 1, and 'what should be known' in XCVII, 2-20. (Nand.)

XCVIII. 1. ¹ Vishnu's speech is contained in Chapters II-XCVII. (Nand.)

2. ¹ The fifth grosser element is the earth. See XCVII, 1, note.

3. Having been addressed thus by the goddess of the earth, Bhagavat answered, 'So be it.'

4. And the goddess of the earth, her desire having been gratified, did as she had said.

5. And she praised the god of the gods (as follows):

6. 'Om. Adoration be to thee.

7. 'Thou art the god of the gods.

8. 'Thou art Vâsudeva.

9. 'Thou art the creator.

10. 'Thou art the god (who creates, preserves, and destroys) at will.

11. 'Thou art the gratifier of human desires.

12. 'Thou art the guardian of the earth.

13. 'There is neither beginning, nor middle, nor end in thee.

14. 'Thou art the lord (protector) of creatures.

15. 'Thou art the strong lord of creatures.

16. 'Thou art the exalted lord of creatures.

17. 'Thou art the lord of strength.

18. 'Thou art the lord of holy speech.

19. 'Thou art the lord (creator and preserver) of the world.

20. 'Thou art the lord of heaven.

21. 'Thou art the lord of woods (who makes the trees grow).

10. 'Or Kâmadeva means the god (or brilliant one) who is sought by those striving for religious merit, gain, love, or final liberation.' (Nand.) The same interpretation is given by Saṅkara in his Commentary on the Vishṇu-sahasranâma. The ordinary meaning of Kâmadeva is 'the god of love.'

15, 16. Nand. renders the terms supragâpati and mahâpragâpati by 'the protector of those who have a splendid progeny (such as Kasyapa)' and 'the lord of him who has a large progeny (Brahman).'

22. 'Thou art the lord (producer) of (mother's) milk.
23. 'Thou art the lord of the earth (and causest it to yield its produce).
24. 'Thou art the lord of the waters.
25. 'Thou art the lord of the (eight) quarters of the sky.
26. 'Thou art the lord of (the principle) Mahat.
27. 'Thou art the lord of the wind.
28. 'Thou art the lord of happiness.
29. 'Thou art Brahman personified.
30. 'Thou art dear to Brâhmaṇas.
31. 'Thou pervadest everything.
32. 'Thou surpassest all conception.
33. 'Thou art attainable by knowledge (meditation).
34. 'Thou art invoked at many (offerings).
35. 'Thou art praised with many (hymns of the Veda).
36. 'Thou likest everything sacred.
37. 'Thou art fond of Brahman (the Veda).
38. 'Thou belongest to the (gods called) Brahmakâyas.
39. 'Thy size is immense.
40. 'Thou belongest to the Mahârâgas.

26. See XCVII, 1, note.

28. Lakshmiṇīpati has been translated according to Nand.'s interpretation. It usually denotes the husband of Lakshmi.

30. Or 'Brâhmaṇas are dear to thee.' Both explanations of the term brâhmaṇapriya are admissible, and mentioned by Nand. and by Saṅkara.

40, 41. Nand. interprets the two terms mahârâgika and katurmahârâgika by 'he whose series of transmigrations is immense,' and 'he whose immense series of transmigrations is fourfold,' and

41. 'Thou belongest to the four Mahârâgas.
42. 'Thou art brilliant.
43. 'Thou art most brilliant.
44. 'Thou art the seven (parts of a Sâman, or the seven divisions of the universe).
45. 'Thou art most blessed.
46. 'Thou art tone.
47. 'Thou art Tushita (or "satisfied with the honours shown to thee by faithful attendants").
48. 'Thou art Mahâtushita (or "highly satisfied even without being worshipped").
49. 'Thou art the tormentor (destroyer of the world).
50. 'Thou art wholly created.
51. 'Thou art uncreated.
52. 'Thou art obsequious (to thy followers).
53. 'Thou art sacrifice.
54. 'Thou art the (recipient of the) great sacrifice.
55. 'Thou art connected with sacrifices.
56. 'Thou art the fit recipient of offerings.
57. 'Thou art the consummation of offerings.
58. 'Thou art invincible.

he refers the latter epithet to the four parts, of which Purusha is said to consist. He quotes Rig-veda X, 90, 4, where it is said that Purusha ascended to the sky with three of his constituent parts, and that the fourth remained in this world. But both terms cannot be separated etymologically from Mahârâga, the name of a certain class of deities in the Buddhistic system of religion.

44. Thus Nand. Compare I, 56, note.

46. Nand.'s interpretation of the epithet *svara*, 'tone' (or 'air breathed through the nostrils'), as being a compound of the prefix *su* and the root *ri* in the sense of 'acquisition, insight,' and meaning 'most wise,' is inadmissible.

54. This epithet, according to Nand., refers to the sacrifice mentioned in a text of the Vâgasan. *Samhitâ* (XIX, 12), which begins with the words 'The gods prepared a sacrifice.'

59. 'Thou art *Vaikuntha*.
60. 'Thou art unbounded (both in time and space).
61. 'Thou surpassest (the organs of sense, mind, and intelligence).
62. 'Thou art of old.
63. 'Thou art friendly to the gods.
64. 'Thou art the protector of living beings.
65. 'Thou wearest radiant locks of hair.
66. 'Thou takest thy share of acts of worship.
67. 'Thou takest thy sacrificial cake.
68. 'Thou art lord over everything.
69. 'Thou art the support of all.
70. 'Thy ears are pure.
71. 'Never ceasing homage is paid to thee.
72. 'Thou art blazing fire (or "Thou art shining with clarified butter offered up to thee").
73. 'Thou cuttest (foes) to pieces with thy axe.
74. 'Thou hast a lotus springing from thy navel.
75. 'Thou holdest a lotus (in thy hand).
76. 'Thou wearest a garland of lotus-flowers.
77. 'Thou art the lord of the senses.
78. 'Thou hast one horn.

59. Nand. proposes two interpretations of this epithet: 1. the producer of *Mâyâ* (the power of illusion); 2. the son of *Vikunthâ*, the mother of *Vishnu* in one of his *Avatâras*. *Vaikuntha* is also the name of *Vishnu*'s paradise.

70. 'I.e. "thou hearest the sacred revelation." Or *sukisravaḥ* = "he whose names are pure." (Nand.) The same interpretation is given by *Saṅkara*. See also *Mahâbhârata* XII, 13250.

73. 'The epithet *khandaparasu* refers either to *Vishnu*'s slaying the *Daityas* in the form of *Śiva*, or to his wearing an axe as the slayer of the *Kshatriyas* in the form of *Parasurâma*. (Nand.) The latter interpretation is proposed by *Saṅkara* also, and *khandaparasu* is a very common epithet of *Parasurâma*.

78. The one horn is meant, by which *Vishnu*, in his descent as

79. 'Thou art the great boar.

80. 'Thou art the tormentor (of the Asuras, or of the righteous and the unrighteous).

81. 'Thou art eternal.

82. 'Thou art infinite. 83. Thou art Purusha. 84. Thou art the great (unbounded) Purusha. 85. Thou art (the sage) Kapila. 86. Thou art the teacher of the Sāṅkhya. 87. Thy powers are everywhere. 88. Thou art virtue. 89. Thou art the giver of virtue. 90. Thy body is virtue (law). 91. Thou art the giver of both virtue and wealth. 92. Desires are gratified by thee. 93. Thou art Vishnu. 94. Thou art triumphant everywhere. 95. Thou art capable of bearing (the extremities of heat and cold and any others). 96. Thou art *Krishna*. 97. Thou art the lotus-eyed god. 98. Thou art *Nârâyana* (the son of Nara). 99. Thou art the final aim. 100. Thou art the resort of all beings. 101. Adoration, adoration (be to thee)!' 102. The goddess of the earth, after her desire had been gratified, and after she had thus praised

a fish, is said to have dragged the ship of Manu behind him. (Nand.)

79. This epithet refers to Vishnu's boar-incarnation. See I, 1 seq.

85, 86. See Introduction.

101. Nand. observes that the divers epithets which are given to Vishnu in this chapter are precisely equal in number to the ninety-six chapters, of which the law part of the Vishnu-sûtra is composed. This coincidence is curious enough, though it is not quite perfect. For it is by a highly artificial interpretation only that Nand. makes out Sûtra 101 to contain an epithet of Vishnu, viz. by interpreting the two separate words *namo nama* as a compound, meaning 'he who is worshipped by the worshipful, i.e. by Brahman and the other gods;' and Sûtra 6 contains no epithet at all.

(Vishnu) with a cheerful mind, addressed herself to the goddess (Lakshmi).

XCIX.

1. After having seen Sri (Lakshmi), the goddess of the earth, highly pleased, questioned (in the following manner) that goddess, who was stroking the feet of Vishnu, the god of the gods, who was shining with the splendour of her austerities, and whose face was radiant like melted gold.

2. 'O charming lady! Thy hands are as beautiful as the expanded red lotus. Thou art holding the feet of him whose navel resembles the expanded red lotus. Thou art constantly residing in an abode resembling the expanded red lotus. Thy waist has the colour of the expanded red lotus.

3. 'Thy eyes resemble blue lotus-flowers; thy hue is radiant like gold; thy robe is white; thy body is adorned with gems; thy face is radiant like the moon; thou art resplendent like the sun; thy power is immense; thou art the sovereign (or producer) of the world.

4. 'Thou art repose (final liberation), the highest among the (four) objects of human pursuit; thou art Lakshmi; thou art a support (in danger); thou art Sri; thou art indifference (the freedom from all worldly pursuits and appetites, which is the consequence of final emancipation); thou art victory;

4. The 'four objects of human pursuit' are, kâma, 'desire' (and its gratification), artha, 'gain,' dharma, 'religious merit,' and moksha, 'final emancipation.' The goddess is called Lakshmi, because she is the aim (lakshyate) of all beings. She is called Sri, because she serves Purushottama (Vishnu), or because she is the resort of all. (Nand.)

thou art beauty ; thou art the splendour (of the sun and moon personified) ; thou art renown ; thou art prosperity ; thou art wisdom ; thou art the power of expression ; thou art the purifier.

5. 'Thou art the food of the manes ; thou art forbearance ; thou art the earth (or the repository of wealth) ; thou art fixity ; thou art the basis (or stability) ; thou art the source of the benefit derived from sacrifices ; thou art highest prudence ; thou art wide-spread renown ; thou art freedom from envy ; thou art the food given to the gods ; thou art mental power ; thou art intelligence.

6. 'As the first of the gods (Vishnu) pervades the whole aggregate of the three worlds (sky, atmosphere, and earth), even so doest thou, O black-eyed bestower of gifts. Yet I inquire for the dwelling, in which thy superhuman power is residing.'

7. The goddess of the earth having thus spoken to her, Lakshmi, standing by the side of the chief of the gods, enunciated the following answer : 'I am constantly at the side of the brilliant destroyer of Madhu, O goddess, who shinest like gold.

8. 'But learn from me, where I reside (besides), O support of the world, from the instruction of him, whom I am constantly reflecting upon in my mind, and whom the virtuous call the husband of Sri, and from my own recollection.

9. 'I reside in the sun, in the moon, and in the cloudless atmosphere in which the flock of the stars is spread out. (I reside) in that cloud, from which the waters of the rain pour down, in that cloud

6. Lakshmi is said to pervade everything, like Vishnu himself, because she is his Sakti, i.e. his energy or active power personified as his wife. (Nand.)

which is adorned with Indra's bow, and in that cloud from which the rays of lightning flash forth.

10. '(I reside) in bright gold and silver, and in spotless gems and clothes, O goddess of the earth. (I reside) in rows of whitewashed palaces and in temples decorated with the attributes of deities.

11. '(I reside) in fresh cow-dung, in a noble elephant in rut, in a horse exulting in his vigour, in a proud bull, and in a Bráhmāna who studies the Veda.

12. 'I reside in a throne, in an Âmalaka (Dhâtri) shrub, in a Bèl tree, in an umbrella, in a shell (trumpet), in a lotus-flower, in blazing fire, and in a polished sword or mirror.

13. 'I reside in jars filled with water and in painted (halls), in which there are chowries and fans; in splendid golden vessels, and in earth recently thrown up.

14. '(I reside) in milk, butter, fresh grass, honey, and sour milk; in the body of a married woman, in the frame of an unmarried damsel, and in the frame of (images of) gods, of ascetics, and of officiating priests.

15. '(I reside) in an arrow, in one who has returned (victorious) from battle, and in one who has fallen on the field of honour and proceeded to a seat in heaven; in the sound of (repeating) the Veda, in the flourish of the shell (trumpet), in the sacrificial exclamations addressed to the gods and to the manes, and in the sound of musical instruments.

16. '(I reside) in the consecration of a king, in the marriage ceremony, in a sacrifice, in a bridegroom, in one who has washed his head, in white flowers, in mountains, in fruits, in (islets in the

middle of a river and other) pleasant spots, and in large streams.

17. '(I reside) in lakes filled with water, in (pure) waters, and in ground covered with fresh grass, in a wood abounding in lotuses (and fruits), in a new-born infant, in a suckling, in one exulting in joy, in a virtuous man, and in one wholly bent upon practising the law.

18. '(I reside) in a man who observes approved usages, in one who constantly acts up to the sacred law, in one modestly, and in one splendidly attired, in one who keeps his organs of sense and his mind under control, in one free from sin, in one whose food is pure, and in one who honours his guests.

19. '(I reside) in one who is satisfied with his own wife (and does not covet other men's wives), in one bent upon doing his duty, in one eminently virtuous, in one who refrains from eating too often (i. e. three or four times a day), in one constantly adorned with flowers, in one who associates with such as anoint their limbs with fragrant unguents, in one who is scented with perfumes (himself), and in one adorned (with bracelets and ear-rings).

20. '(I reside) in one habitually veracious, in one friendly towards all creatures, in a married householder, in one forbearing, in one free from wrath, in one skilled in his own business, and in one skilled in other men's business, in one who never thinks of any but propitious things, and in one constantly humble.

21. '(I reside) in women who wear proper ornaments always, who are devoted to their husbands, whose speeches are kind, who keep up saving habits, who have sons, who keep their household utensils in

good order, and who are fond of offering domestic oblations.

22. '(I reside) in women who keep the house clean (by scouring it, plastering it with cow-dung, and the like), who keep their organs of sense under control, who are not quarrelsome, contented, strictly observing the law, and charitable; and I always reside in the destroyer of Madhu.

23. 'I do not remain separated from Purushotama¹ for a single moment.'

C.

1. Those among the twice-born who will act according to (the precepts promulgated in) this excellent law-code, which has been proclaimed by the god himself, shall obtain a most excellent abode in heaven.

2. It purifies from sin, it is auspicious, it leads to heaven, procures long life, knowledge (of the four objects of human pursuit) and renown, and increases wealth and prosperity.

3. It must be studied, it must be borne in mind, it must be recited, it must be listened to, and it must be constantly repeated at Srâddhas by persons desirous of prosperity.

[4. This most sublime, mysterious collection of doctrines has been proclaimed to thee, O goddess of the earth. In a kindly spirit and for the best of the world (have I promulgated) this body of eternal

23. ¹ See I, 51.

C. 2. See XCIX, 4, note.

4. This last clause I consider, for divers reasons, to be an addition made by a modern copyist. 1. It is not commented upon in

laws, which is conducive to happiness, the best means of purification, destructive of bad dreams, productive of a great deal of religious merit, and the source of prosperity.]

Dr. Bühler's copy of the Vaigyanṭi. 2. It takes up, without any purpose, the speech of Vishṇu, which had been concluded in XCVII, 21. 3. Recommendations to study and recite the laws just promulgated, like those contained in C, 1-3, form the conclusion of several other Dharmasāstras. 4. The substantive saubhāgyam is used like an adjective. 5. The first part of the whole passage is a detached hemistich.

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ADDENDA.

Notes: page 30 *add* 52. I have translated the reading *pañkasatam*, which however is hardly so appropriate as the reading *pañkâsatam*, 'fifty' *kârshâpanas*. See M. VIII, 2, 97 — p. 32 *add* 88. It is perhaps more advisable to translate '(shall pay) . . . (as a fine),' than to supply the above parentheses. The reading of Nand.'s gloss is doubtful — p. 54 *add* 20, 22. The translation of *ârsha* by 'fine' rests upon Nand.'s comment — p. 62 *add* Gautama (xviii, 6) speaks of the appointment of 'one who belongs to the same caste' (Bühler); but the term *yonimâtra* is ambiguous, and may be referred to 'relatives on the mother's side' as well. — p. 162 *add* 5. Thus Nand. Taken as part of a Dvandva compound, *vrâtâni* would mean 'and the Vratas.' See M. xi, 152 — p. 198, 5 *add* 'ekakara, "one who has one hand only" (Nand.), may also mean "with one hand."' See Âpast. I, 1, 4, 21; Gaut. ix, 11. — p. 202, 36.¹ Professor Max Müller points out to me, that the Buddhist Bhikshus do 'wear the marks of an order to which they do not belong'—*na vidhivat pravraganti*. Viewed in this light, Nand.'s interpretation tends to confirm my own. Cf. Âpast. I, 6, 18, 31.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.				Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlev.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.			III Class.							
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis		k	. . . . .	. . . . .	क	𐬕	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	k
2 " aspirata		kh	. . . . .	. . . . .	ख	𐬖	𐬏	𐬏	𐬏	𐬏	kh
3 Media		g	. . . . .	. . . . .	ग	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	. . .
4 " aspirata		gh	. . . . .	. . . . .	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	. . .
5 Gutturo-labialis		q	. . . . .	. . . . .	ङ	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	. . .
6 Nasalis		ñ (ng)	. . . . .	. . . . .	𑖅	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	. . .
7 Spiritus asper		h	. . . . .	. . . . .	ह	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	h, hs
8 " lenis		'	𑖅	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	. . .
9 " asper faucalis		'h	. . . . .	. . . . .	𑖅	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	. . .
10 " lenis faucalis		'h	. . . . .	. . . . .	𑖅	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	. . .
11 " asper fricatus		'h	. . . . .	. . . . .	𑖅	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	. . .
12 " lenis fricatus		'h	. . . . .	. . . . .	𑖅	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	. . .
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	k	. . . . .	च	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	k
14 " aspirata	kh	. . . . .	छ	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	kh
15 Media	g	. . . . .	ज	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	. . .
16 " aspirata	gh	. . . . .	झ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	. . .
17 " Nasalis	ñ	. . . . .	ञ	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	. . .

CONSONANTS (continued)	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬨	𐬨	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(y)								
20 " lenis		(y)								
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬯	𐬯	ش	ش	ש	s
22 " lenis assibilatus		z								
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬔	𐬔	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th			थ	𐬕	𐬕	ث	ث	ת	th
25 " assibilata			TH							
26 Media	d			द	𐬌	𐬌	د	د	ד	
27 " aspirata	dh									
28 " assibilata			DH							
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬨	𐬨	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l			ल	𐬌	𐬌	ل	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1		l								
32 " mollis 2			L							
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬱	𐬱	س	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2			s (ʃ)							
35 " lenis	z									
36 " asperimus 1			z (ʒ)							
37 " asperimus 2			z (ʒ)							

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlev.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ō			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐭠	𐭠	𐭠	...	...	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	𐭡	𐭡	𐭡	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐭢	𐭢	𐭢	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	𐭣	𐭣	𐭣	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	li			ऋ	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	lī			ॠ	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			ॠ	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	rī			ॡ	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	ē (ai)	(e)		ऐ	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " "	ei (ēi)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " "	oi (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " "	eu (ēu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " "	ou (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ā			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ū			...	...	...	...	...	...	...

THE BHAGAVADGÎTÂ
WITH
THE SANATSUGÂTÎYA
AND
THE ANUGÎTÂ

TRANSLATED BY THE LATE

KÂSHINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG, M.A.

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INTRODUCTION

TO

BHAGAVADGÎTÂ.

IT has become quite a literary commonplace, that—to borrow the words of Professor Max Müller in one of his recent lectures—history, in the ordinary sense of the word, is almost unknown in Indian literature¹. And it is certainly a remarkable irony of fate, that we should be obliged to make this remark on the very threshold of an introduction to the Bhagavadgîtâ; for according to the eminent French philosopher, Cousin², this great deficiency in Sanskrit literature is due, in no inconsiderable measure, to the doctrines propounded in the Bhagavadgîtâ itself. But however that may be, this much is certain, that the student of the Bhagavadgîtâ must, for the present, go without that reliable historical information touching the author of the work, the time at which it was composed, and even the place it occupies in literature, which one naturally desires, when entering upon the study of any work. More especially in an attempt like the present, intended as it mainly is for students of the history of religion, I should have been better pleased, if I could, in this Introduction, have concentrated to a focus, as it were, only those well ascertained historical results, on which there is something like a consensus of opinion among persons qualified to judge. But there is no exaggeration in saying, that it is almost impossible to lay down even a single proposition respecting any important

¹ Hibbert Lectures, p. 131.

² Lectures on the History of Modern Philosophy (translated by O. W. Wight), vol. i, pp. 49, 50. At p. 433 seq. of the second volume, M. Cousin gives a general view of the doctrine of the Gîtâ. See also Mr. Maurice's and Ritter's Histories of Philosophy.

matter connected with the Bhagavadgītā, about which any such consensus can be said to exist. The conclusions arrived at in this Introduction must, therefore, be distinctly understood to embody individual opinions only, and must be taken accordingly for what they are worth.

The full name of the work is Bhagavadgītā. In common parlance, we often abbreviate the name into Gītā, and in Sanskrit literature the name occurs in both forms. In the works of Śaṅkarācārya, quotations from the Gītā are introduced, sometimes with the words 'In the Gītā,' or 'In the Bhagavadgītā,' and sometimes with words which may be rendered 'In the Gītās,' the plural form being used¹. In the colophons to the MSS. of the work, the form current, apparently throughout India, is, 'In the Upanishads sung (Gītās) by the Deity.' Śaṅkarācārya, indeed, sometimes calls it the Īśvara Gītā², which, I believe, is the specific title of a different work altogether. The signification, however, of the two names is identical, namely, the song sung by the Deity, or, as Wilkins translates it, the Divine Lay.

This Divine Lay forms part of the Bhishma Parvan of the Mahābhārata—one of the two well-known national epics of India. The Gītā gives its name to a subdivision of the Bhishma Parvan, which is called the Bhagavadgītā Parvan, and which includes, in addition to the eighteen chapters of which the Gītā consists, twelve other chapters. Upon this the question has naturally arisen, Is the Gītā a genuine portion of the Mahābhārata, or is it a later addition? The question is one of considerable difficulty. But I cannot help saying, that the manner in which it has been generally dealt with is not altogether satisfactory to my mind. Before going any further into that question, however, it is desirable to state some of the facts on which the decision must be based. It appears, then, that the royal family of Hastināpura was divided into two branches; the one called the Kauravas, and the other the Pāṇḍavas. The

¹ Ex. gr. Sārīraka Bhāṣhya, vol. ii, p. 840. It is also often cited as a Smṛiti, *ibid.* vol. i, p. 152.

² See *inter alia* Sārīraka Bhāṣhya, vol. i, p. 455, vol. ii, p. 687, and Colebrooke's Essays, vol. i, p. 355 (Madras); Lassen's edition of the Gītā, XXXV.

former wished to keep the latter out of the share of the kingdom claimed by them ; and so, after many attempts at an amicable arrangement had proved fruitless, it was determined to decide the differences between the two parties by the arbitrament of arms. Each party accordingly collected its adherents, and the hostile armies met on the 'holy field of Kurukshetra,' mentioned in the opening lines of our poem. At this juncture, *Krishna* Dvaipâyana, alias Vyâsa, a relative of both parties and endowed with more than human powers, presents himself before *Dhrîtarâshtra*, the father of the Kauravas, who is stated to be altogether blind. Vyâsa asks *Dhrîtarâshtra* whether it is his wish to look with his own eyes on the course of the battle ; and on *Dhrîtarâshtra*'s expressing his reluctance, Vyâsa deposes one *Saṅgaya* to relate to *Dhrîtarâshtra* all the events of the battle, giving to *Saṅgaya*, by means of his own super-human powers, all necessary aids for performing the duty. Then the battle begins, and after a ten days' struggle, the first great general of the Kauravas, namely *Bhishma*, falls¹. At this point *Saṅgaya* comes up to *Dhrîtarâshtra*, and announces to him the sad result, which is of course a great blow to his party. *Dhrîtarâshtra* then makes numerous enquiries of *Saṅgaya* regarding the course of the conflict, all of which *Saṅgaya* duly answers. And among his earliest answers is the account of the conversation between *Krishna* and *Arguna* at the commencement of the battle, which constitutes the *Bhagavadgîtâ*. After relating to *Dhrîtarâshtra* that 'wonderful and holy dialogue,' and after giving an account of what occurred in the intervals of the conversation, *Saṅgaya* proceeds to narrate the actual events of the battle.

With this rough outline of the framework of the story before us, we are now in a position to consider the opposing arguments on the point above noted. Mr. Talboys Wheeler writes on that point as follows²: 'But there remains one

¹ The whole story is given in brief by the late Professor Goldstücker in the *Westminster Review*, April 1868, p. 392 seq. See now his *Literary Remains*, II, 104 seq.

² *History of India*, vol. i, p. 293.

other anomalous characteristic of the history of the great war, as it is recorded in the Mahâbhârata, which cannot be passed over in silence; and that is the extraordinary abruptness and infelicity with which Brahmanical discourses, such as essays on law, on morals, sermons on divine things, and even instruction in the so-called sciences are recklessly grafted upon the main narrative. . . . *Krishna* and *Arguna* on the morning of the first day of the war, when both armies are drawn out in battle-array, and hostilities are about to begin, enter into a long and philosophical dialogue respecting the various forms of devotion which lead to the emancipation of the soul; and it cannot be denied that, however incongruous and irrelevant such a dialogue must appear on the eve of battle, the discourse of *Krishna*, whilst acting as the charioteer of *Arguna*, contains the essence of the most spiritual phases of Brahmanical teaching, and is expressed in language of such depth and sublimity, that it has become deservedly known as the Bhagavad-gîtâ or Divine Song. . . . Indeed no effort has been spared by the Brahmanical compilers to convert the history of the great war into a vehicle for Brahmanical teaching; and so skilfully are many of these interpolations interwoven with the story, that it is frequently impossible to narrate the one, without referring to the other, however irrelevant the matter may be to the main subject in hand.' It appears to me, I own, very difficult to accept that as a satisfactory argument, amounting, as it does, to no more than this—that 'interpolations,' which must needs be referred to in narrating the main story even to make it intelligible, are nevertheless to be regarded 'as evidently the product of a Brahmanical age¹,' and presumably also a later age, because, forsooth, they are irrelevant and incongruous according to the 'tastes and ideas¹'—not of the time, be it remembered, when the 'main story' is supposed to have been written, but—of this enlightened nineteenth century. The support, too, which may be sup-

¹ History of India, vol. i, p. 288; and compare generally upon this point the remarks in Gladstone's Homer, especially vol. i, p. 70 seq.

posed to be derived by this argument from the allegation that there has been an attempt to Brahmanize, so to say, the history of the great war, appears to me to be extremely weak, so far as the *Gītā* is concerned. But that is a point which will have to be considered more at large in the sequel¹.

While, however, I am not prepared to admit the cogency of Mr. Wheeler's arguments, I am not, on the other hand, to be understood as holding that the *Gītā* must be accepted as a genuine part of the original *Mahābhārata*. I own that my feeling on the subject is something akin to that of the great historian of Greece regarding the Homeric question, a feeling of painful diffidence regarding the soundness of any conclusion whatever. While it is impossible not to feel serious doubts about the critical condition of the *Mahābhārata* generally; while, indeed, we may be almost certain that the work has been tampered with from time to time²; it is difficult to come to a satisfactory conclusion regarding any particular given section of it. And it must be remembered, also, that the alternatives for us to choose from in these cases are not only these two, that the section in question may be a genuine part of the work, or that it may be a later interpolation: but also this, as suggested recently, though not for the first time, by Mr. Freeman³ with reference to the Homeric question, that the section may have been in existence at the date of the original epos, and may have been worked by the author of the epos into his own production. For that absence of dread, 'either of the law or sentiment of copyright,' which Mr. Freeman relies upon with regard to a primitive Greek poet, was by no means confined to the Greek people, but may be traced amongst us also. The commentator *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī* likens the *Gītā* to those dialogues which occur in sundry Vedic works, particularly the *Upanishads*⁴. Possibly—I will not use a stronger word—possibly the *Gītā*

¹ *Infra*, p. 21 seq.

² Compare the late Professor Goldstücker's remarks in the *Westminster Review* for April 1868, p. 389. ³ *Contemporary Review* (February 1879).

⁴ *Madhusūdana* mentions the dialogue between *Ganaka* and *Yāgyavalkya* as a specific parallel.

may have existed as such a dialogue before the Mahābhārata, and may have been appropriated by the author of the Mahābhārata to his own purposes¹. But yet, upon the whole, having regard to the fact that those ideas of unity on which Mr. Wheeler and others set so much store are scarcely appropriate to our old literature; to the fact that the Gītā fits pretty well into the setting given to it in the Bhīshma Parvan; to the fact that the feeling of Arguna, which gives occasion to it, is not at all inconsistent, but is most consonant, with poetical justice; to the fact that there is not in the Gītā, in my judgment, any trace of a sectarian or 'Brahmanizing' spirit², such as Mr. Wheeler and also the late Professor Goldstücker³ hold to have animated the arrangers of the Mahābhārata; having regard, I say, to all these facts, I am prepared to adhere, I will not say without diffidence, to the theory of the genuineness of the Bhagavadgītā as a portion of the original Mahābhārata.

The next point to consider is as to the authorship of the Gītā. The popular notion on this subject is pretty well known. The whole of the Mahābhārata is, by our traditions, attributed to Vyāsa, whom we have already noticed as a relative of the Kauravas and Pāndavas; and therefore the Bhagavadgītā, also, is naturally affiliated to the same author. The earliest written testimony to this authorship, that I can trace, is to be found in Saṅkarākārya's commentary on the Gītā⁴ itself and on the *Bṛihadāraṇyakopaniṣad*⁵. To a certain extent, the mention of Vyāsa in the body of the Gītā would, from a historic standpoint, seem to militate against this tradition. But I have not seen in any of the commentaries to which I have had access, any consideration of this point, as there is of the mention in some

¹ See to this effect M. Fauriel, quoted in Grote's *Greece*, II, 195 (Cabinet ed.)

² Compare also Weber's *History of Indian Literature* (English translation), p. 187. The instruction, however, as to 'the reverence due to the priesthood' from 'the military caste,' which is there spoken of, appears to me to be entirely absent from the Gītā; see p. 21 seq. *infra*.

³ *Westminster Review*, April 1868, p. 388 seq.; and *Remains*, I, 104, 105.

⁴ P. 6 (Calcutta ed., Samvat, 1927).

⁵ P. 841 (Bibl. Indic. ed.); also *Svetāsvatara*, p. 278.

Smṛitis and *Sūtras* of the names of those to whom those *Smṛitis* and *Sūtras* are respectively ascribed¹.

We must now leave these preliminary questions, unluckily in a state far from satisfactory, and proceed to that most important topic—the date when the *Gitā* was composed, and the position it occupies in Sanskrit literature. We have here to consider the external evidence bearing on these points, which is tantalizingly meagre; and the internal evidence, which is, perhaps, somewhat more full. And taking first the internal evidence, the various items falling under that head may be marshalled into four groups. Firstly, we have to consider the general character of the *Gitā* with reference to its mode of handling its subject. Secondly, there is the character of its style and language. Thirdly, we have to consider the nature of the versification of the *Gitā*. And fourthly and lastly, we must take note of sundry points of detail, such as the attitude of the *Gitā* towards the *Vedas* and towards caste, its allusions to other systems of speculation, and other matters of the like nature. On each of these groups, in the order here stated, we now proceed to make a few observations.

And first about the manner in which the *Gitā* deals with its subject. It appears to me, that the work bears on the face of it very plain marks indicating that it belongs to an age prior to the system-making age of Sanskrit philosophy. In 1875, I wrote as follows upon this point: ‘My view is, that in the *Gitā* and the *Upanishads*, the philosophical part has not been consistently and fully worked out. We have there the results of free thought, exercised on different subjects of great moment, unfettered by the exigencies of any foregone conclusions, or of any fully developed theory. It is afterwards, it is at a later stage of philosophical progress, that system-making arises. In that stage some thinkers interpret whole works by the light of some particular doctrines or expressions. And the result is the development of a whole multitude of philosophical sects, following the lead of those thinkers, and all professing to

¹ See, as to this, Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. i, p. 328 (Madras).

draw their doctrine from the Gîtâ or the Upanishads, yet each differing remarkably from the other¹. Since this was written, Professor Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures have been published. And I am happy to find, that as regards the Upanishads, his view coincides exactly with that which I have expressed in the words now quoted. Professor Max Müller says: 'There is not what may be called a philosophical system in these Upanishads. They are in the true sense of the word guesses at truth, frequently contradicting each other, yet all tending in one direction².' Further corroboration for the same view is also forthcoming. Professor Fitz-Edward Hall in a passage which I had not noticed before, says³: 'In the Upanishads, the Bhagavad-gîtâ, and other ancient Hindu books, we encounter, in combination, the doctrines which, after having been subjected to modifications that rendered them as wholes irreconcilable, were distinguished, at an uncertain period, into what have for many ages been styled the Sâṅkhya and the Vedânta.' We have thus very weighty authority for adhering to the view already expressed on this important topic. But as Professor Weber appears to have expressed an opinion⁴ intended perhaps to throw some doubt on the correctness of that view, it is desirable to go a little more into detail to fortify it by actual reference to the contents of the Gîtâ, the more especially as we can thus elucidate the true character of that work. Before doing so, however, it may be pointed out, that the proposition we have laid down is one, the test of which lies more in a comprehensive review of the whole of the Gîtâ, than in the investigation of small details on which there is necessarily much room for difference of opinion.

And first, let us compare that indisputably systematized work, the current Yoga-sûtras⁵, with the Bhagavadgîtâ on

¹ See the Introductory Essay to my Bhagavadgîtâ, translated into English blank verse, p. lxvii. See also Goldstücker's Remains, I, 48, 77; II, 10.

² P. 317; cf. also p. 338.

³ Preface to Sâṅkhya Sâra, p. 7 (Bibl. Indic. ed.)

⁴ History of Indian Literature, p. 28.

⁵ Are we to infer from the circumstance mentioned in Weber's History of

one or two topics, where they both travel over common ground. In the *Gîtâ*, chapter VI, stanzas 33, 34 (p. 71), we have *Arguna* putting what is, in substance, a question to *Krishna*, as to how the mind, which is admittedly 'fickle, boisterous, strong, and obstinate,' is to be brought under control—such control having been declared by *Krishna* to be necessary for attaining devotion (*yoga*)? *Krishna* answers by saying that the mind may be restrained by 'practice (*abhyâsa*) and indifference to worldly objects (*vairâgya*).' He then goes on to say, that devotion cannot be attained without self-restraint, but that one who has self-restraint, and works to achieve devotion, may succeed in acquiring it. Here the subject drops. There is no further explanation of 'practice' or 'indifference to worldly objects,' no exposition of the mode in which they work, and so forth. Contrast now the *Yoga-sûtras*. The topic is there discussed at the very outset of the work. As usual the author begins with 'Now therefore the *Yoga* is to be taught.' He then explains *Yoga* by the well-known definition 'Yoga is the restraint of the movements of the mind.' And then after pointing out what the movements of the mind are, he proceeds: 'Their restraint is by means of practice and indifference to worldly objects¹,'—the very terms, be it remarked in passing, which are used in the *Bhagavadgîtâ*. But having come thus far, the author of the *Sûtras* does not drop the subject as the author of the *Gîtâ* does. He goes on in this wise: 'Practice is the effort for keeping it steady.' 'And that becomes firmly grounded when resorted to for a long time, without interruption, and with correct conduct.' So far we have a discussion of the first requisite specified, namely, practice. *Patañjali* then goes on to his second requisite for mental restraint. 'Indifference to worldly objects is the consciousness of having subdued desires &c. (*Vasîkāra sañgñā*) which belongs to one having no longing for objects visible and those which

Indian Literature (p. 223, note 235), that the author of these *Sûtras* was older than Buddha?

¹ *Sûtra* 12, *Abhyâsa-vairâgyâbhyām tannirodhaḥ*.

are heard of' (from Sâstras &c., such as heaven and so forth). He next proceeds to distinguish another and higher species of 'indifference,' and then he goes on to point out the results of that self-restraint which is to be acquired in the mode he has expounded. That is one instance. Now take another. In chapter VI, stanza 10 and following stanzas, the Gîtâ sets forth elaborately the mode of practically achieving the mental abstraction called Yoga. It need not be reproduced here. The reader can readily find out how sundry directions are there given for the purpose specified, but without any attempt at systematizing. Contrast the Yoga-sûtras. In the Sâdhanapâda, the section treating of the acquisition of Yoga, Patañjali states in the twenty-ninth aphorism the well-known eight elements of Yoga. Then he subdivides these elements, and expatiates on each of them distinctly, defining them, indicating the mode of acquiring them, and hinting at the results which flow from them. 'That inordinate love of subdivision,' which Dr. F. E. Hall¹ has somewhere attributed to the Hindus, appears plainly in these aphorisms, while there is not a trace of it in the corresponding passage in the Bhagavadgîtâ. In my opinion, therefore, these comparisons strongly corroborate the proposition we have laid down regarding the unsystematic, or rather non-systematic, character of the work. In the one we have definition, classification, division, and subdivision. In the other we have a set of practical directions, without any attempt to arrange them in any very scientific order. In the one you have a set of technical terms with specific significations. In the other no such precision is yet manifest. In one word, you have in the Gîtâ the germs, and noteworthy germs too, of a system², and you have most of the raw material of a system, but you have no system ready-made.

Let us look at the matter now from a slightly different point of view. There are sundry words used in the Bhaga-

¹ In the Preface to his Sâṅkhya Sâra, I think.

² This is all that we can infer from the few cases of division and classification which we do meet with in the Gîtâ. A subject like that treated of in this work could not well be discussed without some classifications &c.

vadgitâ, the significations of which are not quite identical throughout the work. Take, for instance, the word 'yoga,' which we have rendered 'devotion.' At Gîtâ, chapter II, stanza 48 (p. 49), a definition is given of that word. In chapter VI, the signification it bears is entirely different. And again in chapter IX, stanza 5, there is still another sense in which the word is used¹. The word 'Brahman' too occurs in widely varying significations. And one of its meanings, indeed, is quite singular, namely, 'Nature' (see chapter XIV, stanza 3). Similar observations, to a greater or less extent, apply to the words *Buddhi*, *Âtman*, and *Sva-bhâva*². Now these are words which stand for ideas not unimportant in the philosophy of the *Bhagavadgîtâ*. And the absence of scientific precision about their use appears to me to be some indication of that non-systematic character of which we have already spoken.

There is one other line of argument, which leads, I think, to the same conclusion. There are several passages in the *Gîtâ* which it is not very easy to reconcile with one another; and no attempt is made to harmonise them. Thus, for example, in stanza 16 of chapter VII, *Krishna* divides his devotees into four classes, one of which consists of 'men of knowledge,' whom, *Krishna* says, he considers 'as his own self.' It would probably be difficult to imagine any expression which could indicate higher esteem. Yet in stanza 46 of chapter VI, we have it laid down, that the devotee is superior not only to the mere performer of penances, but even to the men of knowledge. The commentators betray their gnostic bias by interpreting 'men of knowledge' in this latter passage to mean those who have acquired erudition in the *Sâstras* and their significations. This is not an interpretation to be necessarily rejected. But there is in it a certain twisting of words, which, under the circumstances here, I am not inclined to accept. And on the other hand, it must not be forgotten, that the implication fairly derivable

¹ In chapter X the word occurs in two different senses in the same stanza (st. 7).

² Compare the various passages, references to which are collected in the Sanskrit Index at the end of this volume.

from chapter IV, stanza 38 (pp. 62, 63), would seem to be rather that knowledge is superior to devotion—is the higher stage to be reached by means of devotion as the stepping-stone. In another passage again at Gîtâ, chapter XII, stanza 12, concentration is preferred to knowledge, which also seems to me to be irreconcilable with chapter VII, stanza 16. Take still another instance. At Gîtâ, chapter V, stanza 15, it is said, that 'the Lord receives the sin or merit of none.' Yet at chapter V, stanza 29, and again at chapter IX, stanza 24, *Krishna* calls himself 'the Lord and enjoyer' of all sacrifices and penances. How, it may well be asked, can the Supreme Being 'enjoy' that which he does not even 'receive?' Once more, at chapter X, stanza 29, *Krishna* declares that 'none is hateful to me, none dear.' And yet the remarkable verses at the close of chapter XII seem to stand in point-blank contradiction to that declaration. There through a most elaborate series of stanzas, the burden of *Krishna's* eloquent sermon is 'such a one is dear to me.' And again in those fine verses, where *Krishna* winds up his Divine Lay, he similarly tells Arguna, that he, Arguna, is 'dear' to *Krishna*. And *Krishna* also speaks of that devotee as 'dear' to him, who may publish the mystery of the Gîtâ among those who reverence the Supreme Being¹. And yet again, how are we to reconcile the same passage about none being 'hateful or dear' to *Krishna*, with his own words at chapter XVI, stanza 18 and following stanzas? The language used in describing the 'demoniac' people there mentioned is not remarkable for sweetness towards them, while *Krishna* says positively, 'I hurl down such people into demoniac wombs, whereby they go down into misery and the vilest condition.' These persons are scarcely characterised with accuracy 'as neither hateful nor dear' to *Krishna*. It seems to me, that all these are real inconsistencies in the Gîtâ, not such, perhaps, as might not be explained away, but such, I think, as indicate a mind making guesses at truth, as Professor Max

¹ And see, too, chapter VII, stanza 17, where the man of knowledge is declared to be 'dear' to *Krishna*.

Müller puts it, rather than a mind elaborating a complete and organised system of philosophy. There is not even a trace of consciousness on the part of the author that these inconsistencies exist. And the contexts of the various passages indicate, in my judgment, that a half-truth is struck out here, and another half-truth there, with special reference to the special subject then under discussion ; but no attempt is made to organise the various half-truths, which are apparently incompatible, into a symmetrical whole, where the apparent inconsistencies might possibly vanish altogether in the higher synthesis. And having regard to these various points, and to the further point, that the sequence of ideas throughout the verses of the *Gītā* is not always easily followed, we are, I think, safe in adhering to the opinion expressed above, that the *Gītā* is a non-systematic work, and in that respect belongs to the same class as the older Upanishads.

We next come to the consideration of the style and language of the *Bhagavadgītā*. And that, I think, furnishes a strong argument for the proposition, that it belongs to an age considerably prior to the epoch of the artificial department of Sanskrit literature—the epoch, namely, of the dramas and poems. In its general character, the style impresses me as quite archaic in its simplicity. Compounds, properly so called, are not numerous ; such as there are, are not long ones, and very rarely, if ever, present any puzzle in analysing. The contrast there presented with what is called the classical literature, as represented by *Bāna* or *Dandin*, or even *Kālidāsa*, is not a little striking. In *Kālidāsa*, doubtless, the love for compounds is pretty well subdued, though I think his works have a perceptibly larger proportion of them than the *Gītā*. But after *Kālidāsa* the love for compounds goes through a remarkable development, till in later writings it may be said almost to have gone mad. Even in *Bāna* and *Dandin*, *Subandhu* and *Bhavabhūti*, the plethora of compounds is often wearisome. And the same remark applies to many of the copper-plate and other inscriptions which have been recently

deciphered, and some of which date from the early centuries of the Christian era. Take again the exuberance of figures and tropes which is so marked in the classical style. There is little or nothing of that in the *Gītā*, where you have a plain and direct style of natural simplicity, and yet a style not by any means devoid of æsthetic merit like the style of the *Sûtra* literature. There is also an almost complete absence of involved syntactical constructions; no attempt to secure that jingle of like sounds, which seems to have proved a temptation too strong even for Kālidāsa's muse entirely to resist. But on the contrary, we have those repetitions of words and phrases, which are characteristic, and not only in Sanskrit, of the style of an archaic period¹. Adverting specially to the language as distinguished from the style of the *Gītā*, we find such words as *Anta*, *Bhāshā*, *Brahman*, some of which are collected in the Sanskrit Index in this volume, which have gone out of use in the classical literature in the significations they respectively bear in the *Gītā*. The word 'ha,' which occurs once, is worthy of special note. It is the equivalent of 'gha,' which occurs in the Vedic *Samhitās*. In the form 'ha' it occurs in the *Brāhmaṇas*. But it never occurs, I think, in what is properly called the classical literature. It is, indeed, found in the *Purāṇas*. But that is a class of works which occupies a very unique position. There is a good deal in the *Purāṇas* that, I think, must be admitted to be very ancient²; while undoubtedly also there is a great deal in them that is very modern. It is, therefore, impossible to treat the use of 'ha' in that class of works as negating an inference of the antiquity of any book where the word occurs; while its use in Vedic works and its total absence from modern works indicate such

¹ Compare Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i, p. 5. See, too, Goldstücker's *Remains*, I, 177.

² This opinion, which I had expressed as long ago as 1874 in the Introduction to my edition of Bhartṛhari's *Satakas*, is, I find, also held by Dr. Bühler; see his Introduction to *Āpastamba* in this series, p. xx seq., note. *Purāṇas* are mentioned in the *Sutta Nipāta* (p. 115), as to the date of which, see inter alia Swamy's Introduction, p. xvii.

antiquity pretty strongly. We may, therefore, embody the result of this part of the discussion in the proposition, that the *Gitâ* is removed by a considerable linguistic and chronological distance from classical Sanskrit literature. And so far as it goes, this proposition agrees with the result of our investigation of the first branch of internal evidence.

The next branch of that evidence brings us to the character of the versification of the *Gitâ*. Here, again, a survey of Sanskrit verse generally, and the verse of the *Gitâ* in particular, leads us to a conclusion regarding the position of the *Gitâ* in Sanskrit literature, which is in strict accord with the conclusions we have already drawn. In the verse of the Vedic *Samhitâs*, there is almost nothing like a rigidly fixed scheme of versification, no particular collocation of long and short syllables is absolutely necessary. If we attempt to chant them in the mode in which classical Sanskrit verse is chanted, we invariably come across lines where the chanting cannot be smooth. If we come next to the versification of the *Upanishads*, we observe some progress made towards such fixity of scheme as we have alluded to above. Though there are still numerous lines, which cannot be smoothly chanted, there are, on the other hand, a not altogether inconsiderable number which can be smoothly chanted. In the *Bhagavadgîtâ* a still further advance, though a slight one, may, I think, be marked. A visibly larger proportion of the stanzas in the *Gitâ* conform to the metrical schemes as laid down by the writers on prosody, though there are still sundry verses which do not so conform, and cannot, accordingly, be chanted in the regular way. Lastly, we come to the *Kâvyas* and *Nâṭakas*—the classical literature. And here in practice we find everywhere a most inflexible rigidity of scheme, while the theory is laid down in a rule which says, that 'even *mâsha* may be changed to *masha*, but a break of metre should be avoided.' This survey of Sanskrit verse may, I think, be fairly treated as showing, that adhesion to the metrical schemes is one test of the chronological position of a work—the later the work, the

more undeviating is such adhesion. I need not stay here to point out, how this view receives corroboration from the rules given on this subject in the standard work of Piṅgala on the *Kṛhandas Sâstra*. I will only conclude this point by saying, that the argument from the versification of the *Gîtâ*, so far as it goes, indicates its position as being prior to the classical literature, and nearly contemporaneous with the *Upanishad* literature.

We now proceed to investigate the last group of facts falling under the head of internal evidence, as mentioned above. And first as regards the attitude of the *Gîtâ* towards the *Vedas*. If we examine all the passages in the *Gîtâ*, in which reference is made to the *Vedas*, the aggregate result appears to be, that the author of the *Gîtâ* does not throw the *Vedas* entirely overboard. He feels and expresses reverence for them, only that reverence is of a somewhat special character. He says in effect, that the precepts of the *Vedas* are suitable to a certain class of people, of a certain intellectual and spiritual status, so to say. So far their authority is unimpeached. But if the unwise sticklers for the authority of the *Vedas* claim anything more for them than this, then the author of the *Gîtâ* holds them to be wrong. He contends, on the contrary, that acting upon the ordinances of the *Vedas* is an obstacle to the attainment of the *summum bonum*¹. Compare this with the doctrine of the *Upanishads*. The coincidence appears to me to be most noteworthy. In one of his recent lectures, Professor Max Müller uses the following eloquent language regarding the *Upanishads*²: 'Lastly come the *Upanishads*; and what is their object? To show the utter uselessness, nay, the mischievousness of all ritual performances (compare our *Gîtâ*, pp. 47, 48, 84³); to condemn every sacrificial act which has for its motive a desire or hope of reward (comp. *Gîtâ*, p. 119⁴); to deny, if not the existence, at least the exceptional and exalted character

¹ Compare the passages collected under the word *Vedas* in our Index.

² Hibbert Lectures, p. 340 seq.

³ II, 42-45; IX, 20, 21.

⁴ XVII, 12.

of the Devas (comp. *Gîtâ*, pp. 76-84¹); and to teach that there is no hope of salvation and deliverance except by the individual self recognising the true and universal self, and finding rest there, where alone rest can be found² (comp. our *Gîtâ* Translation, pp. 78-83).

The passages to which I have given references in brackets will show, that Professor Max Müller's words might all be used with strict accuracy regarding the essential teaching of the *Bhagavadgîtâ*. We have here, therefore, another strong circumstance in favour of grouping the *Gîtâ* with the Upanishads. One more point is worthy of note. Wherever the *Gîtâ* refers to the Vedas in the somewhat disparaging manner I have noted, no distinction is taken between the portion which relates to the ritual and the portion which relates to that higher science, viz. the science of the soul, which Sanatkumâra speaks of in his famous dialogue with Nârada³. At *Gîtâ*, chapter II, stanza 45, Arguna is told that the Vedas relate only to the effects of the three qualities, which effects Arguna is instructed to overcome. At *Gîtâ*, chapter VI, stanza 44, Arguna is told that he who has acquired some little devotion, and then exerts himself for further progress, rises above the Divine word—the Vedas. And there are also one or two other passages of the like nature. They all treat the Vedas as concerned with ritual alone. They make no reference to any portion of the Vedas dealing with the higher knowledge. If the word *Vedânta*, at *Gîtâ*, chapter XV, stanza 15 (p. 113), signifies, as it seems to signify, this latter portion of the Vedas, then that is the only allusion to it. But, from all the passages in the *Gîtâ* which refer to the Vedas, I am inclined to draw the inference, that the Upanishads of the Vedas were composed at a time not far removed from the time of the composition of the *Gîtâ*, and that at that period the Upanishads had not yet risen to the position of

¹ VII, 21-23; IX, 23-24.

² VIII, 14-16; IX, 29-33.

³ See *K'hândogya-upanishad*, p. 473, or rather I ought to have referred to the *Mundaka-upanishad*, where the superiority and inferiority is more distinctly stated in words, pp. 266, 267.

high importance which they afterwards commanded. In the passage referred to at chapter XV, the word Vedântas probably signifies the *Âranyakas*, which may be regarded as marking the beginning of the epoch, which the composition of the Upanishads brought to its close. And it is to the close of this epoch, that I would assign the birth of the Gîtâ, which is probably one of the youngest members of the group to which it belongs.

It appears to me, that this conclusion is corroborated by the fact that a few stanzas in the Gîtâ are identical with some stanzas in some of the Upanishads. With regard to the epic age of Greece, Mr. E. A. Freeman has said that, in carrying ourselves back to that age, 'we must cast aside all the notions with which we are familiar in our own age about property legal or moral in literary compositions. It is plain that there were phrases, epithets, whole lines, which were the common property of the whole epic school of poetry¹.' It appears to me that we must accept this proposition as equally applicable to the early days of Sanskrit literature, having regard to the common passages which we meet with in sundry of the Vedic works, and also sometimes, I believe, in the different *Purânas*. If this view is correct, then the fact that the Gîtâ contains some stanzas in the very words which we meet with in some of the Upanishads, indicates, to my mind, that the conclusion already drawn from other data about the position of the Gîtâ with regard to the Upanishads, is not by any means unwarranted, but one to which the facts before us rather seem to point.

And here we may proceed to draw attention to another fact connected with the relation of the Gîtâ to the Vedas. In stanza 17 of the ninth chapter of the Gîtâ, only *Rik*, *Sâman*, and *Yagus* are mentioned. The *Atharva-veda* is not referred to at all. This omission does certainly seem a very noteworthy one. For it is in a passage where the Supreme Being is identifying himself with everything, and where, therefore, the fourth Veda might fairly be expected

¹ Contemporary Review, February 1879.

to be mentioned. I may add that in commenting on Saṅkara-rāṭhīya's remarks on this passage, Ānandagiri (and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī also) seems evidently to have been conscious of the possible force of this omission of the Atharva-veda. He accordingly says that by force of the word 'and' in the verse in question, the Atharvāṅgīrasas, or Atharva-veda, must also be included. Are we at liberty to infer from this, that the Atharva-veda did not exist in the days when the Gītā was composed? The explanation ordinarily given for the omission of that Veda, where such omission occurs, namely, that it is not of any use in ordinary sacrificial matters, is one which can scarcely have any force in the present instance; though it is adequate, perhaps, to explain the words 'those who know the three branches of knowledge,' which occur only a few lines after the verse now under consideration. The commentators render no further help than has been already stated. Upon the whole, however, while I am not yet quite prepared to say, that the priority of the Gītā, even to the recognition of the Atharva-veda as a real Veda, may be fairly inferred from the passage in question, I think that the passage is noteworthy as pointing in that direction. But further data in explanation of the omission referred to must be awaited.

If the conclusions here indicated about the relative positions of the Gītā and certain Vedic works are correct, we can fairly take the second century B.C. as a terminus before which the Gītā must have been composed. For the Upanishads are mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, which we are probably safe in assigning to the middle of that century. The epoch of the older Upanishads, therefore, to which reference has been so frequently made here, may well be placed at some period prior to the beginning of the second century B.C. The Atharva-veda is likewise mentioned by Patañjali¹, and as 'ninefold,' too, be it remembered; so that if we are entitled to draw the conclusion which has been mentioned above from chapter IX, stanza 17, we come to the same period for the date of the Gītā.

¹ See also Sutta Nipāta, p. 115.

Another point to note in this connexion is the reference to the Sâma-veda as the best of the Vedas (see p. 88). That is a fact which seems to be capable of yielding some chronological information. For the estimation in which that Veda has been held appears to have varied at different times. Thus, in the Aitareya-brâhmana¹, the glory of the Sâman is declared to be higher than that of the *Rik*. In the *Khândogya-upanishad*² the Sâman is said to be the essence of the *Rik*, which Saṅkara interprets by saying that the Sâman is more weighty. In the *Prasna-upanishad*³, too, the implication of the passage V, 5 (in which the Sâman is stated as the guide to the Brahmaloka, while the *Yagus* is said to guide to the lunar world, and the *Rik* to the human world) is to the same effect. And we may also mention as on the same side the *Nṛisimha Tâpinî-upanishad* and the Vedic passage cited in the commentary of Saṅkara on the closing sentence of the first *khaṇḍa* of that *Upanishad*⁴. On the other side, we have the statement in *Manu* that the sound of the Sâma-veda is unholy; and the consequent direction that where the sound of it is heard, the *Rik* and *Yagus* should not be recited⁵. We have also the passages from some of the *Purâṇas* noted by Dr. Muir in his excellent work, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, which point in the same direction⁶. And we have further the direction in the *Āpastamba Dharma-sûtra*, that the Sâman hymns should not be recited where the other Vedas are being recited⁷, as well as the grouping of the sound of the Sâman with various classes of objectionable and unholy noises, such as those of dogs and asses. It is pretty evident that the view of *Āpastamba* is based on the same theory as that of *Manu*. Now in looking at the two classes of authorities thus marshalled, it is plain that the *Gîtâ* ranges itself with those which are unquestionably the more ancient.

¹ Haug's edition, p. 68.

² *Bibl. Ind. ed.*, p. 12.

³ *Bibl. Ind. ed.*, p. 11.

⁴ Vol. iii (2nd ed.), p. 11 seq. Cf. Goldstücker's *Remains*, I, 4, 28, 266; II, 67.

⁵ *Āpastamba* (*Bühler's ed.*) I, 3, 17, 18 (pp. 38, 39 in this series); see further on this point Mr. Burnell's *Devatâdhyâya-brâhmana*, *Intro.*, pp. viii, ix, and notes.

⁶ *Bibl. Ind. ed.*, p. 221 seq.

⁷ Chapter IV, stanzas 123, 124.

And among the less ancient works, prior to which we may place the *Gîtâ* on account of the facts now under consideration, are *Manu* and *Âpastamba*. Now *Manu's* date is not ascertained, though, I believe, he is now generally considered to belong to about the second or third century B.C.¹ But Dr. Bühler, in the Preface to his *Âpastamba* in the present series, has adduced good reasons for holding that *Âpastamba* is prior to the third century B.C.², and we therefore obtain that as a point of time prior to which the *Gîtâ* must have been composed.

The next important item of internal evidence which we have to note, is the view taken of caste in the *Bhagavad-gîtâ*. Here, again, a comparison of the doctrine of the *Gîtâ* with the conception of caste in *Manu* and *Âpastamba* is interesting and instructive. The view of *Manu* has been already contrasted by me with the *Gîtâ* in another place³. I do not propose to dwell on that point here, as the date of *Manu* is far from being satisfactorily ascertained. I prefer now to take up *Âpastamba* only, whose date, as just now stated, is fairly well fixed by Dr. Bühler. The division of castes, then, is twice referred to in the *Bhagavad-gîtâ*. In the first passage (p. 59) it is stated that the division rests on differences of qualities and duties; in the second (pp. 126, 127) the various duties are distinctly stated according to the differences of qualities. Now in the first place, noting as we pass along, that there is nothing in the *Gîtâ* to indicate whether caste was hereditary, according to its view, whereas *Âpastamba* distinctly states it to be such, let us compare the second passage of the *Gîtâ* with the *Sûtras* of *Âpastamba* bearing on the point. The view enunciated in the *Gîtâ* appears to me plainly to belong to an earlier age—to an age of considerably less advancement in social and religious development. In the *Gîtâ*, for instance, the duties of a *Brâhmaṇa* are said to be tranquillity, self-restraint, and

¹ Professor Tiele (*History of Ancient Religions*, p. 127) considers the 'main features' of *Manu* to be 'pre-Buddhistic.'

² P. xxxv.

³ See the Introductory Essay to my *Bhagavad-gîtâ* in English verse, published in 1875, p. cxii.

so forth. In Âpastamba, they are the famous six duties, namely, study, imparting instruction, sacrificing, officiating at others' sacrifices, making gifts, and receiving gifts; and three others, namely, inheritance, occupancy, and gleaning ears of corn, which, it may be remarked en passant, are not stated in Manu. The former seem to my mind to point to the age when the qualities which in early times gave the Brâhmanas their pre-eminence in Hindu society were still a living reality¹. It will be noted, too, that there is nothing in that list of duties which has any necessary or natural connexion with any privilege as belonging to the caste. The Law lays down these duties, in the true sense of the word. In Âpastamba, on the contrary, we see an advance towards the later view on both points. You have no reference to moral and religious qualities now. You have to do with ceremonies and acts. You have under the head 'duties' not mere obligations, but rights. For the duty of receiving gifts is a right, and so is the duty of teaching others and officiating at others' sacrifices; as we know not merely from the subsequent course of events, but also from a comparison of the duties of Brâhmanas on the one hand, and Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras on the other, as laid down by Manu and Âpastamba themselves. Âpastamba's rules, therefore, appear to belong to the time when the Brâhmanas had long been an established power, and were assuming to themselves those valuable privileges which they have always claimed in later times. The rules of the Gîtâ, on the other hand, point to a time considerably prior to this—to a time when the Brâhmanas were by their moral and intellectual qualities laying the foundation of that pre-eminence in Hindu society which afterwards enabled them to lord it over all castes. These observations mutatis apply to the rules regarding the other castes also. Here again, while the Gîtâ still insists on the inner qualities, which properly constitute the military profession, for instance, the rules of Âpastamba indicate the powerful

¹ The remarks in the text will show how little there is in the Gîtâ of that 'Brahmanizing' which has been shortly noticed on a previous page.

influence of the Brāhmaṇas¹. For, as stated before, officiating at others' sacrifices, instructing others, and receiving presents, are here expressly prohibited to Kshatriyas as also to Vaisyas. The result of that is, that the Brāhmaṇas become indispensable to the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, for upon both the duty of study, of offering sacrifices, and making gifts and presents is inculcated. In his outline of the History of Ancient Religions, Professor Tiele, speaking of the 'increasing influence of the Brāhmans,' writes as follows: 'Subject at first to the princes and nobles, and dependent on them, they began by insinuating themselves into their favour, and representing it as a religious duty to show protection and liberality towards them. Meanwhile they endeavoured to make themselves indispensable to them, gradually acquired the sole right to conduct public worship, and made themselves masters of instruction².' And after pointing out the high position thus achieved by the Brāhmans, and the low position of the *Kāṇḍālas* and others of the inferior castes, he adds: 'Such a position could not long be endured; and this serves to explain not only the rise of Buddhism, but also its rapid diffusion, and the radical revolution which it brought about³.' To proceed, however, with our comparison of the *Gītā* and *Āpastamba*. The superiority distinctly claimed by the latter for the Brāhmaṇa is not quite clearly brought out in the *Gītā*. 'Holy Brāhmaṇas and devoted royal saints' are bracketed together at p. 86; while the Kshatriyas are declared to have been the channel of communication between the Deity and mankind as regards the great doctrine of devotion propounded by the *Bhagavadgītā*. That indicates a position for the Kshatriyas much more like what the *Upanishads* disclose⁴, than even that which

¹ As to the Kshatriyas the contrast with Manu's rules is even stronger than with *Āpastamba*'s. See our Introduction to the *Gītā* in English verse, p. cxiii.

² P. 120.

³ Pp. 129, 130.

⁴ See p. 58 *infra*; and compare with this Weber's remarks on one of the classes into which he divides the whole body of *Upanishads*, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 165. See also Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i, p. 508; Max Müller, *Upanishads*, vol. i, p. lxxv.

Âpastamba assigns to them. The fact is further noteworthy, that in the Gîtâ each caste has its own entirely distinct set of duties. There is no overlapping, so to say. And that is a circumstance indicating a very early stage in the development of the institution¹. Besides, as already indicated, the duties laid down by Âpastamba and Manu as common to Kshatriyas and Vaisyas are the very duties which make those castes dependent to a very great extent on the Brâhmanas. Lastly, it is not altogether unworthy of note, that in the elaborate specification of the best of every species which we find in chapter X, the Brâhmaṇa is not mentioned as the best of the castes, there is nothing to indicate the notion contained in the well-known later verse, 'The Brâhmaṇa is the head of the castes.' On the contrary, the ruler of men is specified as the highest among men², indicating, perhaps, a state of society such as that described at the beginning of the extract from Professor Tiele's work quoted above.

We come now to another point. What is the position of the Gîtâ in regard to the great reform of Sâkya Muni? The question is one of much interest, having regard particularly to the remarkable coincidences between Buddhistic doctrines and the doctrines of the Gîtâ to which we have drawn attention in the foot-notes to our translation. But the materials for deciding the question are unhappily not forthcoming. Professor Wilson, indeed, thought that there was an allusion to Buddhism in the Gîtâ³. But his idea was based on a confusion between the Buddhists and the Kârṇvâkas or materialists⁴. Failing that allusion, we have nothing very tangible but the unsatisfactory 'negative argument' based on mere non-mention of Buddhism in the Gîtâ. That argument is not quite satisfactory to my own mind, although, as I have elsewhere pointed out⁵, some of

¹ Cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 32; and also Mr. Davids' note on that passage in his Buddhism, p. 131.

² P. 89 infra.

³ Essays on Sanskrit Literature, vol. iii, p. 150.

⁴ See our remarks on this point in the Introductory Essay to our Gîtâ in verse, p. ii seq.

⁵ Introduction to Gîtâ in English verse, p. v seq.

the ground occupied by the *Gîtâ* is common to it with Buddhism, and although various previous thinkers are alluded to directly or indirectly in the *Gîtâ*. There is, however, one view of the facts of this question, which appears to me to corroborate the conclusion deducible by means of the negative argument here referred to. The main points on which Buddha's protest against Brahmanism rests, seem to be the true authority of the Vedas and the true view of the differences of caste. On most points of doctrinal speculation, Buddhism is still but one aspect of the older Brahmanism¹. The various coincidences to which we have drawn attention show that, if there is need to show it. Well now, on both these points, the *Gîtâ*, while it does not go the whole length which Buddha goes, itself embodies a protest against the views current about the time of its composition. The *Gîtâ* does not, like Buddhism, absolutely reject the Vedas, but it shelves them. The *Gîtâ* does not totally root out caste. It places caste on a less untenable basis. One of two hypotheses therefore presents itself as a rational theory of these facts. Either the *Gîtâ* and Buddhism were alike the outward manifestation of one and the same spiritual upheaval which shook to its centre the current religion, the *Gîtâ* being the earlier and less thorough-going form of it; or Buddhism having already begun to tell on Brahmanism, the *Gîtâ* was an attempt to bolster it up, so to say, at its least weak points, the weaker ones being altogether abandoned. I do not accept the latter alternative, because I cannot see any indication in the *Gîtâ* of an attempt to compromise with a powerful attack on the old Hindu system; while the fact that, though strictly orthodox, the author of the *Gîtâ* still undermines the authority, as unwisely venerated, of the Vedic revelation; and the further fact, that in doing this, he is doing what others also had done before him or about his time; go, in my opinion, a considerable way towards

¹ Cf. Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures, p. 137; Weber's *Indian Literature*, pp. 288, 289; and Mr. Rhys Davids' excellent little volume on Buddhism, p. 151; and see also p. 83 of Mr. Davids' book.

fortifying the results of the negative argument already set forth. To me Buddhism is perfectly intelligible as one outcome of that play of thought on high spiritual topics, which in its other, and as we may say, less thorough-going manifestations, we see in the Upanishads and the Gītā¹. But assume that Buddhism was a protest against Brahmanism prior to its purification and elevation by the theosophy of the Upanishads, and those remarkable productions of ancient Indian thought become difficult to account for. Let us compare our small modern events with those grand old occurrences. Suppose our ancestors to have been attached to the ceremonial law of the Vedas, as we are now attached to a lifeless ritualism, the Upanishads and the Gītā might be, in a way, comparable to movements like that of the late Raja Rammohun Roy. Standing, as far as possible, on the antique ways, they attempt, as Raja Rammohun attempted in these latter days, to bring into prominence and to elaborate the higher and nobler aspects of the old beliefs. Buddhism would be comparable to the further departure from old traditions which was led by Babu Keshub Chander Sen. The points of dissent in the olden times were pretty nearly the same as the points of dissent now. The ultimate motive power also was in both cases identical—a sense of dissatisfaction in its integrity with what had come down from old times encrusted with the corruptions of years. In this view the old system, the philosophy of the Upanishads and the Gītā, and the philosophy of Buddha, constitute a regular intelligible progression. But suppose the turn events took was different, as is supposed by the alternative theory indicated above. Suppose Babu Keshub's movement was chronologically prior, and had begun to tell on orthodox society. Is it likely, that then one of the orthodox party

¹ Cf. Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 285. In Mr. Davids' *Buddhism*, p. 94, we have a noteworthy extract from a standard Buddhistic work, touching the existence of the soul. Compare that with the corresponding doctrine in the Gītā. It will be found that the two are at one in rejecting the identity of the soul with the senses &c. The Gītā then goes on to admit a soul separate from these. Buddhism rejects that also, and sees nothing but the senses.

would take up the position which Rammohun Roy took? Would he still rely on old authorities, but with sundry qualifications, and yet earnestly assail the current forms of orthodoxy? I do not think so. I think the true view to be, as already stated, very different. The Upanishads, with the *Gîtâ*, and the precepts of Buddha appear to me to be the successive¹ embodiments of the spiritual thought of the age, as it became more and more dissatisfied with the system of mere ceremonial then dominant.

There are several other points of much interest in the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, such as the reference to the *Sânkhya* and *Yoga*; the place assigned to the *Mârgasîrsha* month; the allusion to the doctrines of materialism; the nearly entire coincidence between a stanza of the *Gîtâ* and one in the *Manu Smṛiti*. But in the present state of our knowledge, I do not think that we can extract any historical results from any of them. Without dwelling on them any further², therefore, I will only state it as my opinion, that the *Sânkhya* and *Yoga* of the *Gîtâ* are not identical with the systems known to us under those names, and that the *Manu Smṛiti* has probably borrowed from the *Gîtâ* the stanza common to the two works.

We now proceed to a discussion of some of the external evidence touching the age of the *Bhagavadgîtâ*. It is, of course, unnecessary to consider any evidence of a date later than the eighth century A. C., that being the date generally received, though not on very strong grounds, as the date of *San̄karâkârya*, the celebrated commentator of the *Gîtâ*³. For the period prior to that limit, the first testimony to consider is that of *Bânabhaṭṭa*, the author of the *Kâdambarî*. The date of *Bâna* is now fairly well settled as the

¹ The word *Brahma-nirvâṇa*, which occurs so often at the close of chapter V and also at chapter II, 72, seems to me to indicate that *nirvâṇa* had not yet become technically pinned down, so to say, to the meaning which Buddhism subsequently gave to it, as the name of what it deemed the *summum bonum*. *Nirvâṇa* by itself occurs at VI, 15.

² See some further remarks on these points in my Introduction to the *Gîtâ* in verse.

³ Professor Tiele (*History of Ancient Religions*, p. 140) says *San̄kara* was born in 788 A. D.; on the authority, I presume, of the *Âryavidyâsudhâkara*, p. 226.

middle of the seventh century A. C. The doubt which the late Dr. Bhāu Dājī had cast upon its correctness¹, by impugning the received date of king Harshavardhana, appears to me to have been satisfactorily disposed of by the paper of my friend Professor R. G. Bhāndārkar on the *Kālukya* dates². In the *Kādambarī*, then, we have testimony to the existence of the *Bhagavadgītā* in the middle of the seventh century A. C. For in that work, which, as is well known, abounds with equivoques, we have a passage which compares the royal palace to the *Mahābhārata*, both being 'Anantagītākarnanānanditanaram'³, which, as applied to the royal palace, means 'in which the people were delighted by hearing innumerable songs;' and as applied to the *Mahābhārata* means 'in which Arguna was delighted at hearing the *Anantagītā*.' *Anantagītā* is evidently only another name here for *Bhagavadgītā*. The conclusion deducible from this fact is not merely that the *Gītā* existed, but that it existed as a recognised portion of the *Bhārata*, in the seventh century A. C. Now the *Kādambarī* shows, in numerous passages, in what high esteem the *Mahābhārata* was held in its days. The queen *Vilāsavati* used to attend at those readings and expositions of the *Mahābhārata*, which have continued down to our own times; and it was even then regarded as a sacred work of extremely high authority, in the same way as it is now. It follows, therefore, that the *Gītā* must have been several centuries old in the time of *Bānabhaṭṭa*.

Prior in time to *Bāna* is the Indian Shakespeare, *Kālidāsa*, as he is referred to in *Bānabhaṭṭa*'s *Harshakarita*⁴, and also in a copperplate inscription of the early part of the seventh century, as a poet who had then already acquired a high reputation⁵. Unfortunately, it is not yet possible to fix exactly the date at which *Kālidāsa* flourished. Still,

¹ Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. viii, p. 250; and see, too, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. vi, p. 61 (Dr. Bühler).

² Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xiv, p. 16 seq.

³ P. 182 (*Tārānātha*'s ed.)

⁴ See F. E. Hall's *Vāsavadattā*, p. 14 note.

⁵ See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. v, p. 70.

I think, we have pretty satisfactory evidence to show that the middle of the fifth century A. C. is the very latest date to which he can be referred. In a small tract (written by me in 1873), discussing Professor Weber's theory about the *Rāmāyana*, I have pointed out¹ that the *Pañkatantra* quotes from Kālidāsa a passage which there is good reason to believe formed part of the *Pañkatantra* when it was translated for king Nushirvan of Persia about the beginning of the sixth century A.C.² Allowing for the time required to raise Kālidāsa to the position of being cited as an authority, and for the time required for the spread of the fame of an Indian work to Persia in those early days, I think, that the middle of the fifth century is a date to which Kālidāsa cannot well have been subsequent. Now in the works of Kālidāsa we have some very remarkable allusions to the *Bhagavadgītā*. It is not necessary to go through all these allusions. I will only mention the most remarkable, one from the *Raghuvamśa*, and one from the *Kumārasambhava*. In *Raghu*, canto X, stanza 67, the gods addressing Vishnu say: 'There is nothing for you to acquire which has not been acquired. The one motive in your birth and work is the good of the worlds.' The first sentence here reminds one at once of *Gītā*, chapter III, stanza 22, the coincidence with which in sense as well as expression is very striking. The second sentence contains the words 'birth and work,' the precise words employed at *Gītā* IV, 9; and the idea of 'good of the worlds' is identical with the idea expressed in *Gītā* III, 20-24, the words only in which it is clothed being different. Couple this passage with the one from *Kumārasambhava*, canto VI, 67, where the seven *Rishis* say to the Himālaya mountain, 'Well hast thou been called Vishnu in a firmly-fixed form.' The allusion there to the *Gītā*, chapter X, stanza 25 (p. 89), is, I venture to think,

¹ 'Was the *Rāmāyana* copied from Homer?' See pp. 36-59.

² Cf. Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. ii, p. 166 seq. It may be remarked that this argument is not affected by the attempt to distinguish the Kālidāsa of the *Sakuntalā* from the Kālidāsa of the *Raghuvamśa*. Because the work cited in the *Pañkatantra* is the *Kumārasambhava*, which indisputably belongs to the same author as the *Raghuvamśa*.

unmistakable. The word 'firmly-fixed' is identical in both passages; the idea is identical, and Mallinātha refers to the passage in the Gītā as the authority which Kālidāsa had in view. It follows, therefore, that the Gītā must be prior to Kālidāsa's time. It may be added, that Kālidāsa in his *Raghu* XV, 67, cites Manu as an authority for the proposition that a king must protect all castes and all orders or āśramas. Manu, therefore, must have lived considerably earlier than Kālidāsa, and the Gītā, as we have already argued, must be considerably earlier, not only than Manu, but also than his predecessor Āpastamba. The Gītā may, therefore, be safely said to belong to a period several centuries prior to the fifth century A. C.

The next piece of external evidence is furnished by the Vedānta-sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa. In several of those Sūtras, references are made to certain *Smṛitis* as authorities for the propositions laid down. Take, for instance, I, 2, 6, or I, 3, 23, and many others. Now three of these Sūtras are very useful for our present purpose. The first we have to consider is Sūtra II, 3, 45. The commentators Saṅkarākārya, Rāmānuga, Madhva, and Vallabha¹ are unanimous in understanding the passage in Gītā, chapter XV, stanza 7 (p. 112), to be the one there referred to by the words of the Sūtra, which are, 'And it is said in a *Smṛiti*.' Now a glance at the context of the Sūtra will, I think, satisfy us that the commentators, who are unanimous though representing different and even conflicting schools of thought, are also quite right. Sūtra 43, in the elliptical language characteristic of that branch of our literature, says, 'A part, from the statement of difference, and the reverse also; some lay down that it is a fisherman or a cheat.' Sūtra 44 runs thus, 'And also from the words of the Mantra.' And then comes Sūtra 45 as set out above. It is plain, that the Sūtra No. 45 indicates an authority for something not specified, being regarded as part of some other thing also not

¹ I am indebted to Professor M. M. Kunte for a loan of Vallabhākārya's commentary on the Sūtras noted in the text. I had not seen it in 1875, when I last discussed this question.

specified. Now the discussion in previous Sûtras has been about the soul ; so we can have little difficulty in accepting the unanimous interpretation of the commentators, that the proposition here sought to be made out is that the individual soul is part of the Supreme Soul, which is the proposition laid down in the Gîtâ in the passage referred to. The next Sûtra to refer to is IV, 1, 10. I shall not set forth the other relevant Sûtras here as in the preceding case. I only state that the three commentators, Sañkara, Râmânuga, and Madhva, agree that the Gîtâ is here referred to, namely, chapter VI, stanza 11 seq. Vallabha, however, I am bound to add, does not agree with this, as he interprets the Sûtra in question and those which precede and follow as referring to an entirely different matter. If I may be permitted to say so, however, I consider his interpretation not so satisfactory as that of the three other and older commentators. Lastly, we come to Sûtra IV, 2-19. On this, again, all the four commentators are unanimous, and they say that Gîtâ, chapter VIII, stanza 24 seq. (p. 80), is the authority referred to. And I think there can be very little doubt that they are right. These various pieces of evidence render it, I think, historically certain, that the Gîtâ must be considerably prior to the Vedânta-sûtras; and that the word Brahma-sûtras, which occurs at Gîtâ, chapter XIII, stanza 4 (p. 102), is correctly interpreted by the commentators as not referring to the Vedânta-sûtras, which are also called Brahma-sûtras, but to a different subject altogether¹. When were the Vedânta-sûtras composed? The question must at once be admitted to be a difficult one; but I think the following considerations will show that the date of those Sûtras must, at the latest, be considerably earlier than the period which we have already reached in this part of our investigation. We may take it as fairly well settled, that Bhaṭṭa Kumârila, the celebrated commentator of the Pûrva Mîmâṃsâ school, flourished not later than the end of the seventh century

¹ Cf. Weber's *Indian Literature*, p. 242. See also Lassen's Preface to his edition of Schlegel's Gîtâ, XXXV. Râmânuga takes the other view.

A.C.¹ A considerable time prior to him must be placed the great commentator on the *Mīmāṃsā-sûtras*, namely, Sabarasvâmin. If we may judge from the style of his great commentary, he cannot have flourished much later than Patañjali, who may now be taken as historically proved to have flourished about 140 B.C.² Now a considerable time must have intervened between Sabarasvâmin and another commentator on the *Pûrva Mīmāṃsâ*, whom Sabara quotes with the highly honorific title Bhagavân, the Venerable, namely, Upavarsha. Upavarsha appears from Saṅkara's statement to have commented on the *Vedânta-sûtras*³. We have thus a long catena of works from the seventh century A.C., indicating a pretty high antiquity for the *Vedânta-sûtras*, and therefore a higher one for the *Bhagavadgîtâ*. The antiquity of the *Vedânta-sûtras* follows also from the circumstance, which we have on the testimony of Râmânuga, repeated by Mâdhavâkârya, that a commentary on the *Sûtras* was written by Baudhâyanâkârya⁴, which commentary Râmânuga says he followed. Baudhâyanâ's date is not accurately settled. But he appears to be older than Âpastamba, whose date, as suggested by Dr. Bühler, has already been mentioned⁵. The *Vedânta-sûtras*, then, would appear to be at least as old as the fourth century B.C.; if the information we have from Râmânuga may be trusted. A third argument may be mentioned, bearing on the date of the *Vedânta-sûtras*. In Sûtra 110 of the third Pâda of the fourth Adhyâya of Pânini's *Sûtras*, a Pârâsarya is mentioned as the author of a Bhikshu-sûtra. Who is this Pârâsarya, and what the Bhikshu-sûtra? Unluckily Patañjali gives us no information on this head, nor

¹ See Burnell's *Sâma-vidhâna-brâhmaṇa*, Introduction, p. vi note.

² The authorities are collected in our edition of *Bhartsrîhari* (Bombay Series of Sanskrit Classics), Intro. p. xi note. See also Bühler's *Âpastamba* in this series, Intro. p. xxviii.

³ See Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. i, p. 332. An Upavarsha is mentioned in the *Kathâsaritsâgara* as living in the time of king Nanda, and having Pânini, Kâtyâyana, and Vyâzi for his pupils.

⁴ See the Râmânuga Bhâshya; and the Râmânuga Darśana in *Sarvadarsana-saṅgraha*.

⁵ *Âpastamba*, p. xvi.

does the *Kāśikā Vṛtti*. But a note of Professor Tārānātha Tarkavākaspati, of Calcutta, says that Pārāsarya is Vyāsa, and the Bhikshu-sūtra is the Vedānta-sūtra¹. If this is correct, the Vedānta-sūtras go very far indeed into antiquity. For Pāṇini can certainly not be assigned to a later date than the fourth century B.C., while that learned scholar, Professor Goldstücker, on grounds of considerable strength, assigned him to a much earlier date². The question thus comes to this, Is the remark of Professor Tārānātha, above set out, correct? I find then, from enquiries made of my venerable and erudite friend Yagñesvar Sāstrin, the author of the *Āryavidyāsudhākara*, that the note of Tārānātha is based on the works of Bhaṭṭogī Dikshita, Nāgogī Bhaṭṭa, and Gñānendra Sarasvatī, who all give the same interpretation of the Sūtra in question. It is certainly unfortunate that we have no older authority on this point than Bhaṭṭogī. The interpretation is in itself not improbable. Vyāsa is certainly by the current tradition³ called the author of the Vedānta-sūtras, and also the son of Parāsara. Nor is Bhikshu-sūtra a name too far removed in sense from Vedānta-sūtra, though doubtless the former name is not now in use, at all events as applied to the Sūtras attributed to Bādarāyana, and though, it must also be stated, a Bhikshu-sūtra Bhāshya Vārtika is mentioned eo nomine by Professor Weber as actually in existence at the present day⁴. Taking all things together, therefore, we may provisionally understand the Bhikshu-sūtra mentioned by Pāṇini to be identical with the Vedānta-sūtras. But even apart from that identification, the other testimonies we have adduced prove, I think, the high antiquity of those Sūtras, and consequently of the Bhagavadgītā.

We have thus examined, at what, considering the importance and difficulty of the subject, will not, I trust, be regarded as unreasonable length, some of the principal pieces of internal and external evidence touching the age

¹ See *Siddhānta Kaumudī*, vol. i, p. 592.

² See his *Pāṇini*; and see also Bühler's *Āpastamba* in this series, *Introd.* p. xxxii note.

³ The correctness of this tradition is very doubtful.

⁴ *Indische Studien* I, 470.

of the Bhagavadgîtâ and its position in Sanskrit literature. Although, as stated at the very outset, the conclusions we have deduced in the course of that examination are not all such as at once to secure acceptance, I venture to think that we have now adequate grounds for saying, that the various and independent lines of investigation, which we have pursued, converge to this point, that the Gîtâ, on numerous and essential topics, ranges itself as a member of the Upanishad group, so to say, in Sanskrit literature. Its philosophy, its mode of treating its subject, its style, its language, its verification, its opinions on sundry subjects of the highest importance, all point to that one conclusion. We may also, I think, lay it down as more than probable, that the latest date at which the Gîtâ can have been composed, must be earlier than the third century B.C., though it is altogether impossible to say at present how much earlier. This proposition, too, is supported by the cumulative strength of several independent lines of testimony.

Before closing this Introduction, it is desirable to add a word concerning the text of the Bhagavadgîtâ. The religious care with which that text has been preserved is very worthy of note. Schlegel and Lassen¹ have both declared it as their opinion, that we have the text now almost exactly in the condition in which it was when it left the hands of the author. There are very few real various readings, and some of the very few that exist are noted by the commentators. Considering that the Mahâbhârata must have been tampered with on numerous occasions, this preservation of the Gîtâ is most interesting. It doubtless indicates that high veneration for it which is still felt, and has for long been felt, by the Hindus, and which is embodied in the expression used in the colophons of the MSS. describing the Gîtâ as the 'Upanishad sung by God².' In view of the facts and deductions set forth in

¹ See the latter's edition of the Gîtâ, Preface, p. xxvii.

² In the edition of the Gîtâ published in Bombay in Saka 1782, there is a stanza which says that the Upanishads are the cows, *Krishna* the milkman, *Arguna* the calf, and the milk is the nectar-like Gîtâ, which indicates the tradi-

this essay, that expression existing as, I believe, it does, almost universally in Indian MSS. of the *Gîtâ*, is not altogether devoid of historical value.

Schlegel draws attention to one other circumstance regarding the text of the *Gîtâ*, which is also highly interesting, namely, that the number of the stanzas is exactly 700. Schlegel concludes that the author must have fixed on that number deliberately, in order to prevent, as far as he could, all subsequent interpolations¹. This is certainly not unlikely; and if the aim of the author was such as Schlegel suggests, it has assuredly been thoroughly successful. In the chapter of the *Mahâbhârata* immediately succeeding the eighteenth chapter of the *Gîtâ*, the extent of the work in *slokas* is distinctly stated. The verses in which this is stated do not exist in the *Gauḍa* or *Bengal* recension, and are doubtless not genuine. But, nevertheless, they are interesting, and I shall reproduce them here. 'Kṛṣṇa spoke 620 *slokas*, Arjuna fifty-seven, Saṅgaya sixty-seven, and Dhṛitarāshṭra one *sloka*; such is the extent of the *Gîtâ*.' It is very difficult to account for these figures. According to them, the total number of verses in the *Gîtâ* would be 745, whereas the number in the current MSS., and even in the *Mahâbhârata* itself, is, as already stated, only 700². I cannot suggest any explanation whatever of this discrepancy.

In conclusion, a few words may be added regarding the general principles followed in the translation contained in this volume. My aim has been to make that translation as close and literal a rendering as possible of the *Gîtâ*, as interpreted by the commentators *Saṅkarâkârya*, *Sṛidhara-svâmin*, and *Madhusûdana Sarasvatî*. Reference has also been frequently made to the commentary of *Râmânugâkârya*, and also to that of *Nilakantṭha*, which latter forms part of the author's general commentary on the *Mahâbhârata*.

tional view of the *Gîtâ*—a view in consonance with that which we have been led to by the facts and arguments contained in this Introduction.

¹ P. xi (Lassen's ed.)

² *Saṅkara's* commentary states in so many words that the *Gîtâ* he used contained only 700 *slokas*.

In some places these commentators differ among themselves, and then I have made my own choice. The foot-notes are mainly intended to make clear that which necessarily remains obscure in a literal translation. Some of the notes, however, also point out the parallelisms existing between the Gîtâ and other works, principally the Upanishads and the Buddhistic Dhammapada and Sutta Nipâta. Of the latter I have not been able to procure the original Pâli; I have only used Sir M. C. Swamy's translation. But I may here note, that there are some verses, especially in the Salla Sutta (see pp. 124-127 of Sir M. C. Swamy's book), the similarity of which, in doctrine and expression, to some of the verses of the Gîtâ is particularly striking. The analogies between the Gîtâ and the Upanishads have been made the basis of certain conclusions in this Introduction. Those between the Gîtâ and these Buddhistic works are at present, to my mind, only interesting; I am unable yet to say whether they may legitimately be made the premises for any historical deductions.

There are two indexes: the first a general index of matters, the second containing the principal words in the Gîtâ which may prove useful or interesting for philological, historical, or other kindred purposes.

BHAGAVADGÎTÂ.

CHAPTER I.

Dhrîtarâshtra said :

What did my (people) and the Pândavas do, O Sañgaya ! when they assembled together on the holy field of Kurukshetra, desirous to do battle ?

Sañgaya said :

Seeing the army of the Pândavas drawn up in battle-array¹, the prince Duryodhana approached his preceptor, and spoke (these) words : ' O preceptor ! observe this grand army of the sons of Pându, drawn up in battle-array by your talented pupil, the son of Drupada. In it are heroes (bearing) large bows, the equals of Bhîma and Arguna in battle—(namely), Yuyudhâna, Virâta, and Drupada, the master of a great car², and Dhrîshaketu, Kekitâna, and the valiant king of Kâsi, Purugit and Kuntibhoga, and that eminent man Saibya ; the heroic Yudhâmanyu, the valiant Uttamaugas, the son of Subhad୍ରâ, and the sons of

¹ Several of these modes of array are described in Manu VII, 187, like a staff, like a wain, like a boar, &c. That of the Pândavas, here referred to, appears to have been like the thunderbolt, as to which see Manu VII, 191.

² This is a literal rendering ; the technical meaning is ' a warrior proficient in military science, who single-handed can fight a thousand archers.'

Draupadî—all masters of great cars. And now, O best of Brâhmanas! learn who are most distinguished among us, and are leaders of my army. I will name them to you, in order that you may know them well. Yourself, and Bhîshma, and Karṇa, and Kṛipā the victor of (many) battles; Asvatthâman, and Vikarṇa, and also the son of Somadatta, and many other brave men, who have given up their lives for me, who fight with various weapons, (and are) all dexterous in battle. Thus our army which is protected by Bhîshma is unlimited; while this army of theirs which is protected by Bhîma is very limited. And therefore do ye all, occupying respectively the positions¹ assigned to you, protect Bhîshma² only.'

Then his powerful grandsire, Bhîshma, the oldest of the Kauravas, roaring aloud like a lion, blew his conch, (thereby) affording delight to Duryodhana. And then all at once, conchs, and kettledrums, and tabors, and trumpets were played upon; and there was a tumultuous din. Then, too, Mâdhava and the son of Pându (Arguna), seated in a grand chariot to which white steeds were yoked, blew their heavenly conchs. Hṛishîkesa³ blew the Pâñkaganya⁴, and Dhanañgaya the Devadatta, and Bhîma, (the doer) of fearful deeds, blew the great conch Paundra. King Yudhishthîra, the son of Kuntî⁵, blew the Anan-

¹ The original word means, according to Sṛīdhara, 'the ways of entrance into a Vyūha or phalanx.'

² Who, as generalissimo, remained in the centre of the army.

³ Literally, according to the commentators, 'lord of the senses of perception.'

⁴ Schlegel renders the names of these conchs by Gigantea, Theodotes, Arundinea, Triumphatrix, Dulcisona, and Gemmiflorea respectively.

⁵ So called, par excellence, apparently.

tavigaya, and Nakula and Sahadeva (respectively) the Sughosha and Manipushpaka. And the king of Kâsi, too, who has an excellent bow, and Sikhandin, the master of a great car, and Dhṛiṣṭadyumna, Virâta, and the unconquered Sâtyaki, and Drupada, and the sons of Draupadî, and the son of Subhadṛâ, of mighty arms, blew conchs severally from all sides, O king of the earth! That tumultuous din rent the hearts of all (the people) of Dhṛitarâshṭra's (party), causing reverberations throughout heaven and earth. Then seeing (the people of) Dhṛitarâshṭra's party regularly marshalled, the son of Pându, whose standard is the ape, raised his bow¹, after the discharge of missiles had commenced, and O king of the earth! spake these words to Hṛishîkesa: 'O undegraded one! station my chariot between the two armies, while I observe those, who stand here desirous to engage in battle, and with whom, in the labours of this struggle, I must do battle. I will observe those who are assembled here and who are about to engage in battle, wishing to do service in battle² to the evil-minded son of Dhṛitarâshṭra.'

Saṅgaya said:

Thus addressed by Guḍâkesa³, O descendant of Bharata⁴! Hṛishîkesa stationed that excellent chariot between the two armies, in front of Bhîshma

¹ I.e. to join in the fight.

² In the original, several derivatives from the root yudh, meaning 'to fight,' occur with the same frequency as 'battle' here.

³ Generally interpreted 'lord of sleep,' i.e. not indolent. Nilakantha also suggests, that it may mean 'of thick hair.'

⁴ The son of Dushyanta and Sakuntalâ, after whom India is called 'Bhâratavarsha,' and from whom both Pândavas and Kauravas were descended.

and Drona and of all the kings of the earth, and said : 'O son of Prithâ! look at these assembled Kauravas.' There the son of Prithâ saw in both armies, fathers and grandfathers, preceptors, maternal uncles, brothers, sons¹, grandsons, companions, fathers-in-law, as well as friends. And seeing all those kinsmen standing (there), the son of Kunti was overcome by excessive pity, and spake thus despondingly.

Arguna said :

Seeing these kinsmen, O *Krishna* ! standing (here) anxious to engage in battle, my limbs droop down ; my mouth is quite dried up ; a tremor comes over my body ; and my hairs stand on end ; the *Gândîva* (bow) slips from my hand ; my skin burns intensely. I am unable, too, to stand up ; my mind whirls round, as it were ; O *Kesava* ! I see adverse omens² ; and I do not perceive any good (likely to accrue) after killing (my) kinsmen in the battle. I do not wish for victory, O *Krishna* ! nor sovereignty, nor pleasures : what is sovereignty to us, O *Govinda* ! what enjoyments, and even life ? Even those, for whose sake we desire sovereignty, enjoyments, and pleasures, are standing here for battle, abandoning life and wealth—preceptors, fathers, sons as well as grandfathers, maternal uncles, fathers-in-law, grandsons, brothers-in-law, as also (other) relatives. These I do not wish to kill, though they kill (me), O destroyer of *Madhu*³ ! even for the sake of sovereignty over

¹ The words in this list include all standing in similar relationships to those directly signified.

² Such as the appearance of vultures, cars moving without horses, &c., mentioned in the *Bhishma Parvan* II, 17. Cf. *Sutta Nipâta*, p. 100.

³ A demon of this name.

the three worlds, how much less then for this earth (alone)? What joy shall be ours, O *Ganârdana*! after killing *Dhṛitarâshṭra*'s sons? Killing these felons¹ we shall only incur sin. Therefore it is not proper for us to kill our own kinsmen, the sons of *Dhṛitarâshṭra*. For how, O *Mâdhava*! shall we be happy after killing our own relatives? Although they have their consciences corrupted by avarice, they do not see the evils flowing from the extinction of a family, and the sin in treachery to friends; still, O *Ganârdana*! should not we, who do see the evils flowing from the extinction of a family, learn to refrain from that sin? On the extinction of a family, the eternal rites of families are destroyed². Those rites being destroyed, impiety predominates over the whole family³. In consequence of the predominance of impiety, O *Kṛishna*! the women of the family become corrupt⁴; and the women becoming corrupt, O descendant of *Vṛishni*! intermingling of castes results; that intermingling necessarily leads the family and the destroyers of the family to hell; for when the ceremonies of (offering) the balls of food and water (to them) fail⁵, their ancestors fall down (to hell). By these transgressions of the destroyers of families, which occasion interminglings of castes, the eternal rites of castes and rites of families are

¹ Six classes are mentioned: an incendiary; one who administers poison; one who assaults another—weapon in hand; one who destroys property; one who robs another of his wife; or his fields.

² I.e. there being none to attend to the 'rites,' women being ineligible.

³ I.e. the surviving members.

⁴ I.e. either by the mere fact of relationship to such men, or by following their bad example.

⁵ There being no qualified person to perform them; 'their ancestors'—that is to say, of the 'destroyers of families.'

subverted. And O *Ganârdana* ! we have heard that men whose family-rites are subverted, must necessarily live in hell. Alas ! we are engaged in committing a heinous sin, seeing that we are making efforts for killing our own kinsmen out of greed of the pleasures of sovereignty. If the sons of *Dhrîtarâshtra*, weapon in hand, were to kill me in battle, me being weaponless and not defending (myself), that would be better for me.

Saṅgaya said :

Having spoken thus, *Arguna* cast aside his bow together with the arrows, on the battle-field, and sat down in (his) chariot, with a mind agitated by grief.

CHAPTER II.

Saṅgaya said :

To him, who was thus overcome with pity, and dejected, and whose eyes were full of tears and turbid, the destroyer of *Madhu* spoke these words.

The Deity said :

How (comes it that) this delusion, O *Arguna* ! which is discarded by the good, which excludes from heaven, and occasions infamy, has overtaken you in this (place of) peril ? Be not effeminate, O son of *Prîthâ* ! it is not worthy of you. Cast off this base weakness of heart, and arise, O terror of (your) foes !

Arguna said :

How, O destroyer of *Madhu* ! shall I encounter with arrows in the battle *Bhîshma* and *Drona*—both, O destroyer of enemies ! entitled to reverence ?

Without killing (my) preceptors—(men) of great glory—it is better to live even on alms in this world. But if killing them, though they are avaricious of worldly goods, I should only enjoy blood-tainted enjoyments. Nor do we know which of the two is better for us—whether that we should vanquish them, or that they should vanquish us. Even those, whom having killed, we do not wish to live—even those sons of *Dhr̥itarāsh̥tra* stand (arrayed) against us. With a heart contaminated by the taint of helplessness¹, with a mind confounded about my duty, I ask you. Tell me what is assuredly good for me. I am your disciple; instruct me, who have thrown myself on your (indulgence). For I do not perceive what is to dispel that grief which will dry up my organs² after I shall have obtained a prosperous kingdom on earth without a foe, or even the sovereignty of the gods³.

Saṅgaya said :

Having spoken thus to *Hr̥ishikesa*, O terror of (your) foes! *Gudākesa* said to *Govinda*, 'I shall not engage in battle;' and verily remained silent. To him thus desponding between the two armies, O descendant of *Bharata*! *Hr̥ishikesa* spoke these words with a slight smile.

The Deity said :

You have grieved for those who deserve no grief,

¹ The commentators say that 'heart' here signifies the dispositions which are stated in chapter XVIII infra, p. 126. The feeling of 'helplessness' is incompatible with what is there stated as the proper disposition for a *Kshatriya*.

² I.e. by the heat of vexation; the meaning is, 'which will cause constant vexation of spirit.'

³ I.e. if the means employed are the sinful acts referred to.

and you speak words of wisdom¹. Learned men grieve not for the living nor the dead. Never did I not exist, nor you, nor these rulers of men; nor will any one of us ever hereafter cease to be. As in this body, infancy and youth and old age (come) to the embodied (self)², so does the acquisition of another body; a sensible man is not deceived about that. The contacts of the senses³, O son of Kuntî! which produce cold and heat, pleasure and pain, are not permanent, they are for ever coming and going. Bear them, O descendant of Bharata! For, O chief of men! that sensible man whom they⁴ afflict not, (pain and pleasure being alike to him), he merits immortality. There is no existence for that which is unreal; there is no non-existence for that which is real. And the (correct) conclusion about both⁵ is perceived by those who perceive the truth. Know that to be indestructible which pervades all this; the destruction of that inexhaustible (principle) none can bring about. These bodies appertaining to the embodied (self) which is eternal, indestructible, and indefinable, are declared⁶ to be perishable; therefore do engage in battle, O descendant of Bharata! He who thinks one to be the killer and he who thinks

¹ Scil. regarding family-rites, &c., for, says Nîlakantha, they indicate knowledge of soul as distinct from body.

² A common word in the Gîtâ, that which presides over each individual body.

³ Scil. with external objects.

⁴ I.e. the 'contacts.'

⁵ The sense is this—there are two things apparently, the soul which is indestructible, and the feelings of pain &c. which 'come and go.' The true philosopher knows that the former only is real and exists; and that the latter is unreal and non-existent. He therefore does not mind the latter.

⁶ Scil. by those who are possessed of true knowledge.

one to be killed, both know nothing. He kills not, is not killed¹. He is not born, nor does he ever die, nor, having existed, does he exist no more. Unborn, everlasting, unchangeable, and very ancient, he is not killed when the body is killed². O son of Prithâ! how can that man who knows the self thus to be indestructible, everlasting, unborn, and imperishable, kill any one, or cause any one to be killed? As a man, casting off old clothes, puts on others and new ones, so the embodied (self), casting off old bodies, goes to others and new ones. Weapons do not divide the self (into pieces); fire does not burn it; waters do not moisten it; the wind does not dry it up. It is not divisible; it is not combustible; it is not to be moistened; it is not to be dried up. It is everlasting, all-pervading, stable, firm, and eternal³. It is said to be unperceived, to be unthinkable, to be unchangeable. Therefore knowing it to be such, you ought not to grieve. But even if you think that the self is constantly born, and constantly dies, still, O you of mighty arms! you ought not to grieve thus. For to one that is born, death is certain; and to one that dies, birth is certain⁴. Therefore about (this)

¹ Cf. *Kaṭha-upanishad*, p. 104. ² *Kaṭha-upanishad*, pp. 103, 104.

³ 'Eternal.' *Nilakanṭha* explains this by 'unlimited by time, place,' &c. *Saṅkara* and others as 'uncreated,' 'without cause.' Stable = not assuming new forms; firm = not abandoning the original form. (*Sṛīdhara*.) The latter signifies a slight change; the former a total change.

⁴ Cf. the following from the *Sutta Nipāta* (*Sir M. C. Swamy's* translation), pp. 124, 125: 'There is, indeed, no means by which those born could be prevented from dying.' 'Even thus the world is afflicted with death and decay; therefore wise men, knowing the course of things in the world, do not give way to grief.'

unavoidable thing, you ought not to grieve. The source of things, O descendant of Bharata! is unperceived; their middle state is perceived; and their end again is unperceived. What (occasion is there for any) lamentation regarding them¹? One looks upon it² as a wonder; another similarly speaks of it as a wonder; another too hears of it as a wonder; and even after having heard of it, no one does really know it³. This embodied (self), O descendant of Bharata! within every one's body is ever indestructible. Therefore you ought not to grieve for any being. Having regard to your own duty also, you ought not to falter, for there is nothing better for a Kshatriya⁴ than a righteous battle. Happy those Kshatriyas, O son of Prithâ! who can find such a battle (to fight)—come of itself⁵—an open door to heaven! But if you will not fight this righteous battle, then you will have abandoned your own duty and your fame, and you will incur sin. All beings, too, will tell of your everlasting infamy; and to one who has been honoured, infamy is (a) greater (evil) than death. (Warriors who are) masters of great cars will think that you abstained from the battle through fear, and having been highly thought of by them, you will fall down to littleness. Your enemies, too, decrying your power, will speak much about you that should not be spoken. And what, indeed, more lamentable than that? Killed,

¹ Cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 125. 'In vain do you grieve, not knowing well the two ends of him whose manner either of coming or going you know not.'

² I.e. the self spoken of above.

³ Kaṭha-upanishad, p. 96.

⁴ One of the warrior caste.

⁵ Without any effort, that is to say, of one's own.

you will obtain heaven; victorious, you will enjoy the earth. Therefore arise, O son of Kunti! resolved to (engage in) battle. Looking on pleasure and pain, on gain and loss, on victory and defeat as the same, prepare for battle, and thus you will not incur sin. The knowledge here declared to you is that relating to the Sâṅkhya¹. Now hear that relating to the Yoga. Possessed of this knowledge, O son of Prithâ! you will cast off the bonds of action. In this (path to final emancipation) nothing that is commenced becomes abortive; no obstacles exist; and even a little of this (form of) piety protects one from great danger². There is here³, O descendant of Kuru! but one state of mind consisting in firm understanding. But the states of mind of those who have no firm understanding are manifold and endless. The state of mind which consists in firm understanding regarding steady contemplation⁴ does not belong to those, O son of Prithâ! who are strongly attached to (worldly) pleasures and power, and whose minds are drawn away by that flowery talk which is full of (the ordinances of) specific acts for the attainment of (those) pleasures and (that) power, and which promises birth as the fruit of acts⁵—(that flowery

¹ Sâṅkhya is explained in different modes by the different commentators, but the meaning here seems to be, that the doctrine stated is the doctrine of true knowledge and of emancipation by means of it. See *infra*, p. 52.

² Viz. this mortal mundane life.

³ I.e. for those who enter on this 'path.'

⁴ I.e. of the supreme Being; Yoga meaning really the dedication of all acts to that Being.

⁵ See *Sutta Nipâta*, p. 4.

talk) which those unwise ones utter, who are enamoured of Vedic words, who say there is nothing else, who are full of desires, and whose goal is heaven¹. The Vedas (merely) relate to the effects of the three qualities²; do you, O Arguna! rise above those effects of the three qualities, and be free from the pairs of opposites³, always preserve courage⁴, be free from anxiety for new acquisitions or protection of old acquisitions, and be self-controlled⁵. To the instructed Brāhmaṇa, there is in all the Vedas as much utility as in a reservoir of water into which waters flow from all sides⁶. Your business is with action alone; not by any means with fruit. Let not the fruit of action be your motive (to action). Let not your attachment be (fixed) on inaction⁷. Having recourse to devotion, O Dhanañgaya! perform actions, casting off (all) attachment, and being equable in success or ill-success; (such) equability is called devotion. Action,

¹ This is a merely temporary good, and not therefore deserving to be aspired to before final emancipation.

² I.e. the whole course of worldly affairs. As to qualities, see chapter XIV.

³ Heat and cold, pain and pleasure, and so forth. Cf. Manu I, 26.

⁴ Cf. Sutta Nipāta, p. 17 and other places.

⁵ Keeping the mind from worldly objects.

⁶ The meaning here is not easily apprehended. I suggest the following explanation:—Having said that the Vedas are concerned with actions for special benefits, Kṛishṇa compares them to a reservoir which provides water for various special purposes, drinking, bathing, &c. The Vedas similarly prescribe particular rites and ceremonies for going to heaven, or destroying an enemy, &c. But, says Kṛishṇa, man's duty is merely to perform the actions prescribed for him, and not entertain desires for the special benefits named. The stanza occurs in the Sanatsugātīya, too.

⁷ Doing nothing at all.

O Dhanañgaya! is far inferior to the devotion of the mind. In that devotion seek shelter. Wretched are those whose motive (to action) is the fruit (of action). He who has obtained devotion in this world casts off both merit and sin¹. Therefore apply yourself to devotion; devotion in (all) actions is wisdom. The wise who have obtained devotion cast off the fruit of action; and released from the shackles of (repeated) births², repair to that seat where there is no unhappiness³. When your mind shall have crossed beyond the taint of delusion, then will you become indifferent to all that you have heard or will hear⁴. When your mind, that was confounded by what you have heard⁵, will stand firm and steady in contemplation⁶, then will you acquire devotion.

Arguna said :

What are the characteristics, O Kesava! of one whose mind is steady, and who is intent on contemplation? How should one of a steady mind speak, how sit, how move?

The Deity said :

When a man, O son of Prithâ! abandons all the desires of his heart, and is pleased in his self only

¹ Merit merely leads to heaven, as to which see note on last page. Cf. Sutta Nipâta, pp. 4, 136, 145 note.

² Sutta Nipâta, pp. 3-7, &c.

³ Sutta Nipâta, p. 21.

⁴ This, according to Ânandagiri, means all writings other than those on the science of the soul.

⁵ I.e. about the means for the acquisition of various desired things.

⁶ I.e. of the soul (Saṅkara), of the supreme Being (Sridhara). Substantially they both mean the same thing.

and by his self¹, he is then called of a steady mind. He whose heart is not agitated in the midst of calamities, who has no longing for pleasures, and from whom (the feelings of) affection, fear, and wrath² have departed, is called a sage of a steady mind. His mind is steady, who, being without attachments anywhere, feels no exultation and no aversion on encountering the various agreeable and disagreeable³ (things of this world). A man's mind is steady, when he withdraws his senses from (all) objects of sense, as the tortoise (withdraws) its limbs from all sides. Objects of sense withdraw themselves from a person who is abstinent; not so the taste (for those objects). But even the taste departs from him, when he has seen the Supreme⁴. The boisterous senses, O son of Kunti! carry away by force the mind even of a wise man, who exerts himself (for final emancipation). Restraining them all, a man should remain engaged in devotion, making me his only resort. For his mind is steady whose senses are under his control. The man who ponders over objects of sense forms an attachment to them; from (that) attachment is produced desire; and from desire anger is produced⁵; from anger results want of discrimination⁶; from want of dis-

¹ I. e. pleased, without regard to external objects, by self-contemplation alone.

² Cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 3.

³ The word *subhâsubha* in this sense also occurs in the Dhammapada, stanza 78, and in the Maitrî-upanishad, p. 34.

⁴ See on this, Wilson's Essays on Sanskrit Literature, vol. iii, p. 130.

⁵ I. e. when the desire is frustrated.

⁶ I. e. between right and wrong. Confusion of memory = forgetfulness of Sâstras and rules prescribed in them.

crimination, confusion of the memory; from confusion of the memory, loss of reason; and in consequence of loss of reason he is utterly ruined. But the self-restrained man who moves among¹ objects with senses under the control of his own self, and free from affection and aversion, obtains tranquillity². When there is tranquillity, all his miseries are destroyed, for the mind of him whose heart is tranquil soon becomes steady. He who is not self-restrained has no steadiness of mind; nor has he who is not self-restrained perseverance³ in the pursuit of self-knowledge; there is no tranquillity for him who does not persevere in the pursuit of self-knowledge; and whence can there be happiness for one who is not tranquil? For the heart which follows the rambling senses leads away his judgment, as the wind leads a boat astray upon the waters. Therefore, O you of mighty arms! his mind is steady whose senses are restrained on all sides from objects of sense. The self-restrained man is awake, when it is night for all beings; and when all beings are awake, that is the night of the right-seeing sage⁴. He into whom all objects of desire enter, as waters enter the ocean, which, (though) replenished, (still) keeps its position unmoved,—he only obtains tranquillity; not he who desires (those) objects of desire. The man who,

¹ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 45.

² Cf. *Maitrī-ūpanishad*, p. 134, where the commentator explains it to mean freedom from desires.

³ For a somewhat similar use of the word *bhāvanā* in this sense, comp. *Dhammapada*, stanza 301.

⁴ Spiritual matters are dark as night to the common run of men, while they are wide awake in all worldly pursuits. With the sage the case is exactly the reverse.

casting off all desires, lives free from attachments, who is free from egoism¹, and from (the feeling that this or that is) mine², obtains tranquillity. This, O son of Prithâ! is the Brahmic³ state; attaining to this, one is never deluded; and remaining in it in (one's) last moments, one attains (brahma-nirvâna) the Brahmic bliss⁴.

CHAPTER III.

Arguna said :

If, O Ganârdana! devotion is deemed by you to be superior to action, then why, O Kesava! do you prompt me to (this) fearful action? You seem, indeed, to confuse my mind by equivocal words. Therefore, declare one thing determinately, by which I may attain the highest good.

The Deity said :

O sinless one! I have already declared, that in this world there is a twofold path⁵—that of the Sâṅkhyas by devotion in the shape of (true) knowledge; and that of the Yogins by devotion in the shape of action. A man does not attain freedom from action⁶ merely by not engaging in action; nor does he attain perfection⁷ by mere⁸ renunciation. For nobody ever remains even for an instant without

¹ Either pride or, better, the false notion mentioned *infra*, p. 55.

² An almost identical expression occurs in the *Dhammapada*, stanza 367, and *Maitrî-upanishad*, p. 37.

³ The state of identification of oneself with the Brahman, which results from a correct knowledge of the Brahman.

⁴ *Infra*, p. 66.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 47.

⁶ I.e., according to Sâṅkara, identification of oneself with Brahman.

⁷ Final emancipation.

⁸ I.e. not coupled with knowledge and purity of heart.

performing some action ; since the qualities of nature constrain everybody, not having free-will (in the matter), to some action ¹. The deluded man who, restraining the organs of action ², continues to think in his mind about objects of sense, is called a hypocrite. But he, O Arguna ! who restraining his senses by his mind ³, and being free from attachments, engages in devotion (in the shape) of action, with the organs of action, is far superior. Do you perform prescribed action, for action is better than inaction, and the support of your body, too, cannot be accomplished with inaction. This world is fettered by all action other than action for the purpose of the sacrifice ⁴. Therefore, O son of Kunti ! do you, casting off attachment, perform action for that purpose. The Creator, having in olden times created men together with the sacrifice, said : ' Propagate with this. May it be the giver to you of the things you desire. Please the gods with this, and may those gods please you. Pleasing each other, you will attain the highest good. For pleased with the sacrifices, the gods will give you the enjoyments you desire. And he who enjoys himself without giving them what they have given, is, indeed, a thief.' The good, who eat the leavings of a sacrifice, are released from all sins. But the unrighteous ones, who prepare food for themselves only, incur sin ⁵.

¹ Cf. *infra*, pp. 122-128.

² Hands, feet, &c.

³ By means of true discrimination keeping the senses from attachments to worldly objects, which lead to sin and evil.

⁴ Cf. *infra*, pp. 60, 61. Probably the 'sacrifices' spoken of in that passage must be taken to be the same as those referred to in the Creator's injunction mentioned in this passage.

⁵ Cf. *Maitrī-ūpanishad*, p. 143.

From food are born (all) creatures ; from rain is the production of food ; rain is produced by sacrifices ; sacrifices are the result of action ; know that action has its source in the Vedas ; the Vedas come from the Indestructible. Therefore the all-comprehending Vedas are always concerned with sacrifices¹. He who in this world does not turn round the wheel revolving thus, is of sinful life, indulging his senses, and, O son of *Prithā* ! he lives in vain. But the man who is attached to his self only, who is contented in his self, and is pleased with his self², has nothing to do. He has no interest at all in what is done, and none whatever in what is not done, in this world³ ; nor is any interest of his dependent on any being. Therefore⁴ always perform action, which must be performed, without attachment. For a man, performing action without attachment, attains the Supreme. By action alone, did *Ganaka* and the rest work for perfection⁵. And having regard also to the keeping of people (to their duties) you should perform action. Whatever a great man does, that other men also do. And people follow whatever he receives as authority. There is nothing, O son of *Prithā* ! for me to do in (all) the three worlds,

¹ The commentators explain this to mean that though the Vedas elucidate all matters, their principal subject is the sacrifice.

² The distinctions here are rather nice,—an ordinary man is 'attached' to worldly objects, is 'contented' with goods &c., and is 'pleased' with special gains.

³ No good or evil accrues to him from anything he does or omits to do.

⁴ *Srīdhara* says that *Arguna* is here told to perform action, as freedom from it is only for the man of true knowledge, which *Arguna* is not as yet.

⁵ I. e. final emancipation ; cf. p. 59 *infra*, and *Īsopanishad*, p. 6.

nothing to acquire which has not been acquired. Still I do engage in action. For should I at any time not engage without sloth in action, men would follow in my path from all sides, O son of *Prithâ*! If I did not perform actions, these worlds would be destroyed, I should be the cause of caste-interminglings; and I should be ruining these people. As the ignorant act, O descendant of *Bharata*! with attachment to action, so should a wise man act without attachment, wishing to keep the people (to their duties). A wise man should not shake the convictions of the ignorant who are attached to action, but acting with devotion (himself) should make them apply themselves to all action. He whose mind is deluded by egoism thinks himself the doer of the actions, which, in every way, are done by the qualities of nature¹. But he, O you of mighty arms! who knows the truth about the difference from qualities and the difference from actions², forms no attachments, believing that qualities deal with qualities³. But those who are deluded by the qualities of nature form attachments to the actions of the qualities⁴. A man of perfect knowledge should not shake these men of imperfect knowledge (in their convictions). Dedicating all actions to me with a mind knowing the relation of the supreme and individual self, engage in battle without

¹ The active principle is nature, the aggregate of the three qualities; the soul is only the looker-on; cf. *inter alia*, p. 104 *infra*.

² Scil. the difference of the soul from the collection of qualities, viz. the body, senses, &c., and from the actions of which they are the authors.

³ Qualities (i. e. senses) deal with qualities, i. e. objects of sense.

⁴ I. e. all mundane affairs.

desire, without (any feeling that this or that is) mine, and without any mental trouble¹. Even those men who always act on this opinion of mine, full of faith, and without carping, are released from all actions. But those who carp at my opinion and do not act upon it, know them to be devoid of discrimination, deluded as regards all knowledge², and ruined. Even a man of knowledge acts consonantly to his own nature³. All beings follow nature. What will restraint effect? Every sense has its affections and aversions towards its objects fixed. One should not become subject to them, for they are one's opponents⁴. One's own duty, though defective, is better than another's duty well performed. Death in (performing) one's own duty is preferable; the (performance of the) duty of others is dangerous.

Arguna said :

But by whom, O descendant of *Vrishni*! is man impelled, even though unwilling, and, as it were, constrained by force, to commit sin?

¹ About the consequences of your actions.

² Of actions, or of the Brahman in its various forms.

³ Which is the result of the virtues and vices of a preceding life. The sequence of ideas here is as follows :—The true view stated here about the 'difference from qualities and actions' is disregarded by some, owing to their 'nature' as now explained. Then the question is, If nature is so potent, what is the good of the *Sâstras*? The answer is, Nature only acts through our likes and dislikes. Withstand them and then you can follow the *Sâstras*. It is under the influence of these likes and dislikes, that some may say, we shall practise duties prescribed for others (our own being bad ones) as they are equally prescribed by the *Sâstras*. That, as stated in the last sentence here, is wrong.

⁴ Cf. *Sutta Nipâta*, p. 101, as to 'likings and dislikings.'

The Deity said :

It is desire, it is wrath¹, born from the quality of passion ; it is very ravenous, very sinful. Know that that is the foe in this world. As fire is enveloped by smoke, a mirror by dust, the fœtus by the womb, so is this² enveloped by desire. Knowledge, O son of Kuntī! is enveloped by this constant foe of the man of knowledge, in the shape of desire, which is like a fire³ and insatiable. The senses, the mind, and the understanding are said to be its seat⁴; with these it deludes the embodied (self) after enveloping knowledge. Therefore, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! first restrain your senses, then cast off this sinful thing which destroys knowledge and experience⁵. It has been said⁶, Great are the senses, greater than the senses is the mind, greater than the mind is the understanding. What is greater than the understanding is that⁷. Thus knowing that which is higher than the understanding, and restraining (your)self by (your)self, O you of

¹ Vide p. 50 supra.

² I.e. knowledge, mentioned in the next sentence, for which construction p. 71 and p. 98 may be compared.

³ Which becomes more powerful the more it is fed.

⁴ The mind is that which ponders over things as such or such; the understanding is that which finally determines (cf. Lewes' History of Philosophy, II, 463-465). These and the senses are the 'seat' of desire, because the perception of an object by the sense, the pondering over it by the mind, and the determination about it by the understanding are the preliminaries to the awakening of the desire; supra, p. 50.

⁵ Knowledge is from books or teachers, experience is the result of personal perception.

⁶ Ka/hopanishad, p. 114; and see also pp. 148, 149.

⁷ I.e. the supreme Being, as in the Ka/hopanishad.

mighty arms! destroy this unmanageable enemy in the shape of desire.

CHAPTER IV.

The Deity said :

This everlasting ¹ (system of) devotion I declared to the sun, the sun declared it to Manu ², and Manu communicated it to Ikshvâku. Coming thus by steps, it became known to royal sages. But, O terror of (your) foes! that devotion was lost to the world by long (lapse of) time. That same primeval devotion I have declared to you to-day, seeing that you are my devotee and friend, for it is the highest mystery.

Arguna said :

Later is your birth ; the birth of the sun is prior. How then shall I understand that you declared (this) first ?

The Deity said :

I have passed through many births, O Arguna ! and you also. I know them all, but you, O terror of (your) foes! do not know them. Even though I am unborn and inexhaustible in (my) essence, even though I am lord of all beings, still I take up the control of my own nature ³, and am born by

¹ Because its fruit is imperishable, viz. final emancipation.

² In the *Khândogya-upanishad*, Manu is the channel of communication for some doctrine taught by Pragâpati, which Manu teaches the 'people,' interpreted by Saṅkara to mean Ikshvâku, &c. (p. 178 ; see too p. 625).

³ Nature is what goes to the formation of the material form in which he is born; the 'power' includes knowledge, omnipotence, &c. It is delusive because he is still really 'unborn.'

means of my delusive power. Whensoever, O descendant of Bharata! piety languishes, and impiety is in the ascendant, I create myself. I am born age after age, for the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doers, and the establishment of piety. Whoever truly knows thus my divine birth and work, casts off (this) body and is not born again. He comes to me, O Arguna! Many from whom affection, fear¹, and wrath have departed, who are full of me, who depend on me, and who are purified by the penance of knowledge², have come into my essence. I serve men in the way in which they approach me³. In every way, O son of Prithâ! men follow in my path⁴. Desiring the success of actions⁵, men in this world worship the divinities, for in this world of mortals, the success produced by action is soon obtained. The fourfold division of castes was created by me according to the apportionment of qualities and duties. But though I am its author, know me to be inexhaustible, and not the author. Actions defile me not. I have no attachment to the fruit of actions. He who knows me thus is not tied down by actions. Knowing this, the men of old who wished for final emancipation, performed action. Therefore do you, too, perform action as was done by men of old in olden times. Even sages are confused as to what is

¹ Cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 73.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 61.

³ I. e. I give to each worshipper what is proper for him.

⁴ The original words used here occur before in a different sense (see p. 55). Here the meaning is that to whomsoever directly addressed, all worship is worship of me (see p. 84). In the whole passage, *Krishna* says that the Deity is not chargeable with partiality on account of the variety of human qualities and states.

⁵ Such as acquisition of sons, cattle, &c.

action, what inaction. Therefore I will speak to you about action, and learning that, you will be freed from (this world of) evil. One must possess knowledge about action ; one must also possess knowledge about prohibited action ; and again one must possess knowledge about inaction. The truth regarding action is abstruse. He is wise among men, he is possessed of devotion, and performs all actions ¹, who sees inaction in action, and action in inaction. The wise call him learned, whose acts are all free from desires and fancies, and whose actions are burnt down by the fire of knowledge. Forsaking all attachment to the fruit of action, always contented, dependent on none, he does nothing at all, though he engages in action. Devoid of expectations, restraining the mind and the self, and casting off all belongings ², he incurs no sin, performing actions merely for the sake of the body ³. Satisfied with earnings coming spontaneously ⁴, rising above the pairs of opposites, free from all animosity, and equable on success or ill-success, he is not fettered down, even though he performs (actions). The acts of one who is devoid of attachment, who is free ⁵, whose mind is fixed on knowledge, and who performs action for (the purpose of) the sacrifice ⁶ are all

¹ Devoted though performing all actions.

² 'Appropriating nothing,' at Sutta Nipâta, p. 101, seems to be the same idea. 'Self' just before this means senses.

³ Preferably, perhaps, 'with the body only.' But Saṅkara rejects this.

⁴ Cf. *infra*, p. 101 ; and Sutta Nipâta, p. 12.

⁵ The commentators vary in their interpretations of this word (*mukta*), but the common point appears to be 'free from attachment to worldly concerns.' Cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 8.

⁶ Sacrifice here apparently means every act for the attainment of

destroyed. Brahman is the oblation ; with Brahman (as a sacrificial instrument) it is offered up ; Brahman is in the fire ; and by Brahman it is thrown ; and Brahman, too, is the goal to which he proceeds who meditates on Brahman in the action¹. Some devotees perform the sacrifice to the gods, some offer up the sacrifice by the sacrifice itself in the fire of Brahman². Others offer up the senses, such as the sense of hearing and others, in the fires of restraint³ ; others offer up the objects of sense, such as sound and so forth, into the fires of the senses⁴. Some again offer up all the operations of the senses and the operations of the life-breaths into the fire of devotion by self-restraint⁵, kindled by knowledge. Others perform the sacrifice of wealth, the sacrifice of penance, the sacrifice of concentration of mind, the sacrifice of Vedic study⁶, and of knowledge, and others are ascetics of rigid vows. Some offer up the upward life-breath into the downward life-breath, and the downward life-breath into the upper life-breath, and stopping up the motions of the upward and downward life-breaths, devote themselves to the restraint of the life-breaths⁷. Others, who (take)

the supreme ; cf. supra, p. 53. In *Âsvalâyana Grîhya-sûtra* I, 1, 5, a text is cited meaning 'salutation verily is a sacrifice.'

¹ This thorough identification with the Brahman explains why the action is 'destroyed' and does not 'fetter' the doer.

² I. e. all acts, religious and other, offered up to the Brahman in the mode above stated.

³ Practise 'yoga' and other like exercises.

⁴ Remaining unattached to sensuous enjoyments.

⁵ Stopping the bodily operations mentioned, and engaging in contemplation.

⁶ This is called *Brahmayagña*, *Âsvalâyana Grîhya-sûtra* III, 1, 3.

⁷ *Maitrî-upanishad*, p. 129.

limited food, offer up the life-breaths into the life-breaths. All of these, conversant with the sacrifice, have their sins destroyed by the sacrifice. Those who eat the nectar-like leavings of the sacrifice repair to the eternal Brahman¹. This world is not for those who perform no sacrifice, whence (then) the other, O best of the Kauravas! Thus sacrifices of various sorts are laid down in the Vedas. Know them all to be produced from action², and knowing this you will be released (from the fetters of this world). The sacrifice of knowledge, O terror of (your) foes! is superior to the sacrifice of wealth, for action, O son of Prîthâ! is wholly and entirely comprehended in knowledge. That³ you should learn by salutation, question, and service⁴. The men of knowledge who perceive the truth will teach knowledge to you. Having learnt that, O son of Pându! you will not again fall thus into delusion; and by means of it, you will see all beings, without exception, first in yourself, and then in me⁵. Even if you are the most sinful of all sinful men, you will cross over all trespasses by means of the boat of knowledge alone. As a fire well kindled, O Arguna! reduces fuel to ashes, so the fire of knowledge reduces all actions to ashes⁶. For there is in this world no means of sanctification like knowledge⁷, and that one perfected by devotion finds

¹ Supra, p. 53.

² Operations of mind, senses, &c.; cf. supra, p. 54.

³ I. e. knowledge.

⁴ Addressed to men of knowledge. Cf. *Mundakopanishad*, p. 282.

⁵ The essential unity of the supreme and individual soul and the whole universe. Cf. *Īsopanishad*, pp. 13, 14.

⁶ Supra, p. 60.

⁷ *Sutta Nipâta*, p. 48.

within one's self in time. He who has faith, whose senses are restrained, and who is assiduous, obtains knowledge¹. Obtaining knowledge, he acquires, without delay, the highest tranquillity. He who is ignorant and devoid of faith, and whose self is full of misgivings, is ruined. Not this world, not the next, nor happiness, is for him whose self is full of misgivings. Actions, O Dhanañgaya! do not fetter one who is self-possessed², who has renounced action by devotion, and who has destroyed misgivings by knowledge. Therefore, O descendant of Bharata! destroy, with the sword of knowledge, these misgivings of yours which fill your mind, and which are produced from ignorance. Engage in devotion. Arise!

CHAPTER V.

Arguna said :

O *Krishna*! you praise renunciation of actions and also the pursuit (of them). Tell me determinately which one of these two is superior.

The Deity said :

Renunciation and pursuit of action are both instruments of happiness. But of the two, pursuit of action is superior to renunciation of action. He should be understood to be always an ascetic³, who has no aversion and no desire. For, O you of mighty arms! he who is free from the pairs of opposites is easily released from (all) bonds. Children—not wise men—talk of *sâṅkhya* and *yoga* as dis-

¹ Sutta Nipâta, p. 49.

² Cautious, free from heedlessness.

³ I.e. one who has performed 'renunciation.'

tinct. One who pursues either well obtains the fruit of both. The seat which the sâṅkhyas obtain is reached by the yogas¹ also. He sees (truly), who sees the sâṅkhya and yoga as one. Renunciation, O you of mighty arms! is difficult to reach without devotion; the sage possessed of devotion attains Brahman² without delay. He who is possessed of devotion, whose self is pure, who has restrained his self³, and who has controlled his senses, and who identifies his self with every being, is not tainted though he performs (actions). The man of devotion, who knows the truth, thinks he does nothing at all, when he sees⁴, hears, touches, smells, eats, moves, sleeps, breathes, talks, throws out⁵, takes, opens or closes the eyelids; he holds that the senses deal with the objects of the senses. He who, casting off (all) attachment, performs actions dedicating them to Brahman, is not tainted by sin, as the lotus-leaf⁶ (is not tainted) by water. Devotees, casting off attachment, perform actions for attaining purity of self, with the body, the mind, the understanding, or even the senses⁷—(all) free (from

¹ Those who follow the yoga 'path.' The form is noteworthy, grammatically.

² I.e. 'attains true renunciation,' says Saṅkara; Śrīdhara says, 'attains Brahman, after becoming a "renouncer."'

³ Here self is explained as body; in the line which goes before it is explained as heart.

⁴ These are the various operations of the organs of perception, action, &c.

⁵ Excretions, &c.

⁶ A very common simile. Cf. inter alia *Khândogya-upanishad*, p. 276; *Sutta Nipâta*, pp. 107-134; and *David's Buddhism*, p. 158 note.

⁷ Body=bathing, &c.; mind=meditation, &c.; understanding=ascertainment of truth; senses=hearing and celebrating God's name.

egoistic notions). He who is possessed of devotion, abandoning the fruit of actions, attains the highest tranquillity. He who is without devotion, and attached to the fruit (of action), is tied down by (reason of his) acting in consequence of (some) desire. The self-restrained, embodied (self) lies at ease within the city of nine portals¹, renouncing all actions by the mind, not doing nor causing (anything) to be done. The Lord is not the cause of actions, or of the capacity of performing actions amongst men, or of the connexion of action and fruit. But nature only works. The Lord receives no one's sin, nor merit either. Knowledge is enveloped by ignorance, hence all creatures are deluded². But to those who have destroyed that ignorance by knowledge of the self, (such) knowledge, like the sun, shows forth that supreme (principle). And those whose mind is (centred) on it, whose (very) self it is, who are thoroughly devoted to it, and whose final goal it is, go never to return, having their sins destroyed by knowledge. The wise look upon a Brâhmaṇa possessed of learning and humility, on a cow, an elephant, a dog, and a Svapâka, as alike³. Even here, those have conquered the material world, whose mind rests in equability⁴; since Brahman is free from defects and equable, therefore they rest in

¹ Cf. Prasnopanishad, p. 202; Svetâsvatara, p. 332; Sutta Nipâta, p. 52. The Kathopanishad has eleven portals (p. 132). The nine are the eyes, nostrils, ears, mouth, and the two for excretions.

² As regards the Lord's relation to man's merit or sin.

³ As manifestations of Brahman, though of different qualities and classes. As to Svapâka, a very low caste, see Sutta Nipâta, p. 36.

⁴ As stated in the preceding words.

Brahman. He who knows Brahman, whose mind is steady, who is not deluded, and who rests in Brahman, does not exult on finding anything agreeable, nor does he grieve on finding anything disagreeable¹. One whose self is not attached to external objects, obtains the happiness that is in (one's) self; and by means of concentration of mind, joining one's self (with the Brahman), one obtains indestructible happiness. For the enjoyments born of contact (between senses and their objects) are, indeed, sources of misery; they have a beginning as well as an end². O son of Kuntî! a wise man feels no pleasure in them. He who even in this world, before his release from the body, is able to bear the agitations produced from desire and wrath, is a devoted man, he is a happy man. The devotee whose happiness is within (himself), whose recreation is within (himself), and whose light (of knowledge) also is within (himself), becoming (one with) the Brahman³, obtains the Brahmic bliss⁴. The sages whose sins have perished, whose misgivings are destroyed, who are self-restrained, and who are intent on the welfare of all beings⁵, obtain the Brahmic bliss. To the ascetics, who are free from desire and wrath⁶, and whose minds are restrained, and who have knowledge of the self, the Brahmic bliss is on both sides (of death). The sage who excludes (from his mind)

¹ Kaṭhapanishad, p. 100.

² Cf. supra, p. 44.

³ He is one with the Brahman as he is intent exclusively on the Brahman.

⁴ The bliss of assimilation with the Brahman, or, as Râmânuga puts it, the bliss of direct knowledge of the self.

⁵ Sutta Nipâta, p. 39; also Davids' Buddhism, p. 109.

⁶ Cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 3.

external objects, (concentrates) the visual power between the brows¹, and making the upward and downward life-breaths even, confines their movements within the nose, who restrains senses, mind, and understanding², whose highest goal is final emancipation, from whom desire, fear, and wrath have departed, is, indeed, for ever released (from birth and death). He knowing me to be the enjoyer of all sacrifices and penances, the great Lord of all worlds, and the friend of all beings, attains tranquillity.

CHAPTER VI.

The Deity said :

He who, regardless of the fruit of actions, performs the actions which ought to be performed, is the devotee and renouncer ; not he who discards the (sacred) fires³, nor he who performs no acts. Know, O son of Pându ! that what is called renunciation is devotion ; for nobody becomes a devotee who has not renounced (all) fancies⁴. To the sage who wishes to rise to devotion, action is said to be a means, and to him, when he has risen to devotion, tranquillity⁵ is said to be a means. When one does not attach oneself to objects of sense, nor to action, renouncing all fancies, then one is said to have risen to devotion. (A man) should elevate his self by his self⁶; he should not debase his self, for even (a man's) own self is his

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 78.

² P. 57 and *Kāthopanishad*, p. 157.

³ Which are required for ordinary religious rites.

⁴ Which are the cause of desires ; see *supra*, p. 50.

⁵ Abandonment of distracting actions ; means scil. to perfect knowledge, says Śrīdhara.

⁶ I. e. by means of a mind possessed of true discrimination.

friend, (a man's) own self is also his enemy¹. To him who has subjugated his self by his self², his self is a friend; but to him who has not restrained his self, his own self behaves inimically, like an enemy. The self of one who has subjugated his self and is tranquil, is absolutely concentrated (on itself), in the midst of cold and heat, pleasure and pain, as well as honour and dishonour. The devotee whose self is contented with knowledge and experience³, who is unmoved⁴, who has restrained his senses, and to whom a sod, a stone, and gold are alike, is said to be devoted. And he is esteemed highest, who thinks alike⁵ about well-wishers, friends, and enemies, and those who are indifferent, and those who take part with both sides, and those who are objects of hatred, and relatives, as well as about the good and the sinful. A devotee should constantly devote his self to abstraction, remaining in a secret place⁶, alone, with his mind and self⁷ restrained, without expectations, and without belongings. Fixing his seat firmly in a clean⁸ place, not too high nor too low, and covered over with a sheet of cloth, a deer-skin, and (blades of) Kusa (grass),—and there seated on (that) seat, fixing his mind exclusively on one

¹ Self is here explained as mind, the unsteadiness of which prevents the acquisition of devotion, p. 71.

² This means restraining senses by mind. See Maitrî-upanishad, p. 180.

³ Supra, p. 57.

⁴ By any of the vexations of the world.

⁵ I. e. is free from affection or aversion towards them.

⁶ 'Release from society' is insisted on at Sutta Nipâta, p. 55.

⁷ Self is here explained as senses; in the previous clause as mind.

⁸ This requisite is prescribed by many authorities. Cf. *Khândogya-upanishad*, p. 626; *Maitrî*, p. 156; *Svetâsvatara*, pp. 318, 319; and *Âsvalâyana (Grîhya-sûtra)* III, 2, 2, for Vedic study too.

point, with the workings of the mind and senses restrained, he should practice devotion for purity of self. Holding his body, head, and neck even and unmoved, (remaining) steady, looking at the tip of his own nose¹, and not looking about in (all) directions, with a tranquil self, devoid of fear, and adhering to the rules of Brahmaçârins², he should restrain his mind, and (concentrate it) on me, and sit down engaged in devotion, regarding me as his final goal. Thus constantly devoting his self to abstraction, a devotee whose mind is restrained, attains that tranquillity which culminates in final emancipation, and assimilation with me. Devotion is not his, O Arguna! who eats too much, nor his who eats not at all; not his who is addicted to too much sleep, nor his who is (ever) awake. That devotion which destroys (all) misery is his, who takes due food and exercise³, who toils duly in all works, and who sleeps and awakes (in) due (time)⁴. When (a man's) mind well restrained becomes steady upon the self alone, then he being indifferent to all objects of desire, is said to be devoted. As a light standing in a windless (place) flickers not, that is declared to be the parallel for a devotee, whose mind is restrained, and who devotes his self to abstraction. That (mental condition), in which the mind restrained by practice of abstraction, ceases to work; in which

¹ Cf. Kumârasambhava, Canto III, 47. This is done in order to prevent the sight from rambling—a total closing of the eyes being objectionable as leading to sleep.

² See these in Âpastamba (p. 7 in this series); and cf. Sutta Nipâta, pp. 159, 160; and Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures, p. 158.

³ Cf. Sutta Nipâta, pp. 28, 95.

⁴ Buddhism shows similar injunctions. Cf. Sutta Nipâta, pp. 21, 28, 95; and Dhammapada, stanza 8.

too, one seeing the self by the self¹, is pleased in the self; in which one experiences that infinite happiness which transcends the senses, and which can be grasped by the understanding only; and adhering to which, one never swerves from the truth; acquiring which, one thinks no other acquisition higher than it; and adhering to which, one is not shaken off even by great misery; that should be understood to be called devotion in which there is a severance of all connexion with pain. That devotion should be practised with steadiness and with an undesponding heart. Abandoning, without exception, all desires², which are produced from fancies, and restraining the whole group of the senses on all sides by the mind only³, one should by slow steps become quiescent⁴, with a firm resolve coupled with courage⁵; and fixing the mind upon the self, should think of nothing. Wherever the active and unsteady mind breaks forth⁶, there one should ever restrain it, and fix it steadily on the self alone. The highest happiness comes to such a devotee, whose mind is fully tranquil, in whom the quality of passion has been suppressed, who is free from sin, and who is become (one with) the Brahman. Thus constantly devoting his self to abstraction, a devotee, freed from sin, easily obtains that supreme happiness—contact with the Brahman⁷. He who has devoted his self to abstraction, by devotion, looking alike on everything,

¹ Sees the highest principle by a mind purified by abstraction.

² Cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 62.

³ Cf. supra, p. 53.

⁴ I. e. cease to think of objects of sense. Cf. supra, p. 69.

⁵ I. e. an undespairing and firm resolution that devotion will be achieved ultimately.

⁶ Cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 106.

⁷ Assimilation with the Brahman.

sees the self abiding in all beings, and all beings in the self¹. To him who sees me in everything, and everything in me, I am never lost, and he is not lost to me². The devotee who worships me abiding in all beings, holding that all is one³, lives in me, however he may be living⁴. That devotee, O Arguna! is deemed to be the best, who looks alike on pleasure or pain, whatever it may be, in all (creatures), comparing all with his own (pleasure or pain)⁵.

Arguna said:

I cannot see, O destroyer of Madhu! (how) the sustained existence (is to be secured) of this devotion by means of equanimity which you have declared—in consequence of fickleness. For, O *Krishna*! the mind is fickle, boisterous⁶, strong, and obstinate; and I think that to restrain it is as difficult as (to restrain) the wind.

The Deity said:

Doubtless, O you of mighty arms! the mind is difficult to restrain, and fickle⁷. Still, O son of Kunti! it may be restrained by constant practice and by indifference (to worldly objects). It is my belief, that devotion is hard to obtain for one who does not restrain his self. But by one who is self-restrained

¹ Realises the essential unity of everything.

² He has access to me, and I am kind to him.

³ Cf. *Īropanishad*, p. 13.

⁴ 'Even abandoning all action,' says *Srīdhara*; and cf. *infra*, p. 105.

⁵ Who believes that pleasure and pain are as much liked or disliked by others as by himself, and puts himself in fact in the place of others.

⁶ Troublesome to the body, senses, &c.

⁷ Cf. *Dhammapada*, stanza 33 seq.

and assiduous, it can be obtained through (proper) expedients.

Arguna said :

What is the end of him, O *Krishna* ! who does not attain the consummation of his devotion, being not assiduous¹, and having a mind shaken off from devotion, (though) full of faith ? Does he, fallen from both (paths)², go to ruin like a broken cloud, being, O you of mighty arms ! without support, and deluded on the path (leading) to the Brahman ? Be pleased, O *Krishna* ! to entirely destroy this doubt of mine, for none else than you can destroy this doubt.

The Deity said :

O son of *Prithâ* ! neither in this world nor the next, is ruin for him ; for, O dear friend ! none who performs good (deeds) comes to an evil end. He who is fallen from devotion attains the worlds of those who perform meritorious acts, dwells (there) for many a year, and is afterwards born into a family of holy and illustrious³ men. Or he is even born into a family of talented devotees ; for such a birth as that in this world is more difficult to obtain. There he comes into contact with the knowledge which belonged to him in his former body, and then again, O descendant of *Kuru* ! he works for perfection⁴. For even though reluctant⁵, he is led away by the

¹ Cf. p. 73 *infra*.

² The path to heaven, and that to final emancipation.

³ 'Kings or emperors,' says *Madhusûdana*.

⁴ I. e. final emancipation.

⁵ 'As *Arguna* himself,' says *Madhusûdana*, 'receives instruction in knowledge, though he comes to the battle-field without any such object ; hence it was said before, "nothing is here abortive."' See p. 47.

self-same former practice, and although he only wishes to learn devotion, he rises above the (fruits of action laid down in the) divine word. But the devotee working with great efforts¹, and cleared of his sins, attains perfection after many births, and then reaches the supreme goal. The devotee is esteemed higher than the performers of penances, higher even than the men of knowledge, and the devotee is higher than the men of action; therefore, O Arguna! become a devotee. And even among all devotees, he who, being full of faith, worships me, with his inmost self intent on me, is esteemed by me to be the most devoted.

CHAPTER VII.

The Deity said:

O son of *Prithâ*! now hear how you can without doubt know me fully, fixing your mind on me, and resting in me, and practising devotion. I will now tell you exhaustively about knowledge together with experience; that being known, there is nothing further left in this world to know. Among thousands of men, only some² work for perfection³; and even of those who have reached perfection, and who are assiduous, only some know me truly. Earth, water, fire, air, space, mind, understanding,

¹ As distinguished from the others who work half-heartedly, so to say. See p. 72.

² 'Some one' in the original.

³ I. e. knowledge of the self. Saṅkara says, as to the next clause, that those even who work for final emancipation must be deemed to have 'reached perfection.'

and egoism¹, thus is my nature divided eightfold. But this is a lower (form of my) nature. Know (that there is) another (form of my) nature, and higher than this, which is animate, O you of mighty arms! and by which this universe is upheld. Know that all things have these (for their) source². I am the producer and the destroyer of the whole universe. There is nothing else, O Dhanañgaya! higher than myself; all this is woven upon me, like numbers of pearls upon a thread³. I am the taste in water, O son of Kuntî! I am the light of the sun and moon. I am 'Om'⁴ in all the Vedas, sound⁵ in space, and manliness in human beings; I am the fragrant smell in the earth, refulgence in the fire; I am life in all beings, and penance⁶ in those who perform penance. Know me, O son of Prithâ! to be the eternal seed of all beings; I am the discernment of the discerning ones, and I the glory of the glorious⁷. I am also the strength, unaccompanied by fondness or desire⁸, of the strong. And, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! I am love unopposed to piety⁹ among all

¹ This accords with the Sâṅkhya philosophy. See chapter I, sutra 61 of the current aphorisms.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 105.

³ Cf. *Mundâkopenishad*, p. 298.

⁴ *Infra*, p. 79. Cf. Goldstücker's *Remains*, I, 14, 122; *Yoga-sûtras* I, 27.

⁵ I. e. the occult essence which underlies all these and the other qualities of the various things mentioned.

⁶ I. e. power to bear the pairs of opposites.

⁷ Glory here seems to mean dignity, greatness.

⁸ Desire is the wish to obtain new things; fondness is the anxiety to retain what has been obtained. The strength here spoken of, therefore, is that which is applied to the performance of one's own duties only.

⁹ I. e. indulged within the bounds allowed by the rules of the Sâstras, namely, for the procreation of sons &c. only.

beings. And all entities which are of the quality of goodness, and those which are of the quality of passion and of darkness, know that they are, indeed, all from me ; I am not in them, but they are in me ¹. The whole universe deluded by these three states of mind, developed from the qualities, does not know me, who am beyond them and inexhaustible ; for this delusion of mine, developed from the qualities, is divine and difficult to transcend. Those who resort to me alone cross beyond this delusion. Wicked men, doers of evil (acts), who are deluded, who are deprived of their knowledge by (this) delusion, and who incline to the demoniac state of mind ², do not resort to me. But, O Arguna ! doers of good (acts) of four classes worship me : one who is distressed, one who is seeking after knowledge, one who wants wealth, and one, O chief of the descendants of Bharata ! who is possessed of knowledge. Of these, he who is possessed of knowledge, who is always devoted, and whose worship is (addressed) to one (Being) only, is esteemed highest. For to the man of knowledge I am dear above all things, and he is dear to me. All these are noble. But the man possessed of knowledge is deemed by me to be my own self. For he with (his) self devoted to abstraction, has taken to me as the goal than which there is nothing higher. At the end of many lives, the man possessed of knowledge approaches me, (believing) that Vāsudeva is everything. Such a high-souled man is very hard to find. Those who are deprived of knowledge by various desires approach other

¹ They do not dominate over me, I rule them.

² *Infra*, p. 115.

divinities, observing various regulations¹, and controlled by their own natures². Whichever form (of deity) any worshipper wishes to worship with faith, to that form I render his faith steady. Possessed of that faith, he seeks to propitiate (the deity in) that (form), and obtains from it those beneficial things which he desires, (though they are) really given by me. But the fruit thus (obtained) by them, who have little judgment, is perishable. Those who worship the divinities go to the divinities³, and my worshippers, too, go to me. The undiscerning ones, not knowing my transcendent and inexhaustible essence, than which there is nothing higher, think me, who am unperceived, to have become perceptible⁴. Surrounded by the delusion of my mystic power⁵, I am not manifest to all. This deluded world knows not me unborn and inexhaustible. I know, O Arguna! the things which have been, those which are, and those which are to be. But me nobody knows. All beings, O terror of (your) foes! are deluded at the time of birth by the delusion, O descendant of Bharata! caused by the pairs of opposites arising from desire and aversion. But the men of meritorious actions, whose sins have terminated, worship me, being released from the delusion (caused) by the pairs of

¹ Fasts and so forth.

² Which are the result of the actions done in previous lives.

³ And the divinities are not eternal, so the fruit obtained is ephemeral.

⁴ The ignorant do not know the real divinity of Vishnu, thinking him to be no higher than as he is seen in the human form. This gives them an inadequate notion of the purity and eternity of the happiness to be obtained by worshipping him; cf. *infra*, p. 83.

⁵ The veil surrounding me is created by my mysterious power, and that everybody cannot pierce through; cf. *Ka/ha*, p. 117.

opposites, and being firm in their beliefs¹. Those who, resting on me, work for release from old age and death², know the Brahman³, the whole Adhyâtma, and all action. And those who know me with the Adhibhûta, the Adhidaiva, and the Adhiyagñā, having minds devoted to abstraction, know me at the time of departure (from this world).

CHAPTER VIII.

Arguna said :

What is that Brahman, what the Adhyâtma, and what, O best of beings ! is action ? And what is called the Adhibhûta ? And who is the Adhiyagñā, and how in this body, O destroyer of Madhu ? And how, too, are you to be known at the time of departure (from this world) by those who restrain their selfs ?

The Deity said :

The Brahman is the supreme, the indestructible. Its manifestation (as an individual self) is called the Adhyâtma. The offering (of an oblation to any divinity), which is the cause of the production and development of all things, is named action. The Adhibhûta is all perishable things. The Adhidaiva is the (primal) being. And the Adhiyagñā, O best of embodied (beings) ! is I myself in this body⁴.

¹ Concerning the supreme principle and the mode of worshipping it.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 109.

³ See the next chapter.

⁴ Adhyâtma where it occurs before (e.g. p. 55) has been rendered 'the relation between the supreme and individual soul.' As to

And he who leaves this body and departs (from this world) remembering me in (his) last moments, comes into my essence. There is no doubt of that. Also whichever form ¹ (of deity) he remembers when he finally leaves this body, to that he goes, O son of Kuntī! having been used to ponder on it. Therefore, at all times remember me, and engage in battle. Fixing your mind and understanding on me, you will come to me, there is no doubt. He who thinks of the supreme divine Being, O son of Prīthā! with a mind not (running) to other (objects), and possessed of abstraction in the shape of continuous meditation (about the supreme), goes to him. He who, possessed of reverence (for the supreme Being) with a steady mind, and with the power of devotion, properly concentrates the life-breath between the brows ², and meditates on the ancient Seer, the ruler, more minute than the minutest atom ³, the supporter of all, who is of an unthinkable form, whose brilliance is like that of the sun, and who is beyond all darkness ⁴, he attains to that transcendent and divine Being. I ⁵ will tell you briefly about the seat, which those who know the Vedas declare to be indestructible; which is entered by ascetics from whom all desires have departed; and wishing for which, people pursue the

action, cf. pp. 53, 54. Adhibhūta is apparently the whole inanimate creation, and Adhidaivata is the being supposed to dwell in the sun. Adhiyagñā is Kṛishna. Cf. too pp. 113, 114.

¹ Some commentators say 'whatever thing' generally. The 'form' remembered in one's last moments would be that which had been most often meditated on during life.

² Cf. supra, p. 67. ³ Kāṭha, p. 105; Svetāsvatara, p. 333.

⁴ Cf. Svetāsvatara-upanishad, p. 327.

⁵ Kāṭhupanishad, p. 102.

mode of life of Brahmacārins¹. He who leaves the body and departs (from this world), stopping up all passages², and confining the mind within the heart³, placing the life-breath in the head, and adhering to uninterrupted meditation⁴, repeating the single syllable 'Om,' (signifying) the eternal Brahman⁵, and meditating on me, he reaches the highest goal. To the devotee who constantly practises abstraction, O son of Prithā! and who with a mind not (turned) to anything else, is ever and constantly meditating on me, I am easy of access. The high-souled ones, who achieve the highest perfection, attaining to me, do not again come to life, which is transient, a home of woes⁶. All worlds, O Arguna! up to the world of Brahman, are (destined) to return⁷. But, O son of Kunti! after attaining to me, there is no birth again. Those who know a day of Brahman to end after one thousand ages, and the night to terminate after one thousand ages, are the persons

¹ As to Brahmacārins, see supra, p. 69.

² 'The senses,' say the commentators. Might it not refer to the 'nine portals' at p. 65 supra? See also, however, p. 108.

³ I.e. thinking of nothing, making the mind cease to work. Cf. Maitrī-upanishad, p. 179.

⁴ Cf. Maitrī-upanishad, p. 130, uninterrupted, like 'oil when poured out,' says the commentator.

⁵ Cf. *Khândogya-upanishad*, p. 151; *Māndukya*, pp. 330-388 (Om is all—past, present, and future); *Nṛsiṃha Tāpinī*, pp. 110, 117, 171; *Maitrī*, p. 140; *Prasna*, p. 220. On the opening passage of the *Khândogya*, Saṅkara says, 'Om is the closest designation of the supreme Being. He is pleased when it is pronounced, as people are at the mention of a favourite name.' See also Max Müller, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 84; Goldstücker's *Remains*, I, 122.

⁶ See infra, p. 86; and cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 125.

⁷ They are only temporary, not the everlasting seats of the soul.

who know day and night¹. On the advent of day, all perceptible things are produced from the unperceived; and on the advent of night they dissolve in that same (principle) called the unperceived. This same assemblage of entities, being produced again and again, dissolves on the advent of night, and, O son of Prithâ! issues forth on the advent of day, without a will of its own². But there is another entity, unperceived and eternal, and distinct from this unperceived (principle), which is not destroyed when all entities are destroyed. It is called the unperceived, the indestructible; they call it the highest goal. Attaining to it, none returns³. That is my supreme abode. That supreme Being, O son of Prithâ! he in whom all these entities dwell⁴, and by whom all this is permeated, is to be attained to by reverence not (directed) to another. I will state the times, O descendant of Bharata! at which devotees departing (from this world) go, never to return, or to return. The fire, the flame⁵, the day,

¹ Cf. Manu I, 73. Saṅkara says, that this explains why the abodes of Brahmâ and others are said to be not lasting. They are limited by time. As to ages, Sṛīdhara says, a human year is a day and night of the gods. Twelve thousand years made of such days and nights make up the four ages: one thousand such 'quaternions of ages' make up a day, and another thousand a night of Brahmâ. Of such days and nights Brahmâ has a hundred years to live. At the close of his life, the universe is destroyed.

² Cf. p. 82 infra; also Manu-smṛiti I, 52; and Kâlidâsa's Kumârasambhava II, 8.

³ Cf. *Kaṭh*opaniṣad, p. 149; and also p. 112 infra.

⁴ I. e. by whom, as the cause of them, all these entities are supported; cf. p. 82 infra.

⁵ Sṛīdhara understands 'the time when,' in the sentence preceding this, to mean 'the path indicated by a deity presiding over

the bright fortnight, the six months of the northern solstice, departing (from the world) in these, those who know the Brahman go to the Brahman. Smoke, night, the dark fortnight, the six months of the southern solstice, (dying) in these, the devotee goes to the lunar light and returns¹. These two paths, bright and dark, are deemed to be eternal in this world². By the one, (a man) goes never to return, by the other he comes back. Knowing these two paths, O son of Prithâ! no devotee is deluded³. Therefore at all times be possessed of devotion, O Arguna! A devotee knowing all this⁴, obtains all the holy fruit which is prescribed for (study of) the Vedas, for sacrifices, and also for penances and gifts, and he attains to the highest and primeval seat.

CHAPTER IX.

Now I will speak to you, who are not given to carping, of that most mysterious knowledge, accompanied by experience, by knowing which you will be released from evil. It is the chief among the sciences, the chief among the mysteries. It is the best means of sanctification. It is imperishable, not

time, by which;¹ and the fire-flame as included in this, though having no connexion with time. Saṅkara agrees, though he also suggests that fire means a deity presiding over time. I own I have no clear notion of the meaning of these verses. Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 342; *Bṛhad-âraṇyaka-upanishad*, p. 1057 seq.

¹ Cf. *Prasna-upanishad*, p. 64; and *Sârîraka Bhâshya*, p. 747 seq.

² I.e. for those who are fitted for knowledge or action.

³ I.e. does not desire heaven, but devotes himself to the supreme Being, seeing that heavenly bliss is only temporary.

⁴ All that is stated in this chapter.

opposed to the sacred law. It is to be apprehended directly¹, and is easy to practise. O terror of your foes! those men who have no faith in this holy doctrine, return to the path of this mortal world, without attaining to me. This whole universe is pervaded by me in an unperceived form. All entities live in me, but I do not live in them². Nor yet do all entities live in me. See my divine power. Supporting all entities and producing all entities, my self lives not in (those) entities. As the great and ubiquitous atmosphere always remains in space, know that similarly all entities live in me³. At the expiration of a Kalpa, O son of Kuntî! all entities enter my nature; and at the beginning of a Kalpa, I again bring them forth. Taking the control of my own nature⁴, I bring forth again and again this whole collection of entities, without a will of its own⁵, by the power of nature. But, O Arguna! these actions do not fetter⁶ me, who remain like one unconcerned, and who am unattached to those actions. Nature gives birth to movables and immovables through me, the supervisor, and by reason of that⁷, O son of Kuntî! the universe revolves. Deluded people of vain hopes, vain acts, vain know-

¹ I. e. by immediate consciousness, not mediately; 'not opposed to the sacred law,' i. e. like the Syena sacrifice for destroying a foe.

² Because he is untainted by anything. And therefore also the entities do not live in him, as said in the next sentence. See p. 80 supra.

³ As space is untainted and unaffected by the air which remains in it, so am I by the entities.

⁴ Supra, p. 58. Nature=the unperceived principle.

⁵ Cf. p. 80 supra.

⁶ I am not affected by the differences in the conditions of these entities.

⁷ Viz. the supervision.

ledge¹, whose minds are disordered, and who are inclined to the delusive nature of Asuras and Râkshasas, not knowing my highest nature as great lord of all entities, disregard me as I have assumed a human body². But the high-souled ones, O son of *Prithâ*! who are inclined to the godlike nature, knowing me as the inexhaustible source of (all) entities, worship me with minds not (turned) elsewhere. Constantly glorifying me, and exerting themselves³, firm in their vows⁴, and saluting me with reverence, they worship me, being always devoted. And others again, offering up the sacrifice of knowledge, worship me as one, as distinct, and as all-pervading in numerous forms⁵. I am the *Kratu*⁶, I am the *Yagña*, I am the *Svadhâ*, I the product of the herbs. I am the sacred verse. I too am the sacrificial butter, and I the fire, I the offering⁷. I am the father of this universe, the mother, the creator, the grandsire, the thing to be known, the means of sanctification, the syllable *Om*⁸, the *Rik*, *Sâman*, and *Yagus* also; the goal, the sustainer, the lord, the supervisor, the

¹ Hope, viz. that some other deity will give them what they want; acts, vain as not offered to the supreme; knowledge, vain as abounding in foolish doubts, &c.

² Cf. p. 76 supra.

³ For a knowledge of the supreme, or for the means of such knowledge.

⁴ Vows=veracity, harmlessness, &c.

⁵ Sacrifice of knowledge, viz. the knowledge that *Vâsudeva* is all; as one=believing that all is one; as distinct=believing that sun, moon, &c. are different manifestations of 'me.'

⁶ *Kratu* is a Vedic sacrifice; *Yagña*, a sacrifice laid down in *Smṛitis*. *Svadhâ*=offering to the manes; 'product of the herbs'=food prepared from vegetables, or medicine.

⁷ Cf. p. 61 supra.

⁸ P. 79 supra.

residence¹, the asylum, the friend, the source, and that in which it merges, the support, the receptacle, and the inexhaustible seed. I cause heat and I send forth and stop showers. I am immortality and also death; and I, O Arguna! am that which is and that which is not². Those who know the three (branches of) knowledge, who drink the Soma juice, whose sins are washed away, offer sacrifices and pray to me for a passage into heaven; and reaching the holy world of the lord of gods, they enjoy in the celestial regions the celestial pleasures of the gods. And having enjoyed that great heavenly world, they enter the mortal world when (their) merit is exhausted³. Thus those who wish for objects of desire, and resort to the ordinances of the three (Vedas), obtain (as the fruit) going and coming. To those men who worship me, meditating on me and on no one else, and who are constantly devoted, I give new gifts and preserve what is acquired by them⁴. Even those, O son of Kuntī! who being devotees of other divinities worship with faith, worship me only, (but) irregularly⁵. For I am the enjoyer as well as the lord⁶ of all sacrifices. But they know me not truly, therefore do they fall⁷. Those who make vows⁸ to the gods go to the gods;

¹ I.e. the seat of enjoyment; receptacle=where things are preserved for future use, say the commentators.

² The gross and the subtle elements, or causes and effects.

³ Cf. *Mundākopaniṣad*, p. 279; and *Khândogya*, p. 344.

⁴ Cf. *Dhammapada*, stanza 23. I.e. attainment to the Brahman and not returning from it.—Rāmānuga.

⁵ Because in form they worship other divinities.

⁶ Giver of the fruit. As to enjoyer, cf. p. 67 *supra*.

⁷ I.e. return to the mortal world.

⁸ I.e. some regulation as to mode of worship. Cf. also p. 76 *supra*.

those who make vows to the manes go to the manes; those who worship the Bhûtas go to the Bhûtas; and those likewise who worship me go to me. Whoever with devotion offers me leaf, flower, fruit, water, that, presented with devotion, I accept from him whose self is pure. Whatever you do, O son of Kuntî! whatever you eat, whatever sacrifice you make, whatever you give, whatever penance you perform, do that as offered to me¹. Thus will you be released from the bonds of action, the fruits of which are agreeable or disagreeable. And with your self possessed of (this) devotion, (this) renunciation², you will be released (from the bonds of action) and will come to me. I am alike to all beings; to me none is hateful, none dear. But those who worship me with devotion (dwell) in me³, and I too in them. Even if a very ill-conducted man worships me, not worshipping any one else, he must certainly be deemed to be good, for he has well resolved⁴. He soon becomes devout of heart, and obtains lasting tranquillity. (You may) affirm, O son of Kuntî! that my devotee is never ruined. For, O son of Prithâ! even those who are of sinful birth⁵, women, Vaisyas, and Sûdras likewise, resorting to me, attain the supreme goal. What then (need

¹ Cf. p. 55 supra, and other passages.

² This mode of action is at once devotion and renunciation: the first, because one cares not for fruit; the second, because it is offered to the supreme.

³ 'They dwell in me' by their devotion to me; I dwell in them as giver of happiness to them.

⁴ Viz. that the supreme Being alone should be revered.

⁵ Saṅkara takes Vaisyas &c. as examples of this; not so Śrīdhara. Cf. as to women and Sûdras, *Nṛsiṃha-tâpinî*, p. 14. 'Of sinful birth' = of low birth (Śrīdhara) = birth resulting from sins (Saṅkara).

be said of) holy Brāhmaṇas and royal saints who are (my) devotees? Coming to this transient unhappy¹ world, worship me. (Place your) mind on me, become my devotee, my worshipper; reverence me, and thus making me your highest goal, and devoting your self to abstraction, you will certainly come to me.

CHAPTER X.

Yet again, O you of mighty arms! listen to my excellent² words, which, out of a wish for your welfare, I speak to you who are delighted (with them). Not the multitudes of gods, nor the great sages know my source; for I am in every way³ the origin of the gods and great sages. Of (all) mortals, he who knows me to be unborn, without beginning, the great lord of the world, being free from delusion, is released from all sins. Intelligence, knowledge, freedom from delusion, forgiveness, truth, restraint of the senses, tranquillity, pleasure, pain, birth, death, fear, and also security, harmlessness, equability, contentment, penance, (making) gifts, glory, disgrace, all these different tempers⁴ of living beings are from me alone. The seven great sages, and likewise the four ancient Manus⁵, whose descendants are (all) these people in the world, were all born from my

¹ Cf. p. 79 supra.

² As referring to the supreme soul.

³ As creator, as moving agent in workings of the intellect, &c.

⁴ The names are not always names of 'tempers,' but the corresponding 'temper' must be understood.

⁵ The words are also otherwise construed, 'The four ancients (Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Sanatkumāra) and the Manus.' According to the later mythology the Manus are fourteen.

mind¹, (partaking) of my powers. Whoever correctly knows these powers and emanations of mine, becomes possessed of devotion free from indecision; of this (there is) no doubt. The wise, full of love², worship me, believing that I am the origin of all, and that all moves on through me. (Placing their minds on me, offering (their) lives to me, instructing each other, and speaking about me, they are always contented and happy. To these, who are constantly devoted, and who worship with love, I give that knowledge by which they attain to me. And remaining in their hearts, I destroy, with the brilliant lamp of knowledge, the darkness born of ignorance in such (men) only, out of compassion for them.

Arguna said :

You are the supreme Brahman, the supreme goal, the holiest of the holy. All sages, as well as the divine sage Nârada, Asita³, Devala, and Vyâsa, call you the eternal being, divine, the first god, the unborn, the all-pervading. And so, too, you tell me yourself, O Kesava! I believe all this that you tell me (to be) true; for, O lord! neither the gods nor demons understand your manifestation⁴. You only know your self by your self. O best of beings! creator of all things! lord of all things! god of gods! lord of the universe! be pleased to declare without

¹ By the mere operation of my thought. As to ancients, cf. *Aitareya-âraṇyaka*, p. 136.

² Saṅkara renders the word here by perseverance in pursuit of truth.

³ Ânandagiri calls Asita father of Devala. See also Davids' *Buddhism*, p. 185; Max Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 463.

⁴ Scil. in human form for the good of the gods and the destruction of demons.

exception your divine emanations, by which emanations you stand pervading all these worlds. How shall I know you, O you of mystic power! always meditating on you? And in what various entities¹, O lord! should I meditate on you? Again, O *Ganârdana*! do you yourself declare your powers and emanations; because hearing this nectar, I (still) feel no satiety.

The Deity said :

Well then, O best of Kauravas! I will state to you my own divine emanations; but (only) the chief (ones), for there is no end to the extent of my (emanations). I am the self, O *Gudâkesa*! seated in the hearts of all beings². I am the beginning and the middle and the end also of all beings. I am *Vishṇu* among the *Âdityas*³, the beaming sun among the shining (bodies); I am *Marîçi* among the *Maruts*⁴, and the moon among the lunar mansions⁵. Among the *Vedas*, I am the *Sâma-veda*⁶. I am *Indra* among the gods. And I am mind among the senses⁷. I am consciousness in (living) beings. And I am *Saṅkara*⁸ among the *Rudras*, the lord of wealth⁹ among *Yakshas* and *Rakshases*. And I am fire among the *Vasus*, and *Meru*¹⁰ among the high-

¹ To know you fully being impossible, what special manifestation of you should we resort to for our meditations?

² P. 129 *infra*.

³ 'Âditya is used in the Veda chiefly as a general epithet for a number of solar deities.' Max Müller, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 264.

⁴ The storm-gods, as Max Müller calls them.

⁵ Cf. *Sutta Nipâta*, p. 121.

⁶ As being, probably, full of music.

⁷ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 121, where *Saṅkara* says, 'Mind is the chief of man's inner activities.'

⁸ Now the third member of our Trinity.

⁹ *Kubera*.

¹⁰ The Golden Mount.

topped (mountains). And know me, O Arguna ! to be *Bṛihaspati*, the chief among domestic priests. I am *Skanda* among generals. I am the ocean among reservoirs of water¹. I am *Bhrigu* among the great sages. I am the single syllable (*Om*²) among words. Among sacrifices I am the *Gapa* sacrifice³; the *Himâlaya* among the firmly-fixed (mountains); the *Asvattha*⁴ among all trees, and *Nârada* among divine sages; *Kitraratha* among the heavenly choristers, the sage *Kapila* among the *Siddhas*⁵. Among horses know me to be *Ukkaissravas*⁶, brought forth by (the labours for) the nectar; and *Airāvata* among the great elephants, and the ruler of men among men⁷. I am the thunderbolt among weapons, the wish-giving (cow) among cows. And I am love which generates⁸. Among serpents I am *Vāsuki*. Among *Nâga*⁹ snakes I am *Ananta*; I am *Varuna* among aquatic beings. And I am *Aryaman* among the manes, and *Yama*¹⁰ among rulers. Among demons, too, I am *Pralhâda*. I am the king of death (*Kâla*, time) among those that count¹¹. Among beasts

¹ Cf. *Sutta Nipâta*, p. 121.

² Vide p. 79 supra.

³ *Gapa* is the silent meditation. *Madhusûdana* says it is superior owing to its not involving the slaughter of any animal, &c.

⁴ The fig tree. It is the symbol of 'life' in chapter XV infra.

⁵ Those who even from birth are possessed of piety, knowledge, indifference to the world, and superhuman power. Cf. *Svetâsvatara-upanishad*, p. 357.

⁶ This is *Indra's* horse, brought out at the churning of the ocean. *Airāvata* is *Indra's* elephant.

⁷ Cf. *Sutta Nipâta*, p. 121.

⁸ I.e. not the merely carnal passion. Cf. p. 74 supra.

⁹ *Nâgas* are without poison, says *Śrīdhara*. *Varuna* is the sea-god.

¹⁰ *Yama* is death, and *Pralhâda* the virtuous demon for whom *Vishnu* became incarnate as the man-lion. As to manes, see *Goldstücker's Remains*, I, 133.

¹¹ 'Counts the number of men's sins,' *Râmânuga*; *Śrīdhara* says

I am the lord of beasts, and the son of Vinatâ¹ among birds. I am the wind among those that blow². I am Râma³ among those that wield weapons. Among fishes I am Makara⁴, and among streams the Gâhnavî⁵. Of created things I am the beginning and the end and the middle also, O Arguna ! Among sciences, I am the science of the Adhyâtma, and I am the argument of controversialists. Among letters I am the letter A⁶, and among the group of compounds the copulative⁷ compound. I myself am time inexhaustible, and I the creator whose faces are in all directions. I am death who seizes all, and the source of what is to be. And among females, fame⁸, fortune, speech, memory, intellect, courage, forgiveness. Likewise among Sâman hymns, I am the Bṛîhat-sâman⁹, and I the Gâyatri¹⁰ among metres. I am Mârgasirsha among the months, the

this refers to 'time, with its divisions into years, months,' &c.; while a little further on it means 'time eternal.'

¹ I.e. the Garuḍa or eagle, who is the vehicle of Viṣṇu in Hindu mythology.

² 'Those who have the capacity of motion,' says Râmânuga.

³ The hero of the Hindu epos, Râmâyana, translated into verse by Mr. R. T. H. Griffiths.

⁴ The dolphin.

⁵ The Ganges.

⁶ That letter is supposed to comprehend all language. Cf. Aitareya-âraṇyaka, p. 346, and another text there cited by Mâdhava in his commentary (p. 348).

⁷ This is said to be the best, because all its members are co-ordinate with one another, not one depending on another.

⁸ I.e. the deities of fame, &c.

⁹ See, as to this, Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. i, p. 16. Saṅkara says this hymn relates to final emancipation.

¹⁰ Cf. Kṛāṇḍogya-upanishad, p. 181, where Saṅkara says, 'Gâyatrî is the chief metre, because it is the means to a knowledge of the Brahman.' It is the metre of the celebrated verse 'Om Tatsavitur,' &c.

spring among the seasons¹; of cheats, I am the game of dice; I am the glory of the glorious; I am victory, I am industry, I am the goodness of the good. I am Vāsudeva among the descendants of *Vrīṣṇi*², and Arguna among the *Pāṇḍavas*. Among sages also, I am Vyāsa³; and among the discerning ones, I am the discerning *Usanas*⁴. I am the rod of those that restrain, and the policy⁵ of those that desire victory. I am silence respecting secrets. I am the knowledge of those that have knowledge. And, O Arguna! I am also that which is the seed of all things. There is nothing movable or immovable which can exist without me. O terror of your foes! there is no end to my divine emanations. Here I have declared the extent of (those) emanations only in part. Whatever thing (there is) of power, or glorious, or splendid, know all that to be produced from portions of my energy. Or rather, O Arguna! what have you to do, knowing all this at large? I stand supporting all this by (but) a single portion (of myself)⁶.

¹ Cf. *Khândogya-upanishad*, p. 126. *Mārgaśīrsha* is November–December. *Madhusūdana* says this is the best month, as being neither too hot nor too cold; but see *Schlegel's Bhagavadgītā*, ed. Lassen, p. 276.

² One of *Kṛīṣṇa*'s ancestors.

³ The compiler of the *Vedas*.

⁴ The preceptor of the *Dāityas* or demons. A work on politics is ascribed to him.

⁵ Making peace, bribing, &c.

⁶ Cf. *Purusha-sūkta* (*Muir, Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i, p. 9).

CHAPTER XI.

Arguna said :

In consequence of the excellent and mysterious words concerning the relation of the supreme and individual soul, which you have spoken for my welfare, this delusion of mine is gone away. O you whose eyes are like lotus leaves ! I have heard from you at large about the production and dissolution of things, and also about your inexhaustible greatness. O highest lord ! what you have said about yourself is so. I wish, O best of beings ! to see your divine form. If, O lord ! you think that it is possible for me to look upon it, then, O lord of the possessors of mystic power¹ ! show your inexhaustible form to me.

The Deity said :

In hundreds and in thousands see my forms, O son of *Prithâ* ! various, divine, and of various colours and shapes. See the *Âdityas*, *Vasus*, *Rudras*, the two *Asvins*, and *Maruts* likewise. And O descendant of *Bharata* ! see wonders, in numbers, unseen before. Within my body, O *Gudâkesa* ! see to-day the whole universe, including (everything) movable and immovable, (all) in one, and whatever else you wish to see. But you will not be able to see me with merely this eye of yours. I give you an eye divine. (Now) see my divine power.

Saṅgaya said :

Having spoken thus, O king ! *Hari*, the great

¹ *Madhusûdana* takes power to mean capacity of becoming small or great, of obtaining what is wanted, &c.; the so-called eight *Bhûtis*.

lord of the possessors of mystic power, then showed to the son of *Prithâ* his supreme divine form, having many mouths and eyes, having (within it) many wonderful sights, having many celestial ornaments, having many celestial weapons held erect, wearing celestial flowers and vestments, having an anointment of celestial perfumes, full of every wonder, the infinite deity with faces in all directions¹. If in the heavens, the lustre of a thousand suns burst forth all at once, that would be like the lustre of that mighty one. There the son of *Pându* then observed in the body of the god of gods the whole universe (all) in one, and divided into numerous² (divisions). Then *Dhanañgaya* filled with amazement, and with hair standing on end, bowed his head before the god, and spoke with joined hands.

Arguna said :

O god ! I see within your body the gods, as also all the groups of various beings ; and the lord Brahman seated on (his) lotus seat, and all the sages and celestial snakes. I see you, who are of countless forms, possessed of many arms, stomachs, mouths, and eyes on all sides. And, O lord of the universe ! O you of all forms ! I do not see your end or middle or beginning. I see you bearing a coronet and a mace and a discus—a mass of glory, brilliant on all sides, difficult to look at, having on

¹ Cf. p. 90 supra. *Saṅkara* explains it as meaning 'pervading everything.' The expression occurs in the *Nṛsiṃha-tâpinî-upaniṣad*, p. 50, where it is said, 'as, without organs, it sees, hears, goes, takes from all sides and pervades everything, therefore it has faces on all sides.'

² Gods, manes, men, and so forth.

all sides the effulgence of a blazing fire or sun, and indefinable. You are indestructible, the supreme one to be known. You are the highest support¹ of this universe. You are the inexhaustible protector of everlasting piety. I believe you to be the eternal being. I see you void of beginning, middle, end—of infinite power, of unnumbered arms, having the sun and moon for eyes, having a mouth like a blazing fire, and heating the universe with your radiance. For this space between heaven and earth and all the quarters are pervaded by you alone. Looking at this wonderful and terrible form of yours, O high-souled one! the three worlds are affrighted. For here these groups of gods are entering into you. Some being afraid are praying with joined hands, and the groups of great sages and Siddhas are saying 'Welfare²!' and praising you with abundant (hymns) of praise. The Rudras, and Âdityas, the Vasus, the Sâdhyas, the Visvas, the two Asvins, the Maruts, and the Ushmapas, and the groups of Gandharvas, Yakshas, demons, and Siddhas are all looking at you amazed. Seeing your mighty form, with many mouths and eyes, with many arms, thighs, and feet, with many stomachs, and fearful with many jaws, all people, and I likewise, are much alarmed, O you of mighty arms! Seeing you, O Vishnu! touching the skies, radiant, possessed of many hues, with a gaping mouth, and with large blazing eyes, I am much alarmed in my inmost self, and feel no courage, no tranquillity. And seeing your mouths terrible by the jaws, and

¹ The words are the same as at p. 97 infra, where see the note.

² Seeing signs of some great cataclysm, they say, 'May it be well with the universe,' and then proceed to pray to you.

resembling the fire of destruction, I cannot recognise the (various) directions, I feel no comfort. Be gracious, O lord of gods! who pervadest the universe. And all these sons of *Dhr̥itarāsh̥tra*, together with all the bands of kings, and *Bhishma* and *Drona*, and this charioteer's son¹ likewise, together with our principal warriors also, are rapidly entering your mouths, fearful and horrific² by (reason of your) jaws. And some with their heads smashed are seen (to be) stuck in the spaces between the teeth. As the many rapid currents of a river's waters run towards the sea alone, so do these heroes of the human world enter your mouths blazing all round. As butterflies, with increased velocity, enter a blazing fire to their destruction, so too do these people enter your mouths with increased velocity (only) to their destruction. Swallowing all these people, you are licking them over and over again from all sides, with your blazing mouths. Your fierce splendours, O *Vishnu*! filling the whole universe with (their) effulgence, are heating it. Tell me who you are in this fierce form. Salutations be to thee, O chief of the gods! Be gracious. I wish to know you, the primeval one, for I do not understand your actions.

The Deity said :

I am death, the destroyer of the worlds, fully developed, and I am now active about the over-

¹ I.e. *Karna*, who was really the eldest brother of the *Pāṇḍavas*, but having been immediately on birth abandoned by *Kuntī*, was brought up by a charioteer. *Karna* was told of his true origin by *Bhishma* on his deathbed, and advised to join the *Pāṇḍavas*, but he declined.

² By reason of the ruggedness and distortion of face.

throw of the worlds. Even without you, the warriors standing in the adverse hosts, shall all cease to be. Therefore, be up, obtain glory, and vanquishing (your) foes, enjoy a prosperous kingdom. All these have been already killed by me. Be only the instrument, O Savyasâkin¹! Drona, and Bhishma, and Gayadratha, and Karṇa, and likewise other valiant warriors also, whom I have killed, do you kill. Be not alarmed. Do fight. And in the battle you will conquer (your) foes.

Saṅgaya said :

Hearing these words of Kesava, the wearer of the coronet², trembling, and with joined hands, bowed down; and sorely afraid, and with throat choked up, he again spoke to Kṛishṇa after saluting him.

Arguna said :

It is quite proper, O Hṛishīkesa! that the universe is delighted and charmed by your renown, that the demons run away affrighted in all directions, and that all the assemblages of Siddhas bow down (to you). And why, O high-souled one! should they not bow down to you (who are) greater than Brahman, and first cause? O infinite lord of gods! O you pervading the universe! you are the indestructible, that which is, that which is not, and what is beyond them³. You are the primal

¹ Arguna, as he could shoot with his left hand as well as the right.—Sṛīdhara.

² Arguna, who had this coronet given him by Indra.—Madhusūdana.

³ The commentators interpret this to mean the perceptible, the unperceived, and the higher principle. Cf. p. 84 supra, and also pp. 103, 113 infra and notes there.

god, the ancient being, you are the highest support of this universe¹. You are that which has knowledge, that which is the object of knowledge, you are the highest goal. By you is this universe pervaded, O you of infinite forms! You are the wind, Yama, fire, Varuṇa, the moon, you Pragâpati, and the great grandsire². Obeisance be to thee a thousand times, and again and again obeisance to thee! In front and from behind obeisance to thee! Obeisance be to thee from all sides, O you who are all! You are of infinite power, of unmeasured glory; you pervade all, and therefore you are all! Whatever I have said contemptuously,—for instance, ‘O Krishna!’ ‘O Yâdava!’ ‘O friend!’—thinking you to be (my) friend, and not knowing your greatness (as shown in) this (universal form), or through friendliness, or incautiously; and whatever disrespect I have shown you for purposes of merriment, on (occasions of) play, sleep, dinner, or sitting (together), whether alone or in the presence (of friends),—for all that, O undegraded one! I ask pardon of you who are indefinable³. You are the father of the world—movable and immovable—you its great and venerable master; there is none equal to you, whence can there be one greater, O you whose power is unparalleled in all the three worlds? Therefore I bow and prostrate myself, and would propitiate you, the praiseworthy lord. Be pleased,

¹ See p. 94 supra. Here the commentators say the words mean ‘that in which the universe is placed at deluge-time.’

² Professor Tiele mentions great-grandfather as a name for the Creator among Kaffirs (History of Religion, p. 18). Cf. p. 83 supra.

³ I.e. of whom it is impossible to ascertain whether he is such or such. Cf. p. 94 supra.

O god! to pardon (my guilt) as a father (that of his) son, a friend (that of his) friend, or a husband (that of his) beloved. I am delighted at seeing what I had never seen before, and my heart is also alarmed by fear. Show me that same form, O god! Be gracious, O lord of gods! O you pervading the universe! I wish to see you bearing the coronet and the mace, with the discus in hand, just the same (as before)¹. O you of thousand arms! O you of all forms! assume that same four-handed form.

The Deity said :

O Arguna! being pleased (with you), I have by my own mystic power shown you this supreme form, full of glory, universal, infinite, primeval, and which has not been seen before by any one else but you, O you hero among the Kauravas! I cannot be seen in this form by any one but you, (even) by (the help of) the study of the Vedas, or of² sacrifices, nor by gifts, nor by actions, nor by fierce penances. Be not alarmed, be not perplexed, at seeing this form of mine, fearful like this. Free from fear and with delighted heart, see now again that same form of mine.

Saṅgaya said :

Having thus spoken to Arguna, Vâsudeva again showed his own form, and the high-souled one becoming again of a mild form, comforted him who had been affrighted.

¹ This is the ordinary form of *Krishna*.

² This is the original construction. One suspects that sacrifices and study of the Vedas are meant. Cf. the speech of *Krishna* on the next page.

Arguna said :

O Ganardana ! seeing this mild, human form of yours, I am now in my right mind, and have come to my normal state.

The Deity said :

Even the gods are always desiring to see this form of mine, which it is difficult to get a sight of, and which you have seen. I cannot be seen, as you have seen me, by (means of) the Vedas, not by penance, not by gift, nor yet by sacrifice. But, O Arguna ! by devotion to me exclusively, I can in this form be truly known, seen, and assimilated¹ with, O terror of your foes ! He who performs acts for (propitiating) me, to whom I am the highest (object), who is my devotee, who is free from attachment, and who has no enmity towards any being, he, O son of Pându ! comes to me.

CHAPTER XII.

Arguna said :

Of the worshippers, who thus, constantly devoted, meditate on you, and those who (meditate) on the unperceived and indestructible, which do best know devotion ?

The Deity said :

Those who being constantly devoted, and possessed of the highest faith, worship me with a mind fixed on me, are deemed by me to be the most devoted. But those, who, restraining the (whole) group of the senses, and with a mind at all times

¹ Literally, 'entered into;' it means final emancipation. See p. 128.

equable, meditate on the indescribable, indestructible, unperceived (principle) which is all-pervading, unthinkable, indifferent ¹, immovable, and constant, they, intent on the good of all beings, necessarily attain to me. For those whose minds are attached to the unperceived, the trouble is much greater. Because the unperceived goal ² is obtained by embodied (beings) with difficulty. As to those, however, O son of Prithâ! who, dedicating all their actions to me, and (holding) me as their highest (goal), worship me, meditating on me with a devotion towards none besides me, and whose minds are fixed on me, I, without delay, come forward as their deliverer from the ocean of this world of death. Place your mind on me only; fix your understanding on me. In me you will dwell ³ hereafter, (there is) no doubt. But if you are unable to fix your mind steadily on me, then, O Dhanañgaya! endeavour ⁴ to obtain me by the abstraction of mind (resulting) from continuous meditation ⁵. If you are unequal even to continuous meditation, then let acts for (propitiating) me be your highest (aim). Even performing actions for (propitiating) me, you will attain perfection. If you are unable to do even this, then resort to devotion ⁶ to me, and, with self-restraint, abandon all fruit of action. For knowledge is better than continuous meditation; concentration ⁷

¹ Passively looking on what occurs on earth; immovable = changeless; constant = eternal.

² Viz. the indestructible.

³ I.e. assimilated with me, as expressed before.

⁴ Literally, 'wish.'

⁵ Cf. p. 78 supra.

⁶ Performing actions, but dedicating them to me.

⁷ Fixing the mind with effort on the object of contemplation. Cf. Maitri-upanishad, p. 130.

is esteemed higher than knowledge; and the abandonment of fruit of action than concentration; from (that) abandonment, tranquillity soon (results). That devotee of mine, who hates no being, who is friendly and compassionate, who is free from egoism, and from (the idea that this or that is) mine, to whom happiness and misery are alike, who is forgiving, contented, constantly devoted, self-restrained, and firm in his determinations, and whose mind and understanding are devoted to me, he is dear to me. He through whom the world is not agitated¹, and who is not agitated by the world, who is free from joy and anger and fear and agitation, he too is dear to me. That devotee of mine, who is unconcerned², pure, assiduous³, impartial, free from distress⁴, who abandons all actions (for fruit⁵), he is dear to me. He who is full of devotion to me, who feels no joy and no aversion, who does not grieve and does not desire, who abandons (both what is) agreeable and (what is) disagreeable, he is dear to me. He who is alike to friend and foe, as also in honour and dishonour, who is alike in cold and heat, pleasure and pain, who is free from attachments, to whom praise and blame are alike, who is taciturn⁶, and contented with anything whatever (that comes), who is homeless⁷, and of a steady mind, and full of

¹ No disturbance results from him to other men, or from other men to him. Cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 56.

² Indifferent to worldly objects.

³ Ready to do work as it arises.

⁴ Not feeling afflicted by other people's doing an injury to him.

⁵ 'For fruit' must be understood here.

⁶ I. e. governs his tongue properly. Cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 55, and Dhammapada, stanza 96.

⁷ Cf. Sutta Nipâta, pp. 94, 101, 122; Âpastamba, Dharma-sûtra,

devotion, that man is dear to me. But those devotees who, imbued with faith, and (regarding) me as their highest (goal), resort to this holy (means for attaining) immortality, as stated, they are extremely dear to me.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Deity said :

This body, O son of Kuntī! is called Kshetra ¹, and the learned call him who knows it the Kshetragñā ². And know me also, O descendant of Bharata! to be the Kshetragñā in all Kshetras. The knowledge of Kshetra and Kshetragñā is deemed by me (to be real) knowledge. Now hear from me in brief what that Kshetra (is), what (it is) like, what changes (it undergoes), and whence (it comes), and what is he ³, and what his powers, (all which) is sung in various ways by sages in numerous hymns ⁴, distinctly, and in well-settled texts full of argument, giving indications or full instruction about the Brahman. The great elements ⁵, egoism, the understanding, the unperceived also, the ten senses, and the one, and the five objects of sense, desire,

p. 86 (p. 152 in this series); and Dhammapada, stanzas 40-91 (where the identical word is used).

¹ I retain the original for want of a good equivalent.

² Cf. Svetâsvatârôpanishad, p. 368, and Maitrî, pp. 25-72.

³ I. e. the Kshetragñā.

⁴ Hymns=scil. from the Vedas about ordinary or special actions and so forth. Argument=e. g. in texts like 'How can entity come from non-entity?' 'Who could breathe, if &c.?'

⁵ Cf. Aitareya-âraṇyaka, p. 97. The subtle elements, earth, fire, &c., are meant. The unperceived=nature; the one=mind; courage=that by which the drooping body and senses are supported; egoism=self-consciousness—the feeling 'this is I.'

aversion, pleasure, pain, body, consciousness, courage, thus in brief has been declared the Kshetra with changes¹. Absence of vanity, absence of ostentatiousness, absence of hurtfulness, forgiveness, straightforwardness, devotion to a preceptor, purity², steadiness, self-restraint, indifference towards objects of sense, and also absence of egoism; perception of the misery and evil of birth, death³, old age, and disease; absence of attachment, absence of self-identifying regard for son, wife⁴, home, and so forth; and constant equability on the approach of (both what is) agreeable and (what is) disagreeable; unswerving devotion to me, without meditation on any one else; resorting to clean places, distaste for assemblages of men⁵, constancy in knowledge of the relation of the individual self to the supreme, perception of the object⁶ of knowledge of the truth, this is called knowledge; that is ignorance which is opposed to this. I will declare that which is the object of knowledge, knowing which, one reaches immortality; the highest Brahman, having no beginning nor end, which cannot be said to be existent or non-existent⁷. It has hands and feet on all sides, it has eyes, heads, and faces on all sides, it has ears on all sides, it

¹ See the last page. Changes=development.

² Internal as well as external; as to devotion to a preceptor, cf. Âpastamba, p. 11 (p. 23 in this series); Taittiriya-upanishad, p. 38; Svetârvatara, p. 117; and Sutta Nipâta, p. 87; as to egoism, see p. 52 supra.

³ Cf. Sutta Nipâta, pp. 18-95.

⁴ Cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 12.

⁵ Cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 11.

⁶ Viz. removal of ignorance and acquisition of happiness.

⁷ Words indicate a class, a quality, an action, or a relation, says Saṅkara. None of these can be predicated of the Brahman; so you cannot apply either of these words to it. Cf. pp. 84, 96 supra, also Svetârvatara, p. 346.

stands pervading everything in the world. Possessed of the qualities of all the senses, (but) devoid of all senses¹, unattached, it supports all, is devoid of qualities, and the enjoyer² of qualities. It is within all things and without them; it is movable and also immovable; it is unknowable through (its) subtlety; it stands afar and near³. Not different in (different) things⁴, but standing as though different, it should be known to be the supporter of (all) things, and that which absorbs and creates (them). It is the radiance even of the radiant (bodies); it is said (to be) beyond darkness. It is knowledge, the object of knowledge, that which is to be attained to by knowledge, and placed in the heart of all⁵. Thus in brief have Kshetra, knowledge, and the object of knowledge been declared. My devotee, knowing this, becomes fit for assimilation with me. Know nature and spirit both (to be) without beginning, and know all developments and qualities⁶ (to be) produced from nature. Nature is said to be the origin of the capacity of working (residing) in the body and the senses; and spirit is said (to be) the origin of the capacity of enjoying pleasures and

¹ Cf. Svetâsvatara, p. 331. He has no ears, but has the quality of hearing, and so forth; unattached=really out of relation to everything, though seeming to be connected with other things through delusion.

² I.e. he perceives them.

³ Îsopanishad, p. 12; Mundaka, p. 313.

⁴ Everything being really one. Cf. inter alia, p. 124 infra. The various manifestations of the Brahman are really one in essence, though apparently different, like foam and water.

⁵ Cf. p. 88.

⁶ Developments=body, senses, &c. Qualities=pleasure, pain, &c.; altogether the expression means the body and feelings and so forth.

pains¹. For spirit with nature joined, enjoys the qualities born of nature. And the cause of its birth in good or evil wombs is the connexion with the qualities². The supreme spirit in this body is called supervisor, adviser³, supporter, enjoyer, the great lord, and the supreme self also. He who thus knows nature and spirit, together with the qualities, is not born again, however living⁴. Some by concentration see the self in the self by the self; others by the Sāṅkhya-yoga; and others still by the Karma-yoga⁵; others yet, not knowing this, practise concentration, after hearing from others⁶. They, too, being (thus) devoted to hearing (instruction) cross beyond death. Whatever thing movable or immovable comes into existence, know that to be from the connexion of Kshetra and Kshetragña, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! He sees (truly),

¹ Śrīdhara says that 'is said to be' means by Kapila and others. For the notion that activity is not a function of the soul, see *inter alia*, p. 55 *supra*. Enjoyment, however, is, according to this passage, the function of the soul, not of nature. See also *Maitrī-upanishad*, pp. 107, 108.

² I.e. 'the senses,' says Śrīdhara; good=gods, &c.; evil=beasts, &c.

³ Scil. concerning the operations of the body and senses. Cf. *Nṛsiṃha-tāpinī*, p. 224. He is adviser because, though he does not interfere, he sees and therefore may be said to sanction the operations alluded to. Supporter, i.e. of body &c. in their workings.

⁴ I.e. though he may have transgressed rules.

⁵ Concentration=fixing of the mind exclusively on the soul, the senses being quiescent. 'See the self,' i.e. the soul; 'in the self,' i.e. within themselves; 'by the self,' i.e. by the mind. Sāṅkhya-yoga=belief that qualities are distinct from the self, which is only a passive spectator of their operations. Cf. *Svetārvatara*, p. 109. Karma-yoga=dedication of actions to the supreme. Cf. as to this the gloss on Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* on *Vedānta-sūtra* IV, 2, 21.

⁶ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 49.

who sees the supreme lord abiding alike in all entities, and not destroyed though they are destroyed. For he who sees the lord abiding everywhere alike, does not destroy himself¹ by himself, and then reaches the highest goal. He sees (truly), who sees (all) actions (to be) in every way done by nature alone, and likewise the self (to be) not the doer. When a man sees all the variety of entities as existing in one², and (all as) emanating from that, then he becomes (one with) the Brahman. This inexhaustible supreme self, being without beginning and without qualities, does not act, and is not tainted, O son of Kuntī! though stationed in the body. As by (reason of its) subtlety the all-pervading space is not tainted, so the self stationed in every body is not tainted. As the sun singly lights up all this world, so the Kshetragña, O descendant of Bharata! lights up the whole Kshetra. Those who, with the eye of knowledge, thus understand the difference between Kshetra and Kshetragña, and the destruction of the nature of all entities³, go to the supreme.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Deity said :

Again I will declare (to you) the highest knowledge, the best of (all sorts of) knowledge, having

¹ Not to have true knowledge is equivalent to self-destruction. Cf. *Īsopanishad*, pp. 9, 15, 16.

² I.e. absorbed at the time of the deluge in nature, one of the energies of the supreme; 'emanating,' i.e. at the time of creation.

³ Nature, which is the material cause from which all entities are produced; the destruction of it results from true knowledge of the soul. See the third note on p. 107 *infra*.

learnt which, all sages have reached perfection beyond (the bonds of) this (body). Those who, resorting to this knowledge, reach assimilation with my essence, are not born at the creation, and are not afflicted¹ at the destruction (of the universe). The great Brahman² is a womb for me, in which I cast the seed. From that, O descendant of Bharata! is the birth of all things. Of the bodies, O son of Kuntī! which are born from all wombs, the (main) womb is the great Brahman, and I (am) the father, the giver of the seed. Goodness, passion, darkness, these qualities³ born from nature, O you of mighty arms! bind down the inexhaustible soul in the body. Of these, goodness, which, in consequence of being untainted, is enlightening and free from (all) misery, binds the soul, O sinless one! with the bond of pleasure and the bond of knowledge⁴. Know that passion consists in being enamoured, and is produced from craving and attachment. That, O son of Kuntī! binds down the embodied (self) with the

¹ I.e. 'are not destroyed,' Madhusūdana; 'do not fall,' Śaṅkara; 'are not born,' Śrīdhara, and apparently Rāmānuga.

² I.e. the 'nature' spoken of before.

³ These constitute nature. We must understand nature, with Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, as the hypothetical cause of the soul's feeling itself limited and conditioned. If nature is understood, as it usually is, to mean matter, its being made up of the qualities is inexplicable. Interpreted idealistically, as suggested by Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, the destruction of it spoken of at the close of the last chapter also becomes intelligible. By means of knowledge of the soul, the unreality of these manifestations is understood and nature is destroyed.

⁴ Pleasure and knowledge appertain to the mind, not the self, hence they are described as constituting bonds, when erroneously connected with the self, Śaṅkara and Śrīdhara. They constitute 'bonds,' because the self when brought into contact with them, strives to obtain them, Rāmānuga.

bond of action. Darkness (you must) know to be born of ignorance, it deludes all embodied (selves). And that, O descendant of Bharata! binds down (the self) with heedlessness¹, indolence, and sleep. Goodness unites (the self) with pleasure; passion, O descendant of Bharata! with action; and darkness with heedlessness, after shrouding up knowledge. Passion and darkness being repressed, goodness stands, O descendant of Bharata! Passion and goodness (being repressed), darkness; and likewise darkness and goodness (being repressed), passion². When in this body at all portals³ light (that is to say) knowledge prevails, then should one know goodness to be developed. Avarice, activity⁴, performance of actions, want of tranquillity, desire, these are produced, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! when passion is developed. Want of light, want of activity⁵, heedlessness, and delusion, these are produced, O descendant of Kuru! when darkness is developed. When an embodied (self) encounters death, while goodness is developed, then he reaches the untainted worlds of those who know the highest⁶. Encountering death during (the preva-

¹ Carelessness about duty, owing to being intent on something else. Cf. Sutta Nipâta, pp. 51-91; Dhammapada, stanza 21; Kaṭhōpanishad, p. 152.

² The effects of each quality assert themselves, when the other two are held in check.

³ I.e. the senses of perception.

⁴ Activity=always doing something or another; performance, &c.=rearing large mansions, &c.; want of tranquillity=perpetual agitation of mind, 'this I will do now, then that, and next the other;' desire=to obtain everything that one comes across.

⁵ I.e. doing absolutely nothing.

⁶ The highest manifestations of Brahman, viz. the Hiranyagarbha, &c., say Śrīdhara and Madhusūdana. Nīlakanṭha also suggests that 'those who know the highest' means gods.

lence of) passion, he is born among those attached to action. Likewise, dying during (the prevalence of) darkness, he is born in the wombs of the ignorant¹. The fruit of meritorious action is said to be good, untainted; while the fruit of passion is misery; and the fruit of darkness ignorance. From goodness is produced knowledge, from passion avarice², and from darkness heedlessness and delusion and ignorance also. Those who adhere to (the ways of) goodness go up³; the passionate remain in the middle; while those of the qualities of darkness, adhering to the ways of the lowest quality, go down. When a right-seeing person sees none but the qualities (to be) the doers (of all action), and knows what is above the qualities⁴, he enters into my essence. The embodied (self), who transcends these three qualities, from which bodies are produced⁵, attains immortality, being freed from birth and death and old age and misery.

Arguna said :

What are the characteristics, O lord ! of one who has transcended these three qualities ? What is his conduct, and how does he transcend these three qualities⁶ ?

¹ Lower creation, such as birds, beasts, &c.

² Cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 15.

³ I.e. are born as gods, &c.; 'middle,' as men, &c.; 'down,' as brutes, &c.

⁴ I.e. what has been called Kshetragña before, the supervising principle within one.

⁵ Bodies are developments of the qualities, say the commentators, which is not incompatible with the explanation of qualities given above. As to transcending qualities, cf. p. 48 supra.

⁶ Cf. as to what follows what is said in chapter II about 'one whose mind is steady.'

The Deity said :

He is said to have transcended the qualities, O son of Pându! who is not averse to light and activity and delusion (when they) prevail, and who does not desire (them when they) cease¹; who sitting like one unconcerned is never perturbed by the qualities²; who remains steady and moves³ not, (thinking) merely that the qualities⁴ exist; who is self-contained⁵; to whom pain and pleasure are alike; to whom a sod and a stone and gold are alike; to whom what is agreeable and what is disagreeable are alike; who has discernment; to whom censure and praise of himself are alike; who is alike in honour and dishonour; who is alike towards the sides of friends and foes; and who abandons all action⁶. And he who worships me with an unswerving devotion, transcends these qualities, and becomes fit for (entrance into) the essence of the Brahman. For I am the embodiment of the Brahman⁷, of indefeasible immortality, of eternal piety, and of unbroken happiness.

¹ I.e. who does not feel troubled, for instance, thinking now I am actuated by a motive of passion or darkness, and so forth.

² So as to lose all discrimination.

³ I.e. from his determination to pursue truth, by worldly pleasures or pains.

⁴ Cf. p. 55 supra.

⁵ Intent on the self only.

⁶ For the whole passage, cf. p. 101 supra.

⁷ Nilakantha interprets this to mean 'the ultimate object of the Vedas.' I here means *Krishna*. Śrīdhara suggests this parallel, as light embodied is the sun, so is the Brahman embodied identical with Vāsudeva.

CHAPTER XV.

The Deity said:

They say the inexhaustible Asvattha¹ has (its) roots above, (its) branches below; the *Kṛandas* are its leaves. He who knows it knows the Vedas. Upwards and downwards extend its branches, which are enlarged by the qualities, and the sprouts of which are sensuous objects. And downwards to this human world are continued its roots which lead on to action. Its form is not thus known here, nor (its) end, nor beginning, nor support. But having with the firm weapon of unconcern, cut this Asvattha, whose roots are firmly fixed, then should one seek for that seat from which those that go there never return, (thinking) that one rests on that same primal being from whom the ancient course (of worldly life) emanated. Those who are free from pride and delusion, who have overcome the evils of attachment, who are constant in (contemplating) the relation of the supreme and individual self, from whom desire has departed, who are free from the pairs (of opposites) called pleasure and pain, go undeluded to that imperishable seat². The sun

¹ Cf. *Kaṭhōpanishad*, p. 70, and *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 76.

² Asvattha stands here for the course of worldly life. Its roots are above, viz. the supreme being; its boughs are *Hiraṇyagarbha* and others of the higher beings. The Vedas are its leaves, preserving it as leaves preserve trees (another interpretation is that they are the causes of the fruit which the tree bears, i. e. salvation, &c.) Upwards and downwards, from the highest to the lowest of created things. Enlarged=the qualities manifesting themselves, as body, senses, &c.; objects of sense are sprouts as they are attached to the senses, which are the tips of the branches above stated. The roots which extend downwards are the desires for various

does not light it, nor the moon, nor fire¹. That is my highest abode, going to which none returns. An eternal portion of me it is, which, becoming an individual soul in the mortal world, draws (to itself) the senses with the mind as the sixth². Whenever the ruler (of the bodily frame) obtains or quits a body, he goes taking these (with him) as the wind (takes) perfumes from (their) seats³. And presiding over the senses of hearing and seeing, and touch, and taste, and smell, and the mind, he enjoys sensuous objects. Those who are deluded do not see (him) remaining in or quitting (a body), enjoying or joined to the qualities⁴; they see, who have eyes of knowledge. Devotees making efforts perceive him abiding within their selves⁵. But those whose selves have not been refined, and who have no discernment, do not perceive him even (after) making efforts. Know that glory (to be) mine which, dwelling in the sun, lights up the whole world, or in the moon or fire⁶.

enjoyments. Its form not thus known here, i.e. to those who live and move in this world, thus viz. as above described. The man who knows the tree thus is said to know the Vedas, because knowledge of it is knowledge of the substance of the Vedas, which is, that the course of worldly life springs from the supreme, is kept up by Vedic rites, and destroyed by knowledge of the supreme. As to freedom from pride, cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 4.

¹ Cf. *Kāthopanishad*, p. 142; *Mundaka*, p. 304; *Nṛsiṃha-tāpinī*, p. 106; *Svetâsvatara*, p. 110.

² Five senses and the mind issue from nature, in which they are absorbed during sleep or at a dissolution of the world. Cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 44.

³ Cf. *Kaushîtaki-upanishad*, pp. 86, 87.

⁴ Perceiving objects of sense, or feeling pleasure, pain, &c.

⁵ 'Selves'=bodies, *Râmânuga* and *Sṛidhara*; 'understandings,' *Saṅkara*. In the next sentence 'self' means mind.

⁶ Cf. *Maitrî-upanishad*, p. 142. This sentence continues what has been stated at the top of the page. The intervening

Entering the earth¹, I by my power support all things; and becoming the juicy moon, I nourish all herbs. I becoming the fire, and dwelling in the bodies of (all) creatures, and united with the upward and downward life-breaths, cause digestion of the fourfold food². And I am placed in the heart of all³; from me (come) memory, knowledge, and their removal; I alone am to be learnt from all the Vedas; I am the author of the Vedāntas⁴; and I alone know the Vedas. There are these two beings in the world, the destructible and the indestructible⁵. The destructible (includes) all things. The unconcerned one is (what is) called the indestructible. But the being supreme is yet another, called the highest self, who as the inexhaustible lord, pervading the three worlds, supports (them). And since I transcend the destructible, and since I am higher also than the indestructible⁶, therefore

portion explains how souls do come back in some cases. As a general rule, 'all going ends in returning.' But the soul is an exception in some cases, as the 'going' to the Brahman is going to the fountain-head. Then the question arises, How does the severance come off at all? And that is what the lines up to this explain.

¹ 'Entering in the form of the goddess earth,' say Ānandagiri and Madhusūdana. Support, i.e. by keeping the earth from falling or crumbling away. The moon is said to nourish herbs by communicating to them some of her 'juice.' The moon, it may be noted, is called 'watery star' by Shakespeare. As to her relation to the vegetable kingdom, see Matsya-purāṇa XXIII, stanza 10 seq.

² I.e. what is drunk, what is licked, what is powdered with the teeth, and what is eaten without such powdering.

³ Cf. p. 104 supra.

⁴ See Introduction, p. 18.

⁵ Cf. Svetārvatara, p. 294.

⁶ The two are the whole collection of things as they appear and their material cause. The supreme being is a third principle.

am I celebrated in the world and in the Vedas as the best of beings. He who, undeluded, thus knows me the best of beings, worships me every way¹, O descendant of Bharata! knowing everything. Thus, O sinless one! have I proclaimed this most mysterious science. He who knows this, has done all he need do, and he becomes possessed of discernment.

CHAPTER XVI.

Freedom from fear, purity of heart, perseverance in (pursuit of) knowledge and abstraction of mind, gifts², self-restraint², and sacrifice, study of the Vedas, penance, straightforwardness, harmlessness, truth², freedom from anger, renunciation³, tranquillity, freedom from the habit of backbiting⁴, compassion for (all) beings, freedom from avarice, gentleness, modesty, absence of vain activity, noble-mindedness, forgiveness, courage, purity, freedom from a desire to injure others, absence of vanity, (these), O descendant of Bharata! are his who is born to godlike endowments. Ostentatiousness, pride, vanity⁵, anger, and also harshness and ignorance (are) his, O son of Prithâ! who is born to demoniac⁶ endowments. Godlike endowments are deemed to be (means) for

¹ Cf. p. 129 infra. Here Sâṅkara paraphrases it by 'thinking me to be the soul of everything.'

² Cf. Sutta Nipâta, p. 49.

³ See next chapter.

⁴ Sutta Nipâta, pp. 15, 101.

⁵ Ostentatiousness=making a show of piety; pride=scil. of wealth and learning; vanity=esteeming oneself too highly; harshness=mercilessness.

⁶ Cf. *Khândogya-upanishad*, p. 585, and Max Müller's *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 322.

final emancipation, demoniac for bondage¹. Grieve not, O descendant of Bharata ! you are born to godlike endowments. (There are) two classes of created beings in this world, the godlike and the demoniac ; the godlike (class) has been described at length ; now hear from me, O son of *Prithâ* ! about the demoniac. Demoniac persons know not action or inaction², neither purity nor yet (correct) conduct nor veracity are in them. They say the universe is devoid of truth³, devoid of fixed principle⁴, and devoid of a ruler, produced by union (of male and female) caused by lust⁵, and nothing else. Holding this view, (these) enemies of the world, of ruined⁶ selves, of little knowledge, and of ferocious actions, are born for the destruction (of the world). Entertaining insatiable desire, full of vanity, ostentatiousness, and frenzy, they adopt false notions⁷ through delusion, and engage in unholy observances. Indulging in boundless thoughts ending with death⁸, given up to the enjoyment of objects of desire, being resolved that that is all, bound down by nets of hopes in hundreds, given up to anger and desire, they wish

¹ Scil. to birth and death in this world.

² What should be done for the attainment of real good, and what should not be done as productive of mischief. See too p. 125.

³ I.e. contains nothing that is entitled to belief, as the Vedas, &c.

⁴ No principle based on virtue and vice in the government of the world.

⁵ They do not believe in any unseen cause, but say the lust of mankind is the cause of the universe.

⁶ I.e. who have none of the means of reaching the next world.

⁷ Such as that by propitiating a certain divinity by a certain rite they may obtain treasure and so forth.

⁸ Till their last moments, thinking of making new acquisitions and preserving old ones.

to obtain heaps of wealth unfairly for enjoying objects of desire. 'This have I obtained to-day ; this wish I will obtain ; this wealth is mine ; and this also shall be mine ; this foe I have killed ; others too I will destroy ; I am lord, I am the enjoyer, I am perfect¹, strong, happy ; I have wealth ; I am of noble birth ; who else is like me ? I will sacrifice² ; I will make gifts ; I will rejoice.' Thus deluded by ignorance, tossed about by numerous thoughts, surrounded by the net of delusion, and attached to the enjoyment of objects of desire, they fall down into impure hell. Honoured (only) by themselves, void of humility, and full of the pride and frenzy of wealth, these calumniators (of the virtuous) perform sacrifices, which are sacrifices only in name, with ostentatiousness and against prescribed rules³ ; indulging (their) vanity, brute force, arrogance, lust, and anger ; and hating me in their own bodies and in those of others⁴. These enemies⁵, ferocious, meanest of men, and unholy, I continually hurl down to these worlds⁶, only into demoniac wombs. Coming into demoniac wombs, deluded in every birth, they go down to the vilest state, O son of Kuntî ! without ever coming to me. Threefold is this way to hell,—

¹ Blessed with children, &c. Sṛīdhara takes it to mean, 'one who has done all he need do,' and Rāmānuga 'sufficient in himself.'

² I. e. get higher renown for sacrifices than others.

³ That is, because of indulgence in vanity, &c. Vanity = believing oneself to have virtues which one has not ; arrogance = proud disdain of others.

⁴ There is trouble to oneself in sacrifices and to the animals killed for them.

⁵ I. e. of God.

⁶ The commentators render the original here by 'the paths of life and death,' or 'path to hell.'

ruinous to the self¹,—lust, anger, and likewise avarice; therefore one should abandon this triad. Released from these three ways to darkness, O son of Kunti! a man works out his own salvation, and then proceeds to the highest goal. He² who abandoning scripture ordinances, acts under the impulse of desire, does not attain perfection³, nor happiness, nor the highest goal. Therefore in discriminating between what should be done and what should not be done, your authority (must be) scripture. And knowing what is declared by the ordinances of scripture, you should perform action in this world.

CHAPTER XVII.

Arguna said :

What is the state of those, O *Krishna*! who worship with faith, (but) abandoning scripture ordinances—goodness, passion, or darkness?

The Deity said :

Faith is of three kinds in embodied (beings), it is produced from dispositions⁴. It is of the quality of goodness, of the quality of passion, and of the quality of darkness. Hear about it. The faith of all, O descendant of Bharata! is conformable to the

¹ I.e. rendering the self unfit for any of the highest ends of man.

² Here, says Sridhara, it is laid down that the triad is not to be got rid of save by following scripture rules.

³ I.e. fitness for the attainment of the summum bonum. As to acting from desire, see also p. 65.

⁴ I.e. the result of the actions in a former birth, cf. p. 56 supra.

heart¹. A being here is full of faith, and whatever is a man's faith, that is a man himself². Those of the quality of goodness worship the gods; those of the quality of passion the Yakshas and Rakshases³; and the others, the people of the quality of darkness, worship departed (spirits) and the multitudes of Bhûtas. Know those to be of demoniac convictions, who practise fierce penance⁴ not ordained by scripture; who are full of ostentatiousness and egoism, and of desire, attachment, and stubbornness; who are without discernment; and who torment the groups of organs in (their) bodies, and me also seated within (those) bodies. The food also, which is liked by all, and likewise the sacrifice, the penance, and gifts, are of three kinds. Listen to the distinctions regarding them as follows. The kinds of food which increase life, energy, strength, health, comfort, and relish, which are savoury, oleaginous, full of nutrition, and agreeable, are liked by the good. The kinds of food which are bitter, acid, saltish, too hot, sharp, rough, and burning, and which cause pain, grief, and disease, are desired by the passionate. And the food⁵ which is cold, tasteless, stinking, stale, impure, and even leavings, are liked by the dark. That sacrifice is good which, being prescribed in (scripture) ordinances, is performed by persons

¹ The hearts of gods are said to be good, those of Yakshas &c. passionate, those of men mixed, and so forth.

² Faith is the dominant principle in man, and he is good, passionate, or dark, as his faith is.

³ Goldstücker, *Remains*, I, 154.

⁴ Troublesome to oneself and others, as standing on heated stones, &c. 'Egoism' (Ahaṅkāra) = the feeling that one is worthy of honour, *Nilakanṭha*.

⁵ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 109, and *Āpastamba*, p. 31 (p. 62 in this series).

not wishing for the fruit (of it), and after determining (in their) mind that the sacrifice must needs be performed. But when a sacrifice is performed, O highest of the descendants of Bharata! with an expectation of fruit (from it), and for the purpose of ostentation, know that sacrifice (to be) passionate. They call that sacrifice dark, which is against the ordinances (of scripture), in which no food is dealt out (to Brâhmaṇas, &c.), which is devoid of Mantras¹, devoid of Dakṣiṇâ presents, and which is without faith. Paying reverence to gods, Brâhmaṇas, preceptors, and men of knowledge; purity², straightforwardness, life as Brahmakârin, and harmlessness, (this) is called the penance bodily. The speech which causes no sorrow, which is true, agreeable, and beneficial, and the study³ of the Vedas, (this) is called the penance vocal. Calmness of mind, mildness, taciturnity⁴, self-restraint, and purity of heart, this is called the penance mental. This threefold penance, practised with perfect faith, by men who do not wish for the fruit, and who are possessed of devotion, is called good. The penance which is done for respect, honour, and reverence⁵, and with ostenta-

¹ Texts from the Vedas which ought to be recited on such occasions. Presents (Dakṣiṇâ) to Brâhmaṇas are insisted on in *Bṛhad-âraṇyaka-upanishad*, p. 661; *Âsvalâyana Grîhya* I, 23, 14.

² Cleanliness of body; straightforwardness = not doing prohibited acts; harmlessness = not injuring any living beings. These are 'bodily,' because the body is the main instrument in these actions.

³ I.e. recitation of the Vedas.

⁴ This is part of the 'mental penance,' because the government of the tongue is a consequence of mental restraint; the effect being, according to Saṅkara, put here for the cause.

⁵ Respect = people rising to receive one, &c.; honour = people saying 'this is a holy man,' &c.; reverence = people washing one's feet, &c.

tiousness, and which is uncertain and transient¹, is here called passionate. And that penance is described as dark, which is performed under a misguided conviction, with pain to oneself, or for the destruction of another. That gift is said (to be) good, which is given, because it ought to be given, to one who (can) do no service (in return), at a (proper) place and time, and to a (proper) person. But that gift which is given with much difficulty, for a return of services, or even with an expectation of fruit², is said to be passionate. And that gift is described as dark, which is given to unfit persons, at an unfit place and time, without respect, and with contempt. Om, Tad, and Sat, this is said (to be) the threefold designation of the Brahman. By that³, the Brâhmanas and the Vedas and sacrifices were created in olden times. Hence, the performance by those who study the Brahman, of sacrifices, gifts, and penances, prescribed by the ordinances (of scripture), always commence after saying 'Om⁴.' Those who desire final emancipation perform the various acts of sacrifice and penance, and the various acts of gift, without expectation of fruit, after (saying) 'Tad⁵.' 'Sat' is employed to express existence and goodness; and likewise, O son of Prithâ! the word 'Sat' is used to express an auspicious act. Constancy in

¹ The fruit of which is uncertain or perishable.

² Heaven &c. as a reward for liberality.

³ I.e. the Brahman, according to Sṛīdhara.

⁴ Cf. Âpastamba, p. 21 (p. 49 in this series). Nîlakantha cites texts to show that this and the other two words are used to designate the Brahman. The texts are from the Taittirîya, Aitareya, and Kândogya-upanishads.

⁵ Nîlakantha says, 'after "Tad"' means considering the act and all are Brahman, and cites p. 61 supra.

(making) sacrifices, penances, and gifts, is called 'Sat;' and (all) action, too, of which that¹ is the object, is also called 'Sat.' Whatever oblation is offered, whatever is given, whatever penance is performed, and whatever is done, without faith², that, O son of *Prithâ*! is called 'Asat,' and that is nought, both after death and here³.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Arguna said :

O you of mighty arms ! O *Hrishikesa* ! O destroyer of *Kesin* ! I wish to know the truth about renunciation and abandonment distinctly.

The Deity said :

By renunciation the sages understand the rejection of actions done with desires. The wise call the abandonment of the fruit of all actions (by the name) abandonment. Some wise men say, that action should be abandoned as being full of evil ; and others, that the actions of sacrifice, gift, and penance

¹ I.e. either the Brahman itself, or sacrifice, penance, and gift.

² Cf. *Sutta Nipâta*, p. 69.

³ The meaning of this whole passage seems to be that these three words, which designate the Brahman, have distinct uses, as specified. 'Om,' says *Nilakantha*, is employed whether the action is done with any special desire or not. Those who study the Brahman there means 'study the Vedas.' 'Tad' is employed in case of actions without desires only. 'Sat' is employed, according to *Saṅkara*, in case of existence, such as the birth of a first son ; 'goodness,' the reclamation of a bad man ; 'auspicious acts,' marriage, &c. The intelligent use of these terms as here specified is said to cure any defects in the actions, the various classes of which are mentioned before.

should not be abandoned. As to that abandonment, O best of the descendants of Bharata ! listen to my decision ; for abandonment, O bravest of men ! is described (to be) threefold. The actions of sacrifice, gift, and penance should not be abandoned ; they must needs be performed ; for sacrifices, gifts, and penances are means of sanctification to the wise. But even these actions, O son of *Prithā* ! should be performed, abandoning attachment and fruit ; such is my excellent and decided opinion. The renunciation of prescribed action is not proper. Its abandonment through delusion ¹ is described as of the quality of darkness. When a man abandons action, merely as being troublesome, through fear of bodily affliction, he does not obtain the fruit ² of abandonment by making (such) passionate abandonment. When prescribed action is performed, O *Arguna* ! abandoning attachment and fruit also, merely because it ought to be performed, that is deemed (to be) a good abandonment. He who is possessed of abandonment ³, being full of goodness, and talented, and having his doubts destroyed, is not averse from unpleasant actions, is not attached to pleasant ⁴ (ones). Since no embodied (being) can abandon actions without exception ⁵, he is said to be possessed of abandonment, who abandons the fruit of action. The threefold fruit of action, agreeable, disagreeable, and mixed, accrues after death to those who are not possessed of abandonment, but never to

¹ Without delusion no such abandonment will occur.

² Namely, final emancipation, by means of purity of heart.

³ I.e. who has the frame of mind necessary for a good abandonment.

⁴ Such as bathing at midday in summer. ⁵ Cf. p. 53 supra.

renouncers¹. Learn from me, O you of mighty arms! these five causes of the completion of all actions, declared in the Sāṅkhya system². The substratum, the agent likewise, the various sorts of organs, and the various and distinct movements, and with these the deities, too, as the fifth. Whatever action, just or otherwise, a man performs with his body, speech, and mind, these five are its causes. That being so, the undiscerning man, who being of an unrefined understanding, sees the agent in the immaculate self, sees not (rightly)³. He who has no feeling of egoism⁴, and whose mind is not tainted, even though he kills (all) these people, kills not, is not fettered⁵ (by the action). Knowledge⁶, the object of knowledge, the knower—threefold is the prompting to action. The instrument, the action, the agent, thus in brief is action threefold. Knowledge and action and agent

¹ The original is *sannyāsi*, but Śrīdhara is probably right in taking it to mean one who has command of 'abandonment.' Śaṅkara and Maṇḍuśūdana, however, take the word in its ordinary sense of 'ascetic.' What follows explains, says Śrīdhara, why 'the fruit does not accrue to renouncers.'

² Śaṅkara and Maṇḍuśūdana say this means Vedānta-śāstra. Śrīdhara suggests also the alternative Sāṅkhya-śāstra. Substratum = the body, in which desire, aversion, &c. are manifested; agent = one who egoistically thinks himself the doer of actions; organs = senses of perception, action, &c.; movements = of the vital breaths in the body; deities = the deities which preside over the eye and other senses (as to this cf. *Aitareya-upanishad*, p. 45; *Prasna*, pp. 216, 217; *Mundaka*, p. 314; *Aitareya-āranyaka*, pp. 88-270; and Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures, p. 204, note). ³ Cf. p. 106.

⁴ Egoism = the feeling that he is the doer of the action; taint = the feeling that the fruit of the action must accrue to him.

⁵ Cf. p. 45, and *Dhammapada*, stanza 294.

⁶ Knowledge, i.e. that something is a means to what is desired; object is the means; the knower is he who has this knowledge. When these co-exist we have action. The instrument = senses, &c.

are declared in the enumeration of qualities ¹ (to be) of three classes only, according to the difference of qualities. Hear about these also as they really are. Know that knowledge to be good, by which (a man) sees one entity, inexhaustible, and not different in all things (apparently) different ² (from one another). Know that knowledge to be passionate, which is (based) on distinctions ³ (between different entities), which sees in all things various entities of different kinds. And that is described as dark, which clings to one created (thing) only as everything, which is devoid of reason, devoid of real principle, and insignificant ⁴. That action is called good, which is prescribed, which is devoid of attachment, which is not done from (motives of) affection or aversion, (and which is done) by one not wishing for the fruit. That is described as passionate, which (occasions) much trouble, is performed by one who wishes for objects of desire, or one who is full of egotism ⁵. The action is called dark, which is commenced through delusion, without regard to consequences, loss, injury, or strength ⁶. That agent is called good, who has cast off attachment, who is free from egotistic talk, who is possessed of courage and energy, and unaffected by success or ill-success. That agent is called passionate, who is full of affections ⁷,

¹ The system of Kapila.

² Cf. p. 104.

³ Cf. *Ka/hopanishad*, p. 129.

⁴ Reason=argument in support; real principle=truth, view of things as they are; insignificant, i.e. in comprehensiveness.

⁵ I.e. 'pride of learning,' &c., *Saṅkara*; 'egoism,' *Rāmānuga*.

⁶ Consequences=good or evil resulting; loss=of wealth or strength; injury=to others; strength=one's own capacity.

⁷ I.e. 'for children,' &c., according to *Srīdhara*; 'for the action,' according to others.

who wishes for the fruit of actions, who is covetous, cruel, and impure, and feels joy and sorrow. That agent is called dark, who is without application¹, void of discernment, headstrong, crafty, malicious, lazy, melancholy, and slow. Now hear, O Dhanañgaya! the threefold division of intelligence² and courage, according to qualities, which I am about to declare exhaustively and distinctly. That intelligence, O son of Prithâ! is good which understands action and inaction³, what ought to be done and what ought not to be done, danger and the absence of danger, emancipation and bondage. That intelligence, O son of Prithâ! is passionate, by which one imperfectly understands piety and impiety, what ought to be done and also what ought not to be done. That intelligence, O son of Prithâ! is dark, which shrouded by darkness, understands impiety (to be) piety, and all things incorrectly. That courage, O son of Prithâ! is good courage, which is unswerving⁴, and by which one controls the operations of the mind, breath, and senses, through abstraction. But, O Arguna! that courage is passionate, by which one adheres to piety, lust, and wealth⁵, and through attachment⁶ wishes,

¹ I.e. attention to work; melancholy=always desponding and wanting in energy.

² The nature of the faculty of understanding; and courage is the firmness of that faculty.

³ See p. 115. Śaṅkara takes these to mean the 'paths' of action and knowledge, and Nīlakaṇṭha takes the next expression to mean that which is constant and that which is not constant—nitya, anitya.

⁴ Always co-existing with mental abstraction and supporting it.

⁵ Three of the aims of mankind, the highest being final emancipation. In the view of the Gītā, piety, leading only to heaven, is of doubtful benefit.

⁶ I.e. to the action for attaining them, in the belief that one is

O son of *Prithā*! for the fruit. That courage is dark, O son of *Prithā*! by which an undiscerning man does not give up sleep, fear, sorrow, despondency, and folly. Now, O chief of the descendants of *Bharata*! hear from me about the three sorts of happiness. That happiness is called good, in which one is pleased after repetition¹ (of enjoyment), and reaches the close of all misery, which is like poison first and comparable to nectar in the long run, and which is produced from a clear knowledge of the self². That happiness is called passionate, which (flows) from contact between the senses and their objects, and which is at first comparable to nectar and in the long run like poison. That happiness is described as dark, which arises from sleep, laziness, heedlessness, which deludes the self, both at first and in its consequences. There is no entity either on earth or in heaven among the gods, which is free from these three qualities born of nature. The duties of *Brāhmaṇas*, *Kshatriyas*, and *Vaisyas*, and of *Sūdras*, too, O terror of your foes! are distinguished according to the qualities born of nature³. Tranquillity⁴, restraint of the senses, penance, purity, forgiveness, straightforwardness, also knowledge, experience, and belief (in a future world), this is the natural duty of *Brāhmaṇas*. Valour, glory, courage,

the doer of it; the 'fruit' scil. of the action performed with an eye to the three things named.

¹ Not at once, as in the case of sensuous pleasures.

² Cf. p. 51. The original has also been rendered by 'tranquillity of one's own mind.'

³ Cf. p. 59.

⁴ I.e. resulting from control of the mind, purity here is both external and internal. And see p. 119.

dexterity¹, not slinking away from battle, gifts, exercise of lordly power², this is the natural duty of Kshatriyas. Agriculture, tending cattle, trade, (this) is the natural duty of Vaisyas. And the natural duty of Sûdras, too, consists in service. (Every) man intent on his own respective duties obtains perfection³. Listen, now, how one intent on one's own duty obtains perfection. Worshipping, by (the performance of) his own duty, him from whom all things proceed, and by whom all this is permeated, a man obtains perfection. One's duty, though defective, is better than another's duty well performed⁴. Performing the duty prescribed by nature, one does not incur sin. O son of Kuntî! one should not abandon a natural duty though tainted with evil; for all actions are enveloped by evil, as fire by smoke⁵. One who is self-restrained, whose understanding is unattached everywhere, from whom affections have departed, obtains the supreme perfection of freedom from action⁶ by renunciation. Learn from me, only in brief, O son of Kuntî! how one who has obtained perfection attains the Brahman, which is the highest culmination of knowledge. A man possessed of a pure understanding, controlling his self by courage, discarding sound and other objects of sense, casting off

¹ I.e. in battle, Nilakantha seems to say. Sankara says it means ready resource whenever occasion arises.

² I.e. 'power to restrain people from going astray,' Nilakantha.

³ Eligibility for the path of knowledge.

⁴ Cf. p. 56.

⁵ Cf. p. 121; the evil appears to be the quality of 'fettering' the soul.

⁶ Sîdhara compares p. 65 (V, 13) and distinguishes this from p. 64 (V, 8 seq.) Sankara says the perfection here spoken of is emancipation, and it is obtained by true knowledge.

affection and aversion ; who frequents clean places, who eats little, whose speech, body, and mind are restrained, who is always intent on meditation and mental abstraction¹, and has recourse to unconcern, who abandoning egoism², stubbornness, arrogance, desiré, anger, and (all) belongings, has no (thought that this or that is) mine, and who is tranquil, becomes fit for assimilation with the Brahman. Thus reaching the Brahman³, and with a tranquil self, he grieves not, wishes not ; but being alike to all beings, obtains the highest devotion to me. By (that) devotion he truly understands who I am and how great. And then understanding me truly, he forthwith enters into my (essence). Even performing all actions, always depending on me, he, through my favour, obtains the imperishable and eternal seat. Dedicating in thought⁴ all actions to me, he constantly given up to me, (placing) your thoughts on me, through recourse to mental abstraction. (Placing) your thoughts on me, you will cross over all difficulties by my favour. But if you will not listen through egotism⁵, you will be ruined. If entertaining egotism, you think that you may not fight, vain, indeed, is that resolution of yours. Nature⁶ will constrain you. That, O son of Kuntî ! which through delusion you do not wish to do, you will do involuntarily,

¹ Abstraction is concentrated and exclusive meditation, Saṅkara. The other commentators take dhyānayoga as meditation simply,—as treated of in chapter VI, says Nīlakantha.

² See p. 52.

³ I. e. comprehending his identity with the Brahman.

⁴ Cf. p. 55.

⁵ Pride of learning and cleverness, or of piety. See p. 124, note 5.

⁶ The nature of a Kshatriya, Saṅkara.

tied down by your own duty, flowing from your nature. The lord, O Arguna! is seated in the region of the heart¹ of all beings, turning round all beings (as though) mounted on a machine, by his delusion. With him, O descendant of Bharata! seek shelter in every way²; by his favour you will obtain the highest tranquillity, the eternal seat. Thus have I declared to you the knowledge more mysterious than any mystery. Ponder over it thoroughly, and then act as you like. Once more, listen to my excellent words—most mysterious of all. Strongly I like you, therefore I will declare what is for your welfare. On me (place) your mind, become my devotee, sacrifice to me, reverence me, and you will certainly come to me. I declare to you truly, you are dear to me. Forsaking all duties³, come to me as (your) sole refuge. I will release you from all sins. Be not grieved. This⁴ you should never declare to one who performs no penance⁵, who is not a devotee⁶, nor to one who does not wait on (some preceptor)⁷, nor yet to one who calumniates me. He who, with the highest devotion⁸ to me, will proclaim this supreme mystery among my devotees, will come to me, freed from (all) doubts. No one

¹ Svetâsvatara-upanishad, pp. 333-345; Kathopanishad, p. 157.

² Cf. p. 114; by thought, word, and deed.

³ Of caste or order, such as Agnihotra and so forth.

⁴ All that has been taught in the Gîtâ.

⁵ Sridhara renders this to mean, 'who performs no pious acts.'

⁶ I. e. of God and a preceptor. Cf. last stanza of Svetâsvatara-upanishad.

⁷ Cf. p. 62. Saṅkara says all these elements must co-exist to give eligibility.

⁸ I. e. belief that in disseminating it, he is serving me. Cf. Kathopanishad, p. 120.

amongst men is superior to him in doing what is dear to me. And there will never be another on earth dearer to me than he. And he who will study this holy dialogue of ours, will, such is my opinion, have offered to me the sacrifice of knowledge ¹. And the man, also, who with faith and without carping will listen (to this), will be freed (from sin), and attain to the holy regions of those who perform pious acts ². Have you listened to this, O son of Prithâ ! with a mind (fixed) on (this) one point only ? Has your delusion (caused) by ignorance been destroyed, O Dhanañgaya ?

Arguna said :

Destroyed is my delusion ; by your favour, O undegraded one ! I (now) recollect ³ myself. I stand freed from doubts ⁴. I will do your bidding.

Sañgaya said :

Thus did I hear this dialogue between Vāsudeva and the high-minded son of Prithâ, (a dialogue) wonderful and causing the hair to stand on end. By the favour of Vyâsa, I heard this highest mystery, (this) devotion ⁵, from Krishna himself, the lord of the possessors of mystic power, who proclaimed it in person. O king ! remembering and (again) remembering this wonderful and holy dialogue of Kesava and Arguna, I rejoice over and over again. And remembering and (again) remembering that

¹ Which is the best of sacrifices ; see p. 62.

² Cf. p. 72.

³ I.e. understand my real essence, what I am, &c.

⁴ As to whether the battle was right or not.

⁵ The work is so called, as it refers to devotion.

excessively wonderful form of Hari also, great is my amazement, O king! and I rejoice over and over again. Wherever (is) *Kṛishṇa*, the lord of the possessors of mystic power, wherever (is) the (great) archer, the son of *Prithā*, there in my opinion (are) fortune, victory, prosperity¹, and eternal justice.

¹ Prosperity is the greater development of fortune.

SANATSUGÂTÎYA.

.

INTRODUCTION

TO

SANATSUGÂTÎYA.

THE Sanatsugâtiya is, like the Bhagavadgîtâ, one of the numerous episodes of the Mahâbhârata¹. It is true, that it has never commanded anything like that unbounded veneration which has always been paid in India to the Bhagavadgîtâ. Still it is sometimes studied even in our days, and it has had the high distinction of being commented on by the great leader of the modern Vedântic school—Saṅkarâkârya². The Sanatsugâtiya purports to be a dialogue mainly between Sanatsugâta on the one side and Dhṛitarâshṭra on the other. Sanatsugâta, from whom it takes its name, is said to be identical with Sanatku-mâra, a name not unfamiliar to students of our Upanishad literature. And Dhṛitarâshṭra is the old father of those Kauravas who formed one of the belligerent parties in the bellum plusquam civile which is recorded in the Mahâbhârata. The connexion of this particular episode with the main current of the narrative of that epos is one of the loosest possible character—much looser, for instance, than that of the Bhagavadgîtâ. As regards the latter, it can fairly be contended that it is in accordance with poetical justice for Arguna to feel despondent and unwilling to engage in battle, after actual sight of 'teachers, fathers, sons,' and all the rest of them, arrayed in opposition to him; and that therefore it was necessary for the poet to adduce some specific explanation as to how Arguna was ultimately enabled to get over such natural scruples. But as regards the Sanatsugâtiya, even such a contention as this

¹ Mahâbhârata, Udyoga Parvan, Adhyâya 41-46.

² Mâdhavâkârya, in speaking of Saṅkara's works, describes him as having commented on the Sanatsugâtiya, which is 'far from evil (persons)' [asatsudû-ram]. Saṅkara-vigaya, chapter VI, stanza 62.

can have no place. For this is how the matter stands. In the course of the negotiations for an amicable arrangement¹ between the Pândavas and the Kauravas, Sañgaya, on one occasion, came back to Dhṛitarāshṭra with a message from the Pândavas. When he saw Dhṛitarāshṭra, however, he said that he would deliver the message in the public assembly of the Kauravas the next morning, and went away after pronouncing a severe censure on Dhṛitarāshṭra for his conduct. The suspense thus caused was a source of much vexation to the old man, and so he sent for Vidura, in order, as he expresses it, that Vidura might by his discourse assuage the fire that was raging within him. Vidura accordingly appears, and enters upon an elaborate prelection concerning matters spiritual, or, perhaps, more accurately quasi-spiritual, and at the outset of the Sanatsugâtiya he is supposed to have reached a stage where, as being born a Sûdra, he hesitates to proceed. After some discussion of this point, between Vidura and Dhṛitarāshṭra, it is determined to call in the aid of Sanatsugâta, to explain the spiritual topics which Vidura felt a delicacy in dealing with; and Sanatsugâta is accordingly introduced on the scene in a way not unusual in our epic and purānic literature, viz. by Vidura engaging in some mystic process of meditation, in response to which Sanatsugâta appears. He is received then with all due formalities, and after he has had some rest, as our poem takes care to note, he is catechised by Dhṛitarāshṭra; and with one or two exceptions, all the verses which constitute the Sanatsugâtiya are Sanatsugâta's answers to Dhṛitarāshṭra's questions².

This brief statement of the scheme of this part of the Mahābhārata shows, as already pointed out, that the connexion of the Sanatsugâtiya with the central story of that epic is very loose indeed; and that it might have been entirely omitted without occasioning any æsthetical or other defect. And therefore, although there is nothing positive

¹ See p. 3 supra.

² After this dialogue is over, the dawn breaks, and Dhṛitarāshṭra and the Kaurava princes meet in general assembly.

tending to prove the *Sanatsugâtîya* to be a later addition to the original epos, still the misgivings which are often entertained upon such points may well, in this case, be stronger than in the case of the *Bhagavadgîtâ*. The text, too, of the *Sanatsugâtîya* is not preserved in nearly so satisfactory a condition as that of the *Gîtâ*. I have had before me, in settling my text, the editions of the *Mahâbhârata* respectively printed and published at Bombay¹, Calcutta, and Madras, and three MSS., one of which was most kindly and readily placed at my disposal by my friend Professor *Râmkrishna Gopâl Bhândârkar*; the second by another friend, Professor *Âbâgî Vishnu Kâthavate*; and the third was a copy made for me at Sâgar in the Central Provinces, through the good offices of a third friend, Mr. *Vâman Mahâdeva Kolhar*. The copy lent me by Professor *Bhândârkar* comes from *Puna*, and that lent by Professor *Kâthavate* also from *Puna*. This last, as well as the Sâgar copy, and the edition printed at Madras, contains the commentary of *Saṅkarākārya*. And the text I have adopted is that which is indicated by the commentary as the text which its author had before him. But the several copies of the commentary differ so much from one another, that it is still a matter of some doubt with me, whether I have got accurately the text which *Saṅkara* commented upon. For instance, the Sâgar copy entirely omits chapter V, while the other copies not only give the text of that chapter, but also a commentary upon it which calls itself *Saṅkarākārya's* commentary². Again, take the stanzas which stand within brackets at pp. 167, 168³ of our translation. There is in none of the copies we have, any commentary of *Saṅkarākārya* on them. And yet the stanzas exist in the text of the *Mahâbhârata* as given in those copies which do contain *Saṅkara's* commentary. The matter is evidently one for further investigation. I have not, however, thought it

¹ This contains *Nilakantḥa's* commentary, but his text avowedly includes the text of *Saṅkara*, and verses and readings contained in more modern copies.

² The commentary on the sixth chapter, however, takes up the thread from the end of the fourth chapter.

³ See p. 182, where one of the lines recurs.

absolutely necessary to make such an investigation for the purposes of the present translation. But to be on the safe side, I have retained in the translation everything which is to be found in those copies of the Sanatsugâtiya which also contain Saṅkara's commentary. As to other stanzas—and there are some of this description—which other MSS. or commentators vouch for, but of which no trace is to be found in the MSS. containing Saṅkara's commentary¹, I have simply omitted them.

These facts show that, in the case of the Sanatsugâtiya, the materials for a trustworthy historical account of the work are not of a very satisfactory character. The materials for ascertaining its date and position in Sanskrit literature are, indeed, so scanty, that poor as we have seen the materials for the Bhagavadgītā to be, they must be called superlatively rich as compared with those we have now to deal with. As regards external evidence on the points now alluded to, the first and almost the last fact falling under that head, is the fact of the work being quoted from and commented upon by Saṅkarâcārya. In his commentary on the Svetâsvatara-upanishad², Saṅkara cites the passage about the flamingo at p. 189, introducing it with the words, 'And in the Sanatsugâta also.' In the same³ commentary some other passages from the Sanatsugâtiya are also quoted, but without naming the work except as a Smṛiti, and mixing up together verses from different parts of the work.

This is really all the external evidence, that I am aware of, touching the date of the Sanatsugâtiya. There is, however, one other point, which it is desirable to notice, though not, perhaps, so much because it is of any very great value in itself, as because it may hereafter become useful, should further research into the Mahābhārata and other works yield the requisite information. There are, then, eight stanzas in the thirty-sixth, thirty-seventh, thirty-ninth, and fortieth chapters of the Udyoga Parvan of the Mahābhā-

¹ See note 1, p. 137.

² P. 283.

³ P. 252. See, too, Sāñiraka Bhāṣhya, p. 828.

rata (the Sanatsugâtiya commencing at the forty-first chapter), seven of which are quoted in the *Pañkatantra*¹, and the eighth in the *Mahâbhâshya*² of Patañjali. Of course, it almost goes without saying, that neither the *Pañkatantra* nor the *Mahâbhâshya* mentions the source from which they derive the verses in question. But I do not think it unallowable to make the provisional assumption, that they were derived from the *Mahâbhârata*, so long as we cannot produce any other, and more likely, source. It is true, that Professor Weber has, in another connexion, impugned the cogency of this argument. He seems to think, that the probability—in the case he was actually dealing with—of the *Râmâyana* having borrowed from the *Mahâbhâshya*, is quite as strong as the probability of the *Mahâbhâshya* having borrowed from the *Râmâyana*³. And doubtless, he would by parity of reason contend, in the case before us, that the probabilities, as between the *Mahâbhârata* on the one hand, and the *Mahâbhâshya* and the *Pañkatantra* on the other, bear the same mutual relation. I cannot accept this view. I am not now concerned to discuss the merits of the conclusion in support of which Professor Weber has advanced this argument⁴. I am only considering, how far it affects the question now before us. And as to that question, I may say, that the *Pañkatantra* expressly introduces the stanzas now under consideration with some such expression as, 'For it has been said,' indicating clearly that it was there quoting the words of another⁵. And so, too, does the *Mahâbhâshya*,

¹ Cf. Kosegarten's *Pañkatantra*, p. 28 (I, 28, Bombay S. C. ed.), with *Udyoga Parvan*, chap. XL, st. 7 (Bombay ed.); *Pañkatantra*, pp. 112 and 209 (II, 10; IV, 5, Bombay ed.), with *Udyoga Parvan*, chap. XXXVIII, 9; p. 35 (I, 37, Bombay ed.) with chap. XXXVI, st. 34; p. 140 (II, 40, Bombay ed.) with chap. XXXVII, st. 15; p. 160 (III, 62, Bombay ed.) with chap. XXXVII, st. 17, 18; p. 106 (II, 2, Bombay ed.) with chap. XXXVI, st. 59.

² *Udyoga Parvan*, chap. XXXVIII, st. 1, and *Mahâbhâshya* VI, 1-4, p. 35 (Banâras ed.)

³ See *Indian Antiquary* IV, 247. The parallel from *Mâdhava* which Professor Weber adduces is quite inconclusive, and as far as it goes appears to me to militate against the Professor's own view.

⁴ I may, however, admit at once, that I ought not to have expressed myself as strongly as I did in the note which Professor Weber criticises.

⁵ See p. 203 *infra*.

where the passage we refer to runs as follows: '(It is) laid down, (that there is) a sin in one of tender age not rising to receive (an elderly person), and (that there is) merit in rising to receive. How? Thus, "The life-winds of a youth depart upwards, when an elderly man approaches (him). By rising to receive (him), and salutation, he obtains them again."' It appears to me, that the indications of this being a quotation in the Bhâshya are very strong. But apart from that, I do demur to the proposition, that the probabilities are equal, of a work like the Mahâbhârata or Râmâyana borrowing a verse from the Mahâbhâshya, and vice versa. It appears to me perfectly plain, I own, that the probability of a grammatical work like the Bhâshya borrowing a verse from a standard work like the Bhârata or Râmâyana for purposes of illustration is very much the stronger of the two. And this, quite independently of any inquiry as to whether the Bhâshya does or does not show other indications of acquaintance with the Bhârata or the Râmâyana.

If these arguments are correct, it seems to me that they carry us thus far in our present investigation—namely, that we may now say, that we have reason to believe some parts, at all events, of the thirty-sixth, thirty-seventh, thirty-eighth, and fortieth chapters of the Udyoga Parvan of the Mahâbhârata to have probably been in existence prior to the sixth century A.C.¹; and that some parts of the thirty-seventh chapter were probably extant in the time of Patañjali, viz. the second century B.C.² Now, internal evidence does not yield any indications tending to show that the several chapters here referred to must have been prior in time to the chapters composing the Sanatsugâtîya, which come so soon after them in the Mahâbhârata. On the contrary, it is not too much to maintain, that to a certain extent the style and language of the Sanatsugâtîya is, if anything, rather indicative of its priority in time over the five chapters immediately preceding it. And, therefore, so far as this argument goes, it enables us—provisionally only, it must be

¹ See p. 29 supra.

² See p. 32 supra.

remembered—to fix the second century B.C. as a *terminus ad quem* for the date of the Sanatsugâtiya.

This is all the external evidence available for a discussion of the question—when the Sanatsugâtiya was composed. We now turn to the internal evidence. Standing by itself, internal evidence is not, in my opinion, of much cogency in any case. Still in ascertaining, as best we can, the history of our ancient literature, even this species of evidence is not to be despised; it must only be used and received with caution. Under this head, then, we may note first the persons who are supposed to take part in the dialogue. Sanatsugâta¹—or Sanatkumâra—as already pointed out, is a name already familiar to the readers of one of our older Upanishads—the *Khândogya*. Dhṛitarâshṭra is not known in the Upanishads, but he is an important personage in the epic literature. And it is to be remarked, that his character as disclosed in the Sanatsugâtiya is not at all similar to that which has attached itself to his name, alike in the later literature of our country, and in that popular opinion which was probably formed by this later literature. In the dialogue before us, he figures as an earnest inquirer after truth; he is described as the ‘talented king Dhṛitarâshṭra;’ and is addressed by Sanatsugâta as, ‘O acute sir!’ ‘O learned person!’ True it is, that Nīlakanṭha in one place, as we have noticed in our note there², endeavours to bring out the later view of Dhṛitarâshṭra’s character³; but it seems to me that that endeavour, based as it is on a forced and far-fetched interpretation of a single word in our poem, is an unsuccessful one. None of the questions, which Dhṛitarâshṭra puts to Sanatsugâta in the course of their dialogue, indicates the avaricious old man who wished to deprive his innocent nephews of their just rights in the interests of his own wicked and misguided sons. They rather indicate the bona fide student of spiritual lore, and thus point to what is, perhaps, an earlier view of Dhṛitarâshṭra’s character.

¹ See Hall’s *Sāṅkhyasāra*, preface, pp. 14, 15.

² P. 151, note 2.

³ Nīlakanṭha himself, however, treats Dhṛitarâshṭra’s question later on as showing that he had attained indifference to worldly concerns. That question does not occur in Śaṅkara’s text, but is given at p. 158 *infra*.

If we look next to the general style of this poem, we find that it has none of that elaboration which marks what I have called the age of Kāvya and Nāṭakas. The remarks on this topic in the Introduction to the Gītā apply pretty accurately to this work also. We observe here the same paucity of long-drawn compounds, the same absence of merely ornamental adjectives, the same absence of figures and tropes¹; in one word, the same directness and simplicity of style. Furthermore, there is a somewhat greater want of finish about the syntax of our poem than there is even in the Gītā. Such constructions as we find inter alia at chapter II, stanza 2, or 25, or at chapter III, stanza 14, or chapter IV, stanza 12, or in the early verses of the last chapter, indicate a period in the history of the language, when probably the regulations of syntax were not quite thoroughly established in practice.

If we turn to the metre of the poem, an analogous phenomenon strikes us there. Similar irregularities in the collocation of long and short syllables, similar superfluities and deficiencies of syllables, meet us in the Sanatsugāṭīya and the Bhagavadgītā. And in the former work, as in the latter, the irregularities are less observable in the Anuṣṭubh² than in the other metres used. Probably the explanation, apart from the great elasticity of that metre, is that the Anuṣṭubh had been more used, and had in consequence become comparatively more settled in its scheme even in practical composition.

Looking now more particularly to the language of the work before us, we find one word to be of most frequent occurrence, namely, the word vai, which we have rendered 'verily.' It is not a common word in the later literature, while in the Upanishad literature we meet with great frequency, not merely vai, but the words, which I think are cognate with it, vā and vāva. The former word, indeed,

¹ The five similes which occur, and which are nearly all that occur, in the poem, are the very primitive ones—of the hunter, of water on grass, the tiger of straw, death eating men like a tiger, dogs eating what is vomited, a branch of a tree and the moon, and birds and their nests.

² Cf. as to this the *Nṛsiṃha Tāpinī*, p. 105.

appears to me to stand in some passages of the Upanishads for vai by euphonic alterations. Thus in the passage *tvam vâ aham asmi bhagavo devate, aham vai tvam asi*, it is difficult not to suppose that the *vâ* of the first part of the sentence is the same word as the *vai* of the second part, only altered according to the rules of Sandhi in Sanskrit.

A second point of similarity between the language of the Upanishads and that of the Sanatsugâtiya is to be found in the phrase, 'He who knows this becomes immortal.' This sentence, or one of like signification, is, as is well known, of common occurrence in the Upanishads and in the Brâhmanas. In the Bhagavadgîtâ, the verses towards the end, which come after *Krishna's* summing-up of his instruction, seem to be of a somewhat analogous, though in some respects different, nature. And in the Purânas we meet sometimes with elaborate passages extolling the merits of a particular rite, or a particular pilgrimage, and so forth. This form of the Phalasruti, as it is called, appears to have been developed in process of time from the minute germ existing in the Brâhmanas and the Upanishads. In the Sanatsugâtiya, however, we are almost at the beginning of those developments; indeed, the form before us is identically the same as that which we see in the works where it is first met with. It is a short sentence, which, though complete in itself, still appears merely at the end of another passage, and almost as a part of such other passage.

There is one other point of a kindred nature which it may be well to notice here. As in the Gîtâ, so in the Sanatsugâtiya, we meet with a considerable number of words used in senses not familiar in the later literature. They are collected in the Index of Sanskrit words in this volume; but a few remarks on some of them will not, it is thought, be entirely out of place here. The word *mârگا*¹—in the sense of 'worldly life'—is rather remarkable. Saṅkara renders it by 'the path of *samsâra*' or worldly life. And he quotes as a parallel the passage from the *Khândogya-*

¹ I give no references here, as they can be found in the Index of Sanskrit words at the end of this volume.

upanishad which speaks of returning to the 'path.' There, however, Saṅkara explains it to mean the 'path by which the self returns to worldly life,' namely, from space to the wind and so forth into vegetables, and food, ultimately appearing as a foetus. Another remarkable word is 'varga,' which occurs twice in the Sanatsugâtiya. Saṅkara and Nilakantha differ in their explanations of it, and Nilakantha indeed gives two different meanings to the word in the two passages where it occurs. We may also refer here specially to *utsa*, *ritvig*, and *matvâ*. In Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon the only passages cited under 'utsa' are from Vedic works, except two respectively from Susruta and the Dasakumâra-karita. One passage, however, there cited, viz. *Vishnoh pade parame madhva utsa*, is plainly the original of the passage we are now considering. As to *ritvig* in the sense it bears here, we see, I think, what was the earlier signification of that word before it settled down into the somewhat technical meaning in which it is now familiar. And *matvâ* in the sense of 'meditating upon' is to be found in the Upanishads, but not, I think, in any work of the classical literature. These words, therefore, seem to indicate that the Sanatsugâtiya was composed at a stage in the development of the Sanskrit language which is a good deal earlier than the stage which we see completely reached in the classical literature.

Coming now to the matter of the Sanatsugâtiya, it appears to me, that we there see indications pointing in a general way to the same conclusion as that which we have here arrived at. There is, in the first place, a looseness and want of rigid system in the mode of handling the subject, similar to that which we have already observed upon as characterising the Bhagavadgîtâ. There is no obvious bond of connexion joining together the various subjects discussed, nor are those subjects themselves treated after any very scientific or rigorous method. Again, if the fourth chapter is a genuine part of the Sanatsugâtiya, we have an elaborate repetition in one part, of what has been said in another part of the work, with only a few variations in words, and

perhaps fewer still in signification. As, however, I am not at present prepared to stand finally by the genuineness of that chapter, I do not consider it desirable to further labour this argument than to point out, that similar repetitions, on a smaller scale, perhaps, are not uncommon in our older literature¹.

Coming now to the manner in which the Vedas are spoken of in the work before us, there are, we find, one or two noteworthy circumstances proper to be considered here. In the first place, we have the reference to the four Vedas together with *Ākhyānas* as the fifth Veda. This is in conformity with the old tradition recorded in the various works to which we have referred in our note on the passage. The mention of the *Atharva-veda*, which is implied in this passage, and expressly contained in another, might be regarded as some mark of a modern age. But without dwelling upon the fact, that the *Atharva-veda*, though probably modern as compared with the other Vedas, is still old enough to date some centuries before the Christian era², it must suffice to draw attention here to the fact that the *Khândogya-upanishad* mentions that Veda, and it is not here argued that the *Sanatsugâtîya* is older than the *Khândogya-upanishad*. We have next to consider the reference to the *Sāman* hymns as 'vimala,' or pure. The point involved in this reference has been already sufficiently discussed in the Introduction to the *Gītā*³; and it is not necessary here to say more than that, of the two classes of works we have there made, the *Sanatsugâtîya* appears from the passage under discussion to rank itself with the class which is prior in date.

The estimate of the value of the Vedas which is implied in the *Sanatsugâtîya* appears to coincide very nearly with that which we have shown to be the estimate implied in the *Bhagavadgītā*. The Vedas are not here cast aside as useless any more than they are in the *Bhagavadgītā*. For, I do not think the word *Anrikas* which occurs in one passage of the work can be regarded really as referring to those

¹ See p. 181, note 1 *infra*.

² P. 19 *supra*.

³ Pp. 19, 20.

who entirely reject the Vedic revelation. But without going as far as that, the Sanatsugâtiya seems certainly to join the Bhagavadgîtâ in its protest against those men of extreme views, who could see nothing beyond the rites and ceremonies taught in the Vedas. A study of the Vedas is, indeed, insisted on in sundry passages of the Sanatsugâtiya. But it is equally maintained, that the performance of the ceremonies laid down in the Vedas is not the true means of final emancipation. It is maintained, that action done with any desire is a cause of bondage to worldly life; that the gods themselves are ordinary creatures who have reached a certain high position owing to the practice of the duties of Brahmakârins, but that they are not only not superior to, but are really under the control of, the man who has acquired the true knowledge of the universal self. On all these points, we have opinions expressed in the Sanatsugâtiya, which conclusively establish an identity of doctrine as between the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgîtâ¹ on the one hand, and the Sanatsugâtiya on the other. Lastly, we have an explicit statement, that the mere study of Vedic texts avails nothing, and that sin is not to be got rid of by one who merely 'studies the *Rik* and the *Yagus* texts, and the *Sâma-veda*.' It is not necessary to repeat here the chronological deductions which may be based upon this relation between the Sanatsugâtiya and the Vedas. We have already argued in the Introduction to the Bhagavadgîtâ, that such a relation points to a period of Indian religious history prior to the great movement of Gautama Buddha².

There is, however, this difference, perhaps, to be noted between the Gîtâ and the Sanatsugâtiya—namely, that the latter work seems to afford more certain indications of the recognition, at the date of its composition, of a *Gñânakânda* as distinguished from a *Karmakânda* in the Vedas, than, we have seen, are contained in the Bhagavadgîtâ³. The passage, for instance, which speaks of the *Khandas* as

¹ Cf. p. 16 supra.

² Cf. pp. 25, 26.

³ P. 17.

referring 'of themselves' to the Brahman, and the passage which refers to an understanding of the Brahman by means of the Vedas, according to the principle of the moon and the branch—these seem rather to point to a portion of the Vedas which was regarded as giving instruction in true knowledge, as distinguished from merely laying down various sacrifices and ceremonials for special purposes. In fact, in one passage we have the germ of the whole Vedāntic theory as afterwards settled. For there we are told, that sacrifices and penances are laid down as the preliminary steps towards the acquisition of true knowledge. By those sacrifices one is purified of one's sins, and then acquires a knowledge of the supreme self as described in the Vedas—which, I apprehend, must mean the Upanishads.

There is but one other point on which we need say anything further. And that is connected with the definition of a Brāhmaṇa. That definition appears to me, to point to an earlier stage in religious progress than is indicated in Āpastamba and Manu. The true Brāhmaṇa is he who is attached to the Brahman. Perhaps, this marks some little advance beyond the more general doctrine of the Gītā, but it is still very far short of the petrified doctrine, if I may so call it, of the later law-givers. The Brāhmaṇa has not yet degenerated into the mere receiver of fees and presents, but is still in possession of the truth.

We thus see, that the external and internal evidence bearing upon the question of the position of the Sanatsugātiya in Sanskrit literature, seems to point to nearly the same period and place for it as for the Bhagavadgītā. It is plain enough, that the evidence under both heads is extremely scanty and meagre. But such as it is, it appears to us to justify a provisional conclusion, that the Sanatsugātiya dates from a period prior to the rise of Buddhism, and forms part of that same movement in the religious history of ancient India of which the Gītā is another embodiment. More than this, we are not at present in a position to assert. To this extent, the evidence enables us, I think, to go. And we accordingly hold, that unless

other and further evidence requires a reversal of this judgment, the Sanatsugâtīya may be treated as a work nearly contemporary with the Bhagavadgītā, and occupying generally the same point of view.

One word, finally, about the translation. As stated already, the text adopted is that which appears to have been before Saṅkarākārya. And the translation follows mainly his interpretations in his commentary. Sometimes we have followed Nilakantha, whose commentary has been consulted as well as a very incorrect copy of another commentary by one Sarvagña Nārāyaṇa, contained in the MS. from Puna lent me by Professor Bhāṇḍārkar. In some places even the commentators have failed to clear up obscurities, and there we have given the best translation we could suggest, indicating the difficulties. There has been an endeavour made here, as in the case of the Bhagavadgītā, to keep the translation as close and faithful to the text as the exigencies of the English language permitted. The exegetical notes are mostly taken from the commentaries, even where the name of the commentator is not specified; while the references to parallel passages have been collected, mostly by myself, in the same way as in the case of the Bhagavadgītā.

SANATSUGÂTÎYA.

CHAPTER I.

Dhr̥itarāsh̥tra said :

If, O Vidura ! there is anything not (yet) said by you in (your) discourse, then do impart it to me who wish to hear, for you have spoken marvellous (things).

Vidura said :

O Dhr̥itarāsh̥tra ! the ancient youth Sanatsugâta, (otherwise called) Sanâtana¹, who declared that death exists not—he, O descendant of Bharata ! the best of all talented men, will explain all the doubts of your mind, both those (which are) secret ², and those openly declared.

Dhr̥itarāsh̥tra said :

What, do you not yourself know more about this (subject), that Sanâtana should explain (it) to me ? Explain (it) yourself, O Vidura ! if there is any remnant of intelligence (left) in you.

¹ So Nilakantha. Sāṅkara says Sanatsugâta is Sanatkumâra, and the component parts of the name he paraphrases by 'born from Brahman.' For Sanâtana, see *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 506, and note 1, p. 141 supra.

² I.e. relating to subjects which may be freely discussed by all, and those which may not. Nilakantha adopts a different reading, which he interprets to mean 'doctrines exoteric and esoteric,' e.g. self-restraint, &c., and the acquisition of mystic power, &c., respectively. The expression 'doubts of the mind' occurs, however, further on.

Vidura said :

I am born of a Sûdra womb, and do not like to say more than what (I have said). But the intelligence of that youth, I believe to be eternal¹. He who has come of a Brâhmaṇa womb, even though he may proclaim a great mystery, does not thereby become liable to the censure of the gods. Therefore do I say this to you.

Dhṛitarâshṭra said :

Do you, O Vidura! speak to the ancient Sanâtana for me, so that there may be a meeting even here, between (myself in) this body (and him).

Vaisampâyana² said :

(Then) Vidura meditated on that sage whose vows are laudable³. And he, too, O descendant of Bharata! knowing of such meditation, made his appearance. And he⁴, too, received him with the ceremonies prescribed in the ordinances. After he had been comfortably seated, and had taken rest, Vidura then spoke to him : 'Venerable sir! there is some doubt in Dhṛitarâshṭra's mind, which cannot

¹ I.e., I suppose, never-failing, and such as can deal with all sorts of topics. Sanatkumâra, it need scarcely be stated, is the teacher of Nârada in the famous dialogue in the *Khândogyaopaniṣad*, p. 473.

² Vaisampâyana is the narrator of the grand story of which pieces like the present form parts.

³ The reading is sometimes different, so as to mean 'of rigid vows,' as at *Gîtâ*, p. 61 *supra*.

⁴ The pronouns here are too numerous. Does 'he' here refer to Dhṛitarâshṭra? Vidura seems more likely, though the express mention of him in the next sentence might be treated as pointing the other way.

be explained by me. Do you be pleased to explain (it) to him. Hearing it (explained), this lord of men may cross beyond all misery, so that gain and loss¹, (what is) agreeable and (what is) odious, old age and death, fear and vindictiveness, hunger and thirst, frenzy and worldly greatness, disgust and also laziness, desire and wrath, ruin and prosperity, may not trouble him.'

CHAPTER II.

Vaisampâyana said :

Then the talented king, Dhṛitarâsh/ra, bowed² to those words uttered by Vidura, and, in a secluded place³, interrogated Sanatsugâta regarding the highest knowledge⁴, wishing to become (a) high-souled (man)⁵.

Dhṛitarâsh/ra said :

O Sanatsugâta ! which of the two is correct, your teaching⁶, about which I have heard, that death exists not, or that⁷ the gods and demons practised

¹ Comp. Gîtâ passim; disgust, scil. that resulting from a general dissatisfaction with everything. As to 'ruin and prosperity,' Nilakantha adds, 'and their causes, sin and merit.'

² Literally 'respected.' Nilakantha says it means 'rejoiced over,' for Dhṛitarâsh/ra thought, that in spite of his treachery he was safe, as death was taught by Sanatsugâta to have no existence.

³ I.e. free from the presence of ignorant and vulgar people. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 68 supra.

⁴ I.e. knowledge concerning the supreme Self.

⁵ Saṅkara's construction seems different, but is not quite clear. He says, 'wishing to become—Brahman—the meaning is wishing to acquire the self lost through ignorance.'

⁶ I.e. imparted to your pupils, Saṅkara adds; 'heard,' scil. from Vidura.

⁷ The construction is imperfect, but the sense is clear. Is your

the life of Brahmaċārins¹, for freedom from death?

Sanatsugâta said:

Some (say), that freedom from death (results) from action²; and others that death exists not. Hear me explain (this), O king! have no misgiving about it³. Both truths, O Kshatriya! have been current from the beginning⁴. The wise maintain what (is called) delusion (to be) death. I⁵ verily call heedlessness death, and likewise I call freedom from heedlessness immortality. Through heedlessness, verily, were the demons⁶ vanquished; and through freedom

view correct, or the view involved in the practice of gods and demons?

¹ See Gîtâ, p. 69 supra; *Ka/hopanishad*, p. 102; *Prasna*, p. 162. As to the gods being afraid of death, see *K/hândogya*, p. 50; and *Nr/simha Tâpinî*, p. 32; and as to gods and demons practising the life of Brahmaċārins, see *K/hândogya*, p. 571; and cf. *Brihad-âraṇyaka*, p. 964.

² I.e. action prescribed in the Vedas.

³ I.e. as to how I shall be able to reconcile the seeming contradiction between the 'two truths.'

⁴ I.e. of creation.

⁵ Sanatsugâta says he differs from 'the wise;' delusion=thinking the not-self to be the self; heedlessness=falling off from one's natural condition as the Brahman—which is the cause of delusion (Sāṅkara). See p. 153 infra; *Ka/hā*, p. 152; and *Taittirīya-upanishad*, p. 80.

⁶ Sāṅkara suggests that demons might mean creatures attached to worldly objects; and gods those who are pleased in their own self; and he cites a stanza in support of this suggestion. The allusion, however, seems to be plainly to the story at *K/hândogya*, p. 571 seq., where the idea and expression of 'being vanquished' also occurs (p. 583). That word Sāṅkara interprets in connexion with his suggested interpretation to mean 'are born in lower species.' See *K/hândogya*, p. 585, and *Maitrî*, p. 211, about asuras or demons. It is interesting to note that in the Introduction to the *Mahābhāṣya*, there is an allusion to a story of the 'demons' being 'vanquished' in consequence of their grammatical blunders.

from heedlessness the gods attained to the Brahman. Death, verily, does not devour living creatures like a tiger; for, indeed, his form is not to be perceived. Some ¹ say that death is different from this, (named) Yama, who dwells in the self ²; the (practice of the) life of Brahmacārins (being) immortality. That god governs his kingdom in the world of the *Pitris*, (being) good to the good, and not good to (those who are) not good. That death, (or) heedlessness, develops in men as desire, and afterwards as wrath, and in the shape of delusion ³. And then travelling in devious paths ⁴ through egoism, one does not attain to union ⁵ with the self. Those who are deluded by it ⁶, and who remain under its influence, depart from this (world), and there again fall down ⁷. Then the deities ⁸ gather around them. And then he undergoes death after death ⁹. Being attached to the fruit of action, on action presenting itself, they follow after it ¹⁰, and do not cross

¹ Those deluded by worldly objects; 'this' means 'heedlessness.'

² Saṅkara cites a stanza from Manu, which says that king Yama Vaivasvata dwells in the heart of every one. Cf. *Aitareya-upanishad*, p. 187. The following clause he understands to contain two epithets of Yama, meaning 'immortal, and intent on the Brahman.' I follow *Nilakantha*, but not very confidently.

³ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 57. Here we have the developments, the varying forms, of death or heedlessness.

⁴ I.e. paths contrary to *Srutis* and *Smṛitis*.

⁵ Concentration of mind on the self or Brahman.

⁶ I.e. the egoism spoken of before.

⁷ I.e. to this mortal world. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 84, and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, pp. 855, 856. There = from the next world. Saṅkara says, 'having lived there.'

⁸ I.e. the senses. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 123, and *inter alia* *Īsopaniṣad*, p. 10.

⁹ Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 129, and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 889.

¹⁰ I.e. the fruit. Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 155, and *Mundaka*, p. 317.

beyond death. And the embodied (self), in consequence of not understanding union¹ with the real entity, proceeds on all hands² with attachment to enjoyments. That³, verily, is the great source of delusion to the senses; for by contact⁴ with unreal entities, his migrations⁵ are (rendered) inevitable; because having his inner self contaminated by contact with unreal entities, he devotes himself to objects of sense on all sides, pondering on them (only). (That) pondering, verily, first ruins⁶ him; and soon afterwards desire and wrath, after attacking him. These⁷ lead children to death. But sensible men cross beyond death by their good sense. He who pondering (on the self) destroys⁸ (the) fugitive (objects of sense), not even thinking of them through contempt (for them), and who being possessed of knowledge destroys desires in this way, becomes, as it were, the death of death (itself), and swallows (it) up⁹. The being who

¹ I.e. its identity with the Brahman.

² I.e. in various forms of life, *Nilakantha*.

³ The going about in search of enjoyments.

⁴ The contact leads to pondering on them, and that to desire, &c., as described further on.

⁵ Through various lives. Birth and death are certain for him.

⁶ I.e. causes oblivion of his real nature, *Saṅkara*. Cf. the whole train of cause and effect at *Gîtâ*, p. 50 *supra*.

⁷ I.e. the pondering, desire, wrath, &c. As to 'children,' cf. *Kaṭha*, pp. 96 and 123, where *bâla* is contrasted with *dhîra*, as here. The 'good sense' is of help in withstanding the temptations of worldly objects.

⁸ Destroys=abandons; pondering, just before this, is rendered by *Saṅkara* to mean 'thinking of the objects as transient, impure,' &c.

⁹ *Saṅkara* cites on this a stanza of unknown authorship, which says, 'The learned and clever man who knows the self, and by discrimination destroys all objects of sense, is said to be the death of death.' See too p. 178 *infra*.

pursues desires, is destroyed (in pursuing) after the desires¹. But casting away desires, a being gets rid of all taint² whatever. This body, void of enlightenment³, seems (to be) a hell for (all) beings. Those who are avaricious run about⁴, going headlong to a ditch. A man, O Kshatriya! who contemns everything else⁵ learns nothing. To him (the body is) like a tiger made of straw⁶. And this internal self (joined to) delusion and fear⁷ in consequence of wrath and avarice, within your body,—that verily is death⁸. Understanding death⁹ to be thus produced, and adhering to knowledge, one is not afraid of death¹⁰ in this (world). In his province death is destroyed, as a mortal (is destroyed) on arriving in the province of death.

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

The good, eternal, and most holy worlds¹¹, which

¹ On this *Nilakanṭha* quotes these lines, 'The antelope, elephant, butterfly, bee, and fish—these five are destroyed by the five,' i.e. the five objects of sense, sound, &c. See *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha Dharma*), chap. 174, st. 45.

² I.e. misery, *Nilakanṭha*; merit or sin, *Saṅkara*.

³ I.e. void of discrimination between the real and unreal, *Nilakanṭha*; result of ignorance, *Saṅkara*. 'A hell, as being full of filth,' says *Saṅkara*, 'such as phlegm, blood, excretions.' Cf. *Maitrī*, p. 48.

⁴ As blind men groping about fall into a ditch, so do these, *Saṅkara*.

⁵ I.e. other than the sensuous objects he loves; 'learns nothing' about the supreme Self which he disregards.

⁶ Useless for any good purpose.

⁷ Cf. *Taittirīya-upanishad*, p. 102.

⁸ As being ruinous to oneself. *Saṅkara* compares *Gītā*, p. 68. Cf. also *Taittirīya-upanishad*, p. 103, and see *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 61.

⁹ I.e. heedlessness and its developments as stated.

¹⁰ *Saṅkara* cites on this *Taittirīya-upanishad*, p. 78.

¹¹ Such as *Satyloka*, &c.

are mentioned (as attainable) by the twice-born by means of worship¹, those, say the Vedas, are the highest aim². How is it, then, that one who understands this does not resort to action?

Sanatsugâta said :

(Thinking) so, an ignorant man does resort to action. The Vedas likewise do lay down various benefits³ (for him). But that⁴ (man) comes not hither⁵. (Becoming) the supreme self⁶, he attains the supreme, by the (right) path destroying the wrong paths⁷.

Dhṛitarâshṭra said :

Who⁸ is it that constrains this unborn primeval (self), if it is (itself) all this severally⁹? And what

¹ Gyotish/oma, Arvamedha, and other rites.

² As leading to final emancipation.

³ I.e. objects for which various ceremonies (or 'actions') should be performed.

⁴ I.e. the man of knowledge.

⁵ I.e. into the sphere of action. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 48.

⁶ Knowing the supreme self is identical with becoming the supreme self, *Mundâka*, p. 323.

⁷ I.e. getting rid of the paths which keep one away from the Brahman by means of contemplation of the Brahman, &c. *Nilakantha* renders 'right path' to mean the Sushumnâ passage by which the soul proceeds to final emancipation, see *Khândogya*, p. 570; *Kaṭha*, p. 157.

⁸ Saṅkara says: 'Having shown that true death is heedlessness, and having shown that heedlessness in its forms of anger &c. is the cause of all evil, and having also shown that death is destroyed by true knowledge, and having shown further that heaven &c. are really not man's highest goal; the author has also implied the unity of the supreme and individual self. On that arises a doubt, which is stated in this passage.'

⁹ All this=all the developments of the Brahman, i.e. space, wind, fire, water, earth, vegetation, food, living creatures; see *Taittirīyopaniṣad*, p. 68.

has it to do, or what is its unhappiness¹? Tell me all that accurately, O learned person!

Sanatsugâta said :

There is great danger² in attributing distinctions to it. The everlasting³ (principles) exist by connexion with the beginningless⁴ (principle). So that his greatness is not lost at all⁵, and beings exist by connexion with the beginningless⁴ (principle). That which is the real—the supreme Being⁶—is eternal. He creates the universe by means of changes⁷, for such is his power held to be; and for such connexions of things the Vedas are (authority)⁸.

¹ What is the purpose of its existence, and what misery does it undergo on entering the course of worldly life?

² 'The danger,' says Saṅkara, 'is that of contravening Vedic texts such as "I am the Brahman," "Thou art that," &c.' May it not rather be that pointed out at *Kāthopanishad*, p. 129, viz. never attaining final emancipation? Cf. also *Nṛsiṃha Tâpinī*, p. 223.

³ The individual selfs, Saṅkara.

⁴ Nature or māyā.

⁵ The appearance of degradation to an inferior state being delusive.

⁶ The original word implies the possession of *aisvarya*, *dharma*, *varas*, *śrī*, *vairāgya*, *moksha*. See *Svetāsvatara*, p. 329 (where the list is slightly different). For another definition, see *Mairī*, p. 6 (gloss).

⁷ See note 9, p. 156.

⁸ Saṅkara says: 'The question of *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* having suggested a difference between two principles, one of which constrains, and the other of which is constrained, the answer is—Such a difference ought not to be alleged, as it involves "danger." Then the question arises, How is the difference, which does appear, to be explained? The reply is, It is due to the beginningless principle—delusion or ignorance. The next sentence shows that the universe as it appears is also a result of delusion.' *Nilakantha* says expressly, changes=delusion. He renders the original which we have translated by 'beginningless' first, to mean 'collection of objects of enjoyments.' Saṅkara's explanation seems tautological as regards the words 'connexion with the beginningless,' which occur twice in the above. *Nilā-*

Dhṛitarāshṭra said :

Since some practise piety¹ in this world, and some likewise practise impiety in this world ; is the piety destroyed by the sin, or else does the piety destroy sin ?

Sanatsugāta said :

Whichever² he adheres to, the man of understanding always destroys both by means of knowledge ; (that is) settled³. Likewise, in the other case⁴, the embodied (self) obtains merit ; and to such a one sin (also) accrues ; (that too is) settled³. Departing (from this world), he enjoys by his actions both (kinds of) fruit, which are not enduring⁵—of actions (which are) pure, and of (those which are) sinful. The man of understanding casts aside sin by piety in this (world), for know that his piety is more powerful⁶. Those Brāhmaṇas, in whom there is emulation⁷ about (their) piety, as there is in strong men about (their) strength, after departing from this world, become glorious in heaven⁸. And

kantha's is not quite clear. May the expression on the second occasion mean, that the connexion by which beings are stated before to exist has had no beginning—has existed from eternity? The translation should then run thus : 'And beings exist by a connexion which had no beginning ;' (see Sâṁkhya Bhâṣya, p. 494.) Connexions of things=creation of universe by his power.

¹ E.g. Agniṣṭoma, &c., Saṅkara.

² I.e. impiety or piety, sin or merit.

³ In *Śruti*s and *Smṛiti*s, which Saṅkara quotes. *Khândogya*, p. 622 ; *Mundaka*, p. 309 ; *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 911. See, too, Maitrī, p. 131.

⁴ Of the man devoid of knowledge.

⁵ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 76, and *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 636.

⁶ See p. 164, note 9 *infra*.

⁷ The feeling of one's own superiority over others in piety.

⁸ 'In the shape of Nakshatras,' says Saṅkara, which is not quite intelligible. See *Khândogya*, p. 258, and *Anugîtâ* *infra*, p. 240.

to those in whom there is no emulation about (their) piety, that (piety) is a means of (acquiring) knowledge¹. Such Brāhmaṇas released from this (world), go to the heaven which is free from the threefold source of pain². People who understand the Vedas call his conduct good. (But) people closely connected³, as well as strangers, do not pay much regard to him. Wherever he may believe food and drink for a Brāhmaṇa to exist in abundance, like water on grass in the autumn, there would he live and not be vexed⁴. (To him) only that person is good, and no other (as a companion), who does nothing in excess, and who occasions fear and injury to a taciturn man⁵. And his food is acceptable to the good, who does not vex the self of a taciturn man, and who does not destroy the property of a Brāhmaṇa⁶. A Brāhmaṇa should hold, that living in the midst of kinsmen, his actions should be always unknown⁷; and he should not

¹ According to the Vedāntic theory, the acts of piety purify the inner man, and are thus a stepping-stone to knowledge. See Introduction, p. 147 supra. Cf. Gītā, p. 122; and *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 899.

² I.e. physical, mental, and such as is caused by superhuman agency. This is Saṅkara's explanation. It is somewhat far-fetched, but I can find none better. Cf. Gītā, p. 49. And see also *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 876, and the commentary of Saṅkara there with Ānandagiri's gloss.

³ E.g. wife, children, &c.

⁴ I.e. vexed as to how his livelihood is to be earned, &c.

⁵ Excess, e.g. too much obsequiousness towards a 'taciturn man,' owing to his holiness, &c. Taciturn man = ascetic. Injury = disrespect, &c. Perhaps the protest against worldliness is here carried to an extreme. Saṅkara cites Manu as a parallel, 'A Brāhmaṇa should be afraid of (worldly) respect as of poison.'

⁶ E.g. the Kura grass, deerskin, &c., mentioned at Gītā, p. 68.

⁷ I.e. he should not parade his actions. Saṅkara compares *Vaśiṣṭha* and a Vedic text. See, too, the quotation at *Taitt. Āraṇ.* p. 902.

think¹ (about them). What Brāhmaṇa ought to think of the inner self, which is void of symbols², immovable, pure, and free from all pairs of opposites, in this way³? What sin is not committed by that thief, who steals away his own self⁴, who regards his self as one thing, when it is a different thing. The far-seeing Brāhmaṇa, who knows the Brahman, is not wearied⁵, he receives nothing⁶; he is honoured, free from trouble⁷, and wise, but acts as if he was not wise⁸. As dogs eat what is vomited, so do they, enjoying their own bravery⁹, eat what is vomited, always with disaster (to themselves). Those twice-born persons, who are not

¹ Cf. Gītā, p. 103. Saṅkara suggests an alternative explanation of this stanza, which will make it mean that one performing the operations of the senses, should devote oneself nevertheless to the unknown principle, and not consider the senses to be the self.

² I. e. beyond the reach of inference; 'subtle,' says Saṅkara. Cf. Svetāsvatara, p. 364; Br̥hadāraṇyaka, p. 855; Maitrī, p. 182; and Kāṭha, p. 149, where Saṅkara suggests a somewhat different meaning. As to immovable, cf. Īśa, p. 10, and Gītā, p. 104. Saṅkara renders it by 'void of activity;' and pure he paraphrases by 'free from ignorance and other taints.'

³ It is difficult to say what 'in this way' refers to. Saṅkara renders it by 'as possessing qualities appertaining to the two kinds of body.' On Saṅkara's suggested meaning of the stanza preceding (see note 1), it would refer to the confusion of the senses with the self.

⁴ Such a person is called a destroyer of his own self at Īsopaniṣad, p. 9.

⁵ I. e. by the troubles of worldly life.

⁶ Cf. 'without belongings' at Gītā, p. 128.

⁷ Anger and other obstacles to concentration of mind.

⁸ I. e. unintelligent. The text of Vasishṭha referred to in note 7, p. 159, says he should act like an unintelligent man. Cf. also Gauḍapāda-kārikās, p. 443, and Sārīraka Bhāṣya, p. 1041.

⁹ I. e. singing the praises of their own greatness and worth, instead of keeping their 'conduct unknown.'

first¹ in respect of human wealth, but who are first in the Vedas², are unconquerable, not to be shaken³; they should be understood to be forms of the Brahman. Whosoever may in this (world) know all the gods⁴—doers of favours—he is not equal to a Brâhmaṇa, (nor even) he⁵ for whom he exerts himself. The man who makes no efforts⁶, and is respected, does not, being respected, think himself respected⁷, nor does he become vexed in consequence of disrespect. One who is respected⁸ should think it to be a natural operation of people, like their opening or closing of the eyelids, that the learned respect him in this world. One who is not respected should think, that the deluded people who do not understand piety, and who are devoid of (knowledge of) the world and the Sâstras, will never respect one who is worthy of respect. Respect and taciturnity⁹, verily, never dwell together; for this world is (the field) for respect, the next for taciturnity, as is understood¹⁰. For worldly wealth dwells in the

¹ Highly esteemed for or strongly attached to, Saṅkara. Human wealth=wife, offspring, property, &c. Cf. *Āhândogya*, p. 319; *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 262.

² I.e. veracity and other duties taught by the Vedas.

³ 'They need fear nought,' says Nilakantha.

⁴ I.e. may sacrifice to them, Saṅkara.

⁵ Not even the deity to whom the sacrifice is offered is equal to one who knows the Brahman. Cf. *Taittirîya*, p. 23, and *Anugîtâ*, p. 250.

⁶ I.e. one who is 'taciturn' and does not parade his greatness.

⁷ He does not care for the respect shown him.

⁸ Because he knows the Brahman.

⁹ I.e. restraint of all senses, not of speech only. For the contrast compare that between *sreya* and *preya* at *Ka/ha*, p. 92.

¹⁰ I.e. by all men of understanding. Saṅkara's rendering is different: 'The next, which is known as *Tad*, is for taciturnity.' He cites for this *Gîtâ*, p. 120.

sphere of respect¹, and that, too, is an obstacle². While the Brahmic wealth³, O Kshatriya! is difficult to be attained by any one devoid of knowledge. The ways (to it) are stated by the good to be of various descriptions, and difficult to reach—truth, straightforwardness, modesty⁴, restraint (of senses), purity, knowledge, which are the six impediments (in the way) of respect and delusion.

CHAPTER III.

Dhṛitarâshṭra said :

Who possesses this taciturnity⁵, and which of the two⁶ is taciturnity? Describe, O learned person! the condition of taciturnity here. Does a learned man reach taciturnity⁷ by taciturnity? And how, O sage! do they practise taciturnity in this world?

¹ I. e. they both follow on devotion to worldly life.

² I. e. in the way to final emancipation.

³ The enjoyment of supreme felicity, *Brahmānanda* (Sāṅkara); the greatness consisting of a knowledge of *Rik*, *Yagus*, *Sāman*, and the substance of their teaching, which is worthy of a *Brāhmaṇa* (*Nilakanṭha*). See, too, *Anugṛhā*, p. 232.

⁴ Modesty=being ashamed of doing wrong; restraint (of senses)=mental restraint; and purity is both internal and external,—Sāṅkara; knowledge is, of course, knowledge of the Brahman.

⁵ I. e. that spoken of in the last chapter.

⁶ Viz. mere silence, or the contemplation of the self after restraining all the senses. In the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka-upanishad*, Sāṅkara (p. 605) renders the original word, *mauna*, to mean, 'The fruit of the destruction of the consciousness of anything other than the self.' And his commentator makes it clearer thus: 'The conviction in the mind that one is the self—the supreme Brahman—and that there is nothing else existing but oneself.'

⁷ I. e. the highest seat—the Brahman; for mind, sense, &c. are all non-existent there. Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 151, and *Maitrī*, p. 161.

Sanatsugâta said :

Since the Vedas, together with the mind¹, fail to attain to him, hence (is he) taciturnity²—he about whom the words of the Vedas were uttered³, and who, O king! shines forth as consubstantial⁴ with them.

Dhṛitarâshṭra said :

Does⁵ the twice-born person who studies the *Rik* and the Yagus texts, and the Sâma-veda, committing sinful (acts), become tainted, or does he not become tainted?

Sanatsugâta said :

Not the Sâman texts, nor yet the *Rik* texts, nor the Yagus texts⁶ save him, O acute sir! from sinful

¹ Cf. Kenopanishad, p. 39; *Kaṭha*, p. 152; *Taittirîya*, p. 119.

² 'Taciturnity is his name,' says *Nilakantha*.

³ Or, says *San̥kara*, 'who is the author of the Vedas.'

⁴ I.e. 'with the Vedas,' says *Nilakantha*, Om, the quintessence of the Vedas, being a name of the Brahman (as to which cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 79, and *Maitrî*, p. 84). *San̥kara* takes the whole expression to mean *gyotirmaya*, consisting of light. *Nilakantha* says this stanza answers the five following questions put in the stanza preceding, viz. of what use is taciturnity? which of the two is taciturnity? &c., as above. The first four questions are answered by the first two lines of this stanza—the substance of the answer being, that the use of taciturnity is to attain the seat which is not to be grasped even by the mind, that taciturnity includes both restraint of mind and of the external senses. By means of such restraint, the external and internal worlds cease to be perceived as existing, and the highest goal is attained.

⁵ This question arises naturally enough on *Nilakantha*'s interpretation of the preceding stanza, the meaning of which is in substance that the Vedas cannot grasp the Brahman fully, but they are of use towards a rudimentary comprehension of it, as is said further on, see p. 172 *infra*.

⁶ Cf. *Svetâsvatara-upanishad*, p. 339; see, too, *Nṛsiṃha Tâpinî*, pp. 81-98.

action. I do not tell you an untruth. The *Kṛandas* do not save a sinful deceitful¹ man who behaves deceitfully². At the time of the termination (of his life), the *Kṛandas* abandon³ him, as birds who have got wings (abandon their) nest.

Dhr̥itarāsh̥tra said :

If, O acute sir! the Vedas are not able to save one who understands the Vedas, then whence is this eternal talk⁴ of the Brāhmaṇas?

Sanatsugāta said :

O you of great glory! this universe becomes manifest through his special forms—names⁵ and the rest. The Vedas proclaim (his form) after describing (it) well⁶, and (they⁷ also) state his difference from the universe. For that⁸ are this penance and sacrifice prescribed. By these a learned man acquires merit, and afterwards destroying sin by merit⁹, he has his self illuminated by knowledge. By knowledge the learned man attains

¹ I. e. one who parades his piety.

² I. e. hypocritically.

³ I. e. do not rise to his memory—*Nilakantḥa*, citing *Gītā*, p. 78 supra.

⁴ Scil. about the veneration due to one who has studied the Vedas—*Nilakantḥa*, citing one or two passages in point.

⁵ The universe consists of 'names and forms,' the reality being the Brahman only. Cf. *Kṛāṇḍogya*, p. 407 seq.

⁶ *Saṅkara* refers to *Taittirīya-upanishad*, p. 68; *Kṛāṇḍogya*, p. 596 seq. &c.

⁷ *Saṅkara* takes this to mean 'sages,' who, according to him, state the difference. He quotes *Parāśara* for this.

⁸ I. e. the Brahman, that is to say, for attaining to it. Penance = *kāṇḍrāyana* and other observances; sacrifice = *gyotish/oma*, &c.

⁹ Cf. p. 158 supra, and *Taittirīya-āraṇyaka*, p. 888.

the self¹. But, on the other hand, one who wishes for the fruit—heaven²—takes with him³ all that he has done in this (world), enjoys it in the next, and then returns to the path⁴ (of this world). Penance is performed in this world; the fruit is enjoyed elsewhere. But the penance of Brâhmanas is further developed⁵; that of others remains only as much (as when first performed).

Dhṛitarâshṭra said:

How does the pure penance become developed and well developed⁶? O Sanatsugâta! tell (me) how I should understand that, O Lord!

Sanatsugâta said:

This penance, free from sin⁷, is called pure⁸; and this pure penance becomes developed and well developed, not otherwise⁹. All this¹⁰, O Kshatriya!

¹ Cf. Svetâsvatara, p. 327; Mundaka, p. 323.

² So Saṅkara. Nilakantha takes the original word to mean 'the group of the senses,' and the whole phrase to mean 'enjoyments of sense.' Nilakantha is supported by a passage further on, p. 167. But as to 'those who wish for heaven,' cf. Gîtâ, pp. 48-84.

³ I. e. in the form of merit, &c.

⁴ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 84.

⁵ Cf. Khândogya, p. 23. Brâhmanas=those that know the Brahman. See p. 171 infra.

⁶ I am not quite sure about the meaning of the original here. Riddha, which I have rendered 'developed,' Nilakantha understands to mean 'what is performed merely for show.' What has been rendered 'well developed' in the text, Nilakantha takes to mean 'performed from some desire,' &c.

⁷ Anger, desire, &c.

⁸ The original is kevala. Nilakantha says it is so called as being a means of kaivalya, 'final emancipation.'

⁹ I. e. not that which is not free from sin, which latter is not developed at all.

¹⁰ All objects of enjoyment, Nilakantha.

has for its root that penance about which you question me. By penance¹, those conversant with the Vedas attained immortality, after departing from this world.

Dhṛitarâshṭra said :

I have heard about penance free from sin, O Sanatsugâta ! Tell me what is the sin (connected) with penance, so that I may understand the eternal mystery².

Sanatsugâta said :

The twelve beginning with wrath, and likewise the seven cruelties, are the defects (connected) with it; and there are (stated) in the Sâstras twelve merits (connected) with it, beginning with knowledge, which are known to the twice-born, and may be developed. Wrath, desire³, avarice, delusion⁴, craving⁵, mercilessness, censoriousness, vanity, grief⁶, attachment⁷, envy⁸, reviling others—these twelve should always be avoided by a man of high quali-

¹ Cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 899. Tapas is variously rendered. See inter alia, *Prasna*, pp. 162-170; *Svetâsvatara*, p. 307; *Mundaka*, pp. 270-280, 311-314; *Khândogya*, p. 136; *Anugîtâ*, pp. 247, 339.

² I. e. Brahma-vidyâ, or science of the Brahman, *Nilakantha*; the Brahman itself, *Saṅkara*.

³ I. e. lust.

⁴ Want of discrimination between right and wrong.

⁵ Desire to taste worldly objects.

⁶ For the loss of anything desired.

⁷ Desire to enjoy worldly objects. The difference between this and craving, according to *Saṅkara*, appears to be between merely tasting and continual enjoyment. According to *Nilakantha*, the former is a desire which is never contented; the latter is merely a general liking.

⁸ Impatience of other people's prosperity; censoriousness being the pointing out of flaws in other people's merits; and reviling being an ignoring of the merits and merely abusing.

fications¹. These, O king of kings! attend each and every man, wishing to find some opening², as a hunter (watches) animals. [Boastful, lustful, haughty, irascible, unsteady³, one who does not protect (those dependent⁴ on him), these six sinful acts are performed by sinful men who are not afraid (even) in the midst of great danger⁵.] One whose thoughts are (all) about enjoyments, who prospers by injuring (others), who repents of generosity, who is miserly, who is devoid of the power⁶ (of knowledge), who esteems the group⁷ (of the senses), who hates his wife⁸—these seven, different (from those previously mentioned), are the seven forms of cruelty. Knowledge, truth, self-restraint, sacred learning, freedom from animosity (towards living beings), modesty⁹, endurance¹⁰, freedom from censoriousness, sacrifice, gift, courage¹¹, quiescence¹²,—these are the twelve great observances¹³ of a Brâhmana. Whoever is not devoid of these twelve can govern this whole world, and those who are

¹ Scil. for attaining to the Brahman.

² Some weak point by which they may attack a man.

³ Fickle in friendship, &c.

⁴ Such as a wife, &c.

⁵ Connected with this or the next world, *Nilakantha*. This and a stanza further on I place within brackets, as it is not quite certain whether Saṅkara's copy had them, though they are now in some of our copies of the text with his commentary. See Introduction.

⁶ Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 319; *Khândogya*, p. 494.

⁷ See note 2, at page 165.

⁸ The wife having no other protector.

⁹ See note 4, at page 162.

¹⁰ Of pairs of opposites, such as heat and cold, &c.

¹¹ Restraint of senses in presence of their objects.

¹² Cf. *Gîtâ*, pp. 69, 70.

¹³ Which are serviceable in attaining the highest goal.

possessed of three, two, or even one (of these) become, in (due) course, distinguished (for knowledge) and identified with the Brahman¹. [Self-restraint, abandonment², and freedom from heedlessness—on these depends immortality. And the talented Brâhmaṇas say that truth is chief over them.] Self-restraint has eighteen defects; if (any one of them is) committed, it is an obstacle (to self-restraint). They are thus stated. Untruthfulness, backbiting, thirst³, antipathy (to all beings), darkness⁴, repining⁵, hatred⁶ of people, haughtiness, quarrelsomeness, injuring living creatures, reviling others, garrulity, vexation⁷, want of endurance⁸, want of courage⁹, imperfection¹⁰, sinful conduct, and slaughter. That is called self-restraint by the good, which is free from these defects. Frenzy has eighteen defects¹¹; and abandonment is of six kinds. The contraries of those which have been laid down¹² are stated to be the defects of frenzy. Abandonment of six kinds is excellent. Of those six, the third is hard to achieve. With it one certainly crosses

¹ The original is the word 'taciturnity' as at p. 162 supra.

² Offering one's acts to God (*Nilakantha*), as to which cf. *Gitâ*, p. 64. See also p. 182 infra for this stanza.

³ I. e. for objects of sense.

⁴ Ignorance.

⁵ Discontent even when one obtains much.

⁶ This is active; antipathy is passive only.

⁷ Of oneself, by brooding on evil. Cf. *Taittirīya*, p. 119. One copy of *Śaṅkara's* commentary says this means 'thinking ill of others without cause.'

⁸ Of pairs of opposites.

⁹ Restraint of senses in presence of their objects.

¹⁰ I. e. of piety, knowledge, and indifference to worldly objects.

¹¹ I. e. qualities which destroy it.

¹² Scil. as defects of self-restraint, viz. untruthfulness, &c.

beyond all misery without distinction¹. That being achieved, (everything) is accomplished². The (first is the) giving away of sons and wealth to a deserving man who asks (for them); the second is gifts at Vedic ceremonies, and gifts at ceremonies laid down in the *Smṛitis*³. The abandonment of desires, O king of kings! by means of indifference (to worldly objects) is laid down as the third⁴. With these one should become free from heedlessness. That freedom from heedlessness, too, has eight characteristics, and is (a) great (merit). Truthfulness, concentration, absorbed contemplation, reflexion⁵, and also indifference (to worldly objects), not stealing⁶, living the life of a *Brahmakârin*, and

¹ Scil. any distinction as to physical, mental, or that which is caused by superhuman agency.

² Literally, 'all is conquered.' Everything that needs to be done is done. Cf. *Kāthopanishad*, p. 155; *Mundaka*, p. 317.

³ Another interpretation of *ishâpūrta* is 'offerings to gods, and offerings to the manes;'; a third 'sacrifices, &c., and works of charity, such as digging tanks and wells;'; for a fourth, see *Saṅkara on Mundaka*, p. 291.

⁴ Each of the three classes mentioned contains two sub-classes, and so the six are made up. It is not quite easy to see the two heads under the third class; but perhaps indifference, and the consequent abandonment of desire, may be the two intended. To indicate that, I have adopted the construction which takes the words 'by means of indifference' with abandonment, instead of with 'gifts at Vedic ceremonies,' &c. *Saṅkara* seems to understand 'giving away of wealth' with the words 'by means of indifference,' and thus to constitute the second head under the third class. But he is not quite clear.

⁵ Concentration=fixing the mind continuously on some object, such as the being in the sun, &c.; contemplation is that in which one identifies oneself with the Brahman; reflexion as to what one is, whence one comes, and so forth.

⁶ *Saṅkara* says this may refer to the 'stealing' mentioned at p. 160. The life of a *Brahmakârin* is here taken to mean con-

likewise freedom from all belongings¹. Thus have the defects of self-restraint been stated; one should avoid those defects. Freedom from (those) defects is freedom from heedlessness; and that, too, is deemed to have eight characteristics². Let truth be your (very) self, O king of kings! On truth all the worlds rest³. Truth is said to be their main (principle). Immortality depends on truth⁴. Getting rid of (these) defects, one should practise the observance of penance. This is the conduct prescribed by the Creator. Truth is the solemn vow of the good. The pure penance, which is free from these defects, and possessed of these characteristics, becomes developed, and well developed⁵. I will state to you, in brief, O king of kings! what you ask of me. This (observance)⁶ is destructive of sin, and pure, and releases (one) from birth and death and old age⁷. If one is free from the five senses, and also from the mind⁸, O descendant of Bharata! also from (thoughts regarding) the past and the future⁹, one becomes happy.

Dhṛitarāshtra said:

Some people make great boasts in consequence of (their knowing) the Vedas with the Ākhyānas as

tinence by the commentators, as also at *Mundaka*, p. 311 inter alia. See also *Khândogya*, p. 533.

¹ Son, wife, home, &c.; as to which cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 103, and *Nṛsiṃha Tâpinî*, p. 198, commentary.

² The eight mentioned already. ³ Cf. *Taitt. Âraṇ.* p. 885.

⁴ Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 312; *Sānti Parvan* (Moksha), chap. 199, st. 64 seq. Immortality=final emancipation.

⁵ P. 165 supra.

⁶ Of penance, that is to say.

⁷ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 109 for the collocation.

⁸ *Kāthopanishad*, p. 151; *Maitrî*, p. 161. Saṅkara seems to take the five and the senses separately; the five meaning the five classes of sensuous objects. ⁹ Past losses and future gains, *Nilakantha*.

the fifth¹; others, likewise, are (masters) of four Vedas; others, too, of three Vedas; others are (masters) of two Vedas, and of one Veda; and others of no Veda². Tell me which of these is the greatest, whom I may know (to be) a Brâhmaṇa.

Sanatsugâta said :

Through ignorance of the one Veda³—the one truth—O king of kings! numerous Vedas came into existence. Some⁴ only adhere to the truth. The fancies of those who have fallen away from the truth are abortive, and through ignorance of the truth, ceremonies become amplified⁵. One should understand a Brâhmaṇa, who (merely) reads much, to be a man of many words⁶. Know him only to be the (true) Brâhmaṇa, who swerves not from the truth⁷. O you who are the highest among men⁸! the *Kṛṇḍas*, indeed, refer of themselves⁹ to it. There-

¹ Cf., as to this, Max Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 38 seq.; and *Kṛṇḍogya*, pp. 164, 474, 493; *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, pp. 456, 687, 926; *Maitrî*, p. 171; *Nṛisimha Tâpinî*, p. 105.

² The original is 'void of *Riks*.' The commentators give no explanation. Does it mean those who abandon the karma-mârga? Heretics who reject all Vedas are scarcely likely to be referred to in this way. *Nilakantha*'s interpretation of all this is very different. See his gloss.

³ Saṅkara gives various interpretations of this. Perhaps the best is to take it as meaning knowledge. 'The one knowledge—the one truth'—would then be like the famous text—*Taittiriya*, p. 56—'The Brahman is truth, knowledge,' &c.

⁴ For this phrase cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 73.

⁵ Those who do not understand the Brahman lose their natural power of obtaining what they wish, and so go in for various ceremonies for various special benefits. Cf. *Kṛṇḍogya*, p. 541; *Gîtâ*, p. 47; and p. 184 *infra*.

⁶ Cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 893.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 636.

⁸ Literally, 'highest among bipeds,' a rather unusual expression.

⁹ *Nilakantha* says, 'The part of the Vedas which teaches the

fore, studying them, the learned persons who understand the *Kṛāṇḍas*, attain to the Veda, not that which is to be known¹. Among the Vedas, there is none which understands². By the unintelligent³, one understands not the Veda, nor the object of knowledge⁴. He who knows the Veda knows the object of knowledge. He who knows the object of knowledge⁵ knows not the truth. He who understands the Vedas understands also the object of knowledge; but that⁶ is not understood by the Vedas or by those who understand the Vedas. Still the Brāhmaṇas who understand the Vedas, understand the Veda by means of the Vedas⁷. As the branch of a tree with regard to the part of a portion of the glorious⁸ one, so, they declare, are the Vedas with

knowledge of the supreme is enough by itself for its purpose; it is not like the part about rites, &c., which rites must be performed before they serve any useful purpose.' The *Gṛāṇakāṇḍa* is enough by itself for understanding the Brahman. Saṅkara compares *Gītā*, p. 113, and *Kaṭha*, p. 102.

¹ The Veda=the Brahman, as above, cf. *Svetāsvatara*, p. 372 and commentary; that which is to be known=the material world, which is a subject for human knowledge.

² Scil. understands the Veda—the Brahman.

³ 'The mind,' says *Nilakanṭha*; literally, 'that which is to be understood.'

⁴ Because a real knowledge of it requires a knowledge of the Brahman. As to the next clause cf. inter alia *Kṛāṇḍogya*, p. 384; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 450.

⁵ This is the converse of the last sentence, as to which cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 925.

⁶ The supreme.

⁷ The apparent contradiction is explained in the next sentence.

⁸ I.e. the moon. This refers to the well-known *sākhāṇḍra*-*nyāya*. As the small digit of the moon, which cannot be perceived by itself, is pointed out as being at the tip of a branch of a tree pointing towards the moon, so the Vedas are of use as pointing towards the Brahman, though inaccurately and imperfectly.

regard to the subject of understanding the supreme self. I understand him to be a Brâhmana who is ingenious, and explains¹ (Vedic texts). He who apprehends (those texts) thus², does verily know that supreme (principle). One should not go in search of it among (things) antagonistic³ to it at all. Not looking (for him there) one sees that Lord by means of the Veda⁴. Remaining quiet, one should practise devotion, and should not even form a wish in the mind⁵. To him the Brahman presents⁶ itself, and directly afterwards he attains to the perfect⁷ (one). By taciturnity⁸, verily, does one become a sage; (one does) not (become) a sage by dwelling in a forest⁹. And he is called the highest sage, who understands that indestructible (principle). One is called an analyser¹⁰ (also) in consequence of

¹ Scil. in the manner just indicated.

² As giving an idea of the Brahman. The first step to a knowledge of the Brahman is to 'hear' about it from Vedic texts. Cf. *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 925.

³ Such as the body, the senses, &c., which must be distinguished as quite distinct from the self, though most often confounded with it.

⁴ Such passages, namely, as 'Thou art that, I am the Brahman,' &c.

⁵ About the objects of the senses.

⁶ Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 155.

⁷ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 516. The Bhûman there is the same as the Bahu here, viz. the Brahman. Saṅkara says expressly in his comment on the Upanishad text, that Bahu and Bhûman, among other words, are synonyms.

⁸ Self-restraint, as explained before at p. 163.

⁹ Though this is not unimportant, as may be seen from the contrast between town and forest at *Khândogya*, p. 340. See also *Maitrî*, p. 100; *Mundaka*, p. 240. As to the 'highest sage,' see *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 899, where the passage about 'sacrifice, gift, penance' should be compared with *Gîtâ*, p. 122.

¹⁰ The construction in the original is not quite clear. I understand the sense to be as follows: In the science of the soul, the

analysing all objects. The analysis (is) from that as the root; and as he makes (such an) analysis, hence is he so (called). The man who sees the worlds directly sees everything¹. A Brāhmaṇa, verily, adhering to the truth, understands it, and becomes omniscient. I say to you, O learned man! that adhering to knowledge and the rest² in this way, one sees the Brahman, O Kshatriya! by means of a course (of study) in the Vedas³.

CHAPTER IV.

Dhṛitarāshṭra said:

O Sanatsugāta! since you have spoken these words of highest significance, relating to the Brahman, and of numerous forms⁴, give me that advice which is excellent, and difficult to obtain in the

analyser (the word is the same as the word for grammarian) is he who analyses objects, not words merely. Now the true analysis of objects reduces them all to the Brahman (cf. *Khândogya*, p. 407; *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 152); and the sage understands this, and makes the analysis accordingly, so he is rightly called an analyser.

¹ This again is not clear, and the discrepancies of the MSS. make it more perplexing. The meaning, I take to be, that a man may perceive all material things, such as the worlds, Bhûr, &c. (as the commentators put it), but to be really omniscient, you must have knowledge of the truth—the Brahman. See *Sabhâ Parvan*, chapter V, stanza 7. And see, too, *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 613.

² P. 167 supra.

³ 'Hearing the Vedântas—Upanishads,' &c., says Saṅkara. See note 2 supra, p. 173.

⁴ Does this mean referring to many aspects of the Brahman? Saṅkara merely says nânârûpâ. Nilakanṭha takes it differently, and as meaning that in which everything is elucidated; 'relating to the Brahman' Nilakanṭha takes to mean 'leading to the Brahman,' or 'instrument for attaining to the Brahman.'

midst of these created objects¹. Such is my request, O youth!

Sanatsugâta said :

This Brahman, O king! about which you question me with such perseverance, is not to be attained by anybody who is in a hurry. When the mind is absorbed in the understanding², then can that knowledge, which must be deeply pondered over, be attained by living the life of a Brahmakârin³. For you are speaking of that primordial knowledge⁴, which consists in the truth; which is obtained by the good by living the life of Brahmakârins⁵; which being obtained, men cast off this mortal world; and which knowledge, verily, is to be invariably (found) in those who have been brought up under preceptors⁶.

Dhrîtarâshtra said :

Since that knowledge is capable of being truly acquired by living the life of a Brahmakârin, therefore tell me, O Brâhmana! of what description the life of a Brahmakârin is⁷.

Sanatsugâta said :

Those who entering (as it were) the womb⁸ of a

¹ In this material world, the highest knowledge is not to be got. Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 96.

² I. e. withdrawn from objects and fixed on the self only. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 79, and *Maitrî*, p. 179, where, however, we have *hrîd* for *buddhi*.

³ *Virocana* and *Indra* do so according to the *Khândogya*, p. 570. See also *Mundaka*, p. 311.

⁴ The object of which is the primal Brahman.

⁵ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 534; and *Gîtâ*, pp. 78, 79, and the passage from the *Kaṭha* there cited.

⁶ *Khândogya*, pp. 264-459. ⁷ See *Khândogya*, p. 553 seq.

⁸ I. e. attending closely upon him; foetus = pupil.

preceptor, and becoming (as it were) a foetus, practise the life of Brahmakârins, become even in this world authors of Sâstras¹, and they repair to the highest truth² after casting off (this) body. They subjugate desires here in this world, practising forbearance in pursuit of the Brahmic state³; and with courage, they even here remove the self out of the body⁴, like the soft fibres from the Muñga. Father and mother, O descendant of Bharata! only form the body. But the birth⁵ obtained from the preceptor, that verily is true⁶, and likewise immortal. He perfects⁷ (one), giving (one) immortality. Recognising what he has done (for one), one should not injure him. The disciple should always make obeisance to the preceptor⁸; and, free from heedlessness, should always desire sacred instruction. When the pure man obtains knowledge by this same course of discipleship⁹, that is the first quarter of his life as a Brahmakârin. As (is) his conduct

¹ Learned, men of knowledge, Saṅkara.

² The supreme, which is described as 'truth, knowledge,' &c. In our ancient works the truth often means the real.

³ The state of being absorbed in the Brahman. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 52.

⁴ Cf. Kaṭha, p. 158.

⁵ Saṅkara cites Âpastamba (p. 11) in support of this, and Prasna-upanishad, p. 256. The consciousness of being one with the Brahman is a new birth. See, too, Mundaka, p. 282.

⁶ That birth is not merely delusive, and does not result in death.

⁷ Immortality or final emancipation is not to be achieved without knowledge, which can only be got from a preceptor. And one is not perfect without that immortality; one is limited by the conditions of human existence. See Nirukta (Roth's ed.), p. 41.

⁸ Saṅkara compares Svetâsvatara, p. 374; see also p. 203 *infra*. The necessity of having a Guru is often insisted on even in the Upanishads. Cf. Mundaka, p. 282; Khândogya, p. 264.

⁹ Stated at the beginning of this speech, Saṅkara.

always towards his preceptor, so likewise should he behave towards the preceptor's wife, and so likewise should he act towards the preceptor's son—(that) is said to be the second quarter. What one, recognising what the preceptor has done for one, and understanding the matter¹ (taught), feels with a delighted heart regarding the preceptor—believing that one has been brought into existence² by him—that is the third quarter of life as a Brahmacârin. One should do what is agreeable to the preceptor, by means of one's life and riches, and in deed, thought, and word³—that is said to be the fourth quarter. (A disciple) obtains a quarter by time⁴, so likewise a quarter by associating with the preceptor, he also obtains a quarter by means of his own energy; and then he attains to a quarter by means of the Sâstras. The life as a Brahmacârin of that man, whose beauty⁵ consists in the twelve beginning with knowledge, and whose limbs are the other (qualifications mentioned), and who has

¹ The meaning of the Vedic texts, &c., Saṅkara in one copy; the highest aim of man, according to another copy.

² See note 5 on p. 176.

³ I keep the order of the original, though I do not translate quite literally; 'thought and word' should be literally 'mind and speech.' See, on the collocation, Gîtâ, p. 123 *inter alia*.

⁴ Time=maturity of understanding which comes by time; energy=intellectual power; Sâstras=consultation about Sâstras with fellow-students—Saṅkara, who adds that the order is not material as stated, and quotes a stanza which may be thus rendered, 'The pupil receives a quarter from the preceptor, a quarter by his own talent; he receives a quarter by time; and a quarter through fellow-Brahmacârin.

⁵ The body being disregarded, these qualities are attributed to the self in this way. For the twelve, see p. 167; the others are abandonment, truthfulness, &c., p. 169.

strength¹, bears fruit, they say, by association with a preceptor, in (the shape of) contact with that entity—the Brahman. Whatever wealth may come to a man who lives in this way, he should even pay that over to the preceptor. He would thus be adopting the conduct of the good which is of many merits; and the same conduct is (to be adopted) towards the preceptor's son. Living thus, he prospers greatly² on all sides in this world; he obtains sons and position; the quarters³ and sub-quarters shower (benefits⁴) on him, and men pass their lives as Brahmakârin under him. By this life as a Brahmakârin, the divinities obtained their divinity. And the sages, too, became great by living the life of Brahmakârin. By this same (means), too, the Apsarasas, together with the Gandharvas, achieved for themselves beautiful forms. And by this life as a Brahmakârin, the sun illuminates (the universe). That man of knowledge, O king! who practising penance, may by penance pierce through or tear off his body, crosses beyond childhood⁵ by means of this (life as a Brahmakârin), and at the time of the termination (of life) overcomes death⁶. Those who understand this (life as a Brahmakârin) attain to a

¹ To observe the duties referred to, Sāṅkara. But see, too, p. 167, note 6.

² 'Obtains wealth, learning, and greatness,' says a commentator. For similar benefits, cf. *Khândogya*, p. 122.

³ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 132.

⁴ 'Wealth,' says *Nilakantha*, as well as another commentator.

⁵ Ignorance; cf. note 7 at p. 154 supra. *Nilakantha* reads 'reaches' instead of 'crosses beyond,' and interprets 'bālya' to mean 'freedom from affection, aversion,' &c. Cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 605. As to the divinity of divinities, cf. *Taitt. Âraṇ.* p. 886.

⁶ *Nilakantha* reads 'vanquishes death.' The meaning is, he reaches final emancipation. Cf. p. 154 supra.

condition like that of those who ask (for what they want) from the wish-granting stone¹, when they obtain the thing desired. By performing action, O Kshatriya! people conquer (for themselves only) perishable worlds². (But) the man of understanding attains by knowledge to the everlasting glory—for there is no other way to it³.

Dhr̥itarāsh̥tra said:

Where a Brāhmaṇa possessed of knowledge, perceives it, does it appear as white⁴, as red, or again as black, or again as grey or tawny? What is the colour of that immortal, indestructible goal?

Sanatsugāta said:

It appears not as white, as red, nor again as black, nor again as grey, nor tawny⁵. It dwells not on earth, nor in the sky; nor does it bear a body in this ocean⁶-(like world). It is not in the stars, nor does it dwell in the lightning; nor is its form⁷ to be seen in the clouds, nor even in the air, nor in the deities; it is not to be seen in the moon, nor in the sun. It is not to be seen in *Rik* texts, nor in

¹ Called *Kīntāmani*. The effect of Brahmacarya is that those who practise it can get what they desire.

² Cf. *Gītā*, p. 76; *Khândogya*, p. 538; *Mundaka*, p. 279.

³ Cf. *Svetāsvatara*, p. 327.

⁴ Cf. *Bṛihadāranyaka*, p. 877.

⁵ Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 119; and *Mundaka*, p. 267. As to its not dwelling in earth, sky, &c., Saṅkara refers to *Khândogya*, p. 518, as implying that.

⁶ Literally, 'it bears no water in the ocean.' 'Water' is said by the commentators to mean the five elements of which the body is composed. See *Manu* I, 5, and *Khândogya*, p. 330. In the *Svetāsvatara* it signifies mind (see p. 388). For ocean meaning world, or *samsāra*; cf. *Aitareya-upanishad*, p. 182.

⁷ Here I do not render *rūpa* by colour, as before.

Yagus texts; nor yet in the Atharvan texts, nor in the pure Sâman texts; nor yet, O king, in the Rathantara or Brîhadratha¹ hymns. It is seen in the self of a man of high vows². It is invincible, beyond darkness³, it comes forth from within⁴ at the time of destruction. Its form is more minute than the most minute (things), its form is larger even than the mountains⁵. That is the support⁶ (of the universe); that is immortal; (that is) all things perceptible⁷. That is the Brahman, that is glory⁸. From that all entities were produced⁹, in that they are dissolved. All this shines forth as dwelling in it in the form of light¹⁰. And it is perceived by means of knowledge¹¹ by one who understands the self; on it depends this whole universe. Those who understand this become immortal.

¹ See Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. i, p. 16; Tâṇḍya-brâhmana, p. 838; Gîtâ, p. 90; and Kaushîtaki, p. 21. Brîhadratha=Brihat-sâman (?).

² The twelve great vows—knowledge, &c., mentioned above, see p. 167. Nilakantha takes Mahâvrata to refer to the sacrifice of that name. It is described in the Aitareya Âranyaka.

³ See Gîtâ, p. 78, note 4.

⁴ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 82, and Îsopanishad, p. 12.

⁵ See Gîtâ, p. 78, note 3.

⁶ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 113; Katha, p. 99.

⁷ So Nilakantha. The original word ordinarily means 'worlds.'

⁸ Cf. Svetâsvatara, p. 347.

⁹ Cf. the famous passage in the Taittirîya, p. 123: and also Mundaka, p. 289.

¹⁰ The explanations of the commentators are not quite clear as to the word ahnâ, 'in the form of light.' Probably the meaning is: The universe depends on the Brahman, and is, as it were, the light of the Brahman. Saṅkara compares the passages referred to at Gîtâ, p. 112, note 1.

¹¹ 'Not by means of action,' says Saṅkara,

CHAPTER V¹.

Grief and wrath, and avarice, desire, delusion, laziness, want of forgiveness, vanity, craving, friendship², censoriousness, and reviling others—these twelve great enormities are destructive of a man's life. These, O king of kings! attend on each and every man. Beset by these, a man, deluded in his understanding, acts sinfully. A man full of attachments, merciless, harsh (of speech), talkative, cherishing wrath in his heart, and boastful—these are the men of cruel qualities; (such) persons, even obtaining wealth, do not always enjoy (it)³. One

¹ The whole of this chapter is wanting in one of our copies of Saṅkara's commentary. In the copy published in the Mahābhārata (Madras edition) there is, however, this passage: 'Wrath &c. have been already explained, still there are some differences here and there, and those only are now explained.' The chapter is for the most part a repetition of what we have already had. For such repetitions cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, pp. 317-1016; 444-930. The same copy of Saṅkara's commentary gives this general statement of the object of this and the next chapter: 'The course of study of the science of the Brahman, in which knowledge is the principal thing, and concentration of mind &c. are subsidiary, has been described. Now is described the course of study in which concentration of mind is principal, and knowledge subsidiary. The first mode consists in understanding the meaning of the word "you" by means of concentration of mind, and then identifying it with the Brahman by means of a study of the Upanishads; the second, in first intellectually understanding the identity of the individual self and Brahman, by such study of the Upanishads, and then realising the identity to consciousness by contemplation, &c. In both modes the fruit is the same, and the means are the same; and to show this, the merits and defects already stated are here again declared.' This explanation is verbatim the same in Nilakantha's commentary.

² The original is 'pity,' which is explained to mean 'friendship' by Saṅkara and Nilakantha.

³ 'Owing to there being in it no enjoyment for the self,' says one

whose thoughts are fixed on enjoyments, who is partial¹, proud², boastful when he makes a gift, miserly, and devoid of power³, who esteems the group (of the senses), and who hates (his) wife—thus have been stated the seven (classes of) cruel persons of sinful dispositions. Piety, and truthfulness, and penance, and self-restraint, freedom from animosity, modesty, endurance, freedom from censoriousness, liberality, sacred learning, courage, forgiveness—these are the twelve great observances of a Brâhmana. Whoever does not swerve from these twelve may govern this whole world. And one who is possessed of three, two, or even one, of these, must be understood to have nothing of his own⁴. Self-restraint, abandonment, freedom from delusion, on these immortality depends⁵. These are possessed by those talented Brâhmanas to whom the Brahman is the principal⁶ (thing). A Brâhmana's speaking ill of others, whether true or false, is not commended.

copy of Saṅkara's commentary. Another reading, which is in the Madras edition and in *Nilakantha*, may be rendered, 'even obtaining benefits, they do not respect one (from whom they obtain them).'

¹ The commentary says the meaning is the same as that of the expression used in the corresponding place before, viz. one who prospers by injuring others.

² One copy of Saṅkara's commentary takes this to mean one who thinks the not-self to be the self. I adopt the other meaning, however, as agreeing with that of *atimānī*, which is the reading of some copies instead of *abhimānī*.

³ *Nilakantha* reads *durbala* and does not explain it. See p. 167.

⁴ One commentator says this means that he should not be supposed to have incurred the demerit of having any attachment to this world. *Nilakantha* says, he gives up everything in the pursuit of even one of these observances.

⁵ See p. 168.

⁶ I. e. the goal to be reached. The commentary takes Brahman to mean the Vedas, and the whole phrase to mean those who devote themselves to the performance of actions stated in the Vedas.

The men who act thus have their places in hell. Frenzy has eighteen defects—as already described here—hatred of men, factiousness¹, censoriousness, untruthful speech, lust, wrath, want of self-control², speaking ill of others, backbiting, mismanagement in business³, quarrelsomeness, animosity, troubling living creatures, want of forgiveness, delusion, flippancy, loss of reason⁴, censoriousness⁵; therefore a wise man should not be subject to frenzy, for it is always censured. Six characteristics should be understood as (belonging) to friendship—that one should rejoice at (anything) agreeable; and feel grieved at (anything) disagreeable; that with a pure heart one, when asked by a deserving (man), should give to him who asks what can⁶ certainly be given, (though it) may be beneficial to oneself, and even though it ought not to be asked, (namely) one's favourites, sons, wealth, and one's own wife; that one should not dwell there where one has bestowed (all one's) wealth, through a desire (to get a return for one's liberality); that one should enjoy

¹ One copy of Saṅkara's commentary says this means 'obstructing other people's acts of piety,' &c.

² One copy of Saṅkara's commentary says this means 'being given up to intoxicating drinks,' &c.; another copy says, 'doing another's bidding without thought.'

³ One copy says this means 'inattention to any work undertaken;' another renders the original by 'destruction of property, i.e. squandering it on dancers,' &c.

⁴ I. e. discrimination between right and wrong.

⁵ This seems to be some error, for 'censoriousness' has occurred before. But neither the texts nor the commentaries give any help to correct the error. Perhaps the latter is to be distinguished as referring to the habit, and the former only to sporadic acts, of censoriousness. These qualities, I presume, constitute frenzy; they are not the 'defects.'

⁶ I. e. where the power to give exists.

(the fruit of one's¹ own) toils (only); and that one should forego one's own profit². Such a man, possessed of wealth, and possessed of merits, is a liberal man of the quality of goodness³; such a one diverts the five elements from the five⁴ (senses). This⁵ pure penance, acquired out of desire⁶ by those who are fallen off from the truth, even though developed, leads upwards⁷; since sacrifices are performed owing to a misapprehension of the truth⁸. (The

¹ Not a friend's. ² For a friend. ³ See Gîtâ, p. 120.

⁴ The commentators take this to mean objects of sense, and they interpret 'elements' before to mean senses.

⁵ 'Viz. the turning away of the senses from their objects,' says one copy of Saṅkara.

⁶ Scil. to enjoy the higher enjoyments of superior worlds.

⁷ I. e. to the higher worlds; it does not lead to emancipation here.

⁸ Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 277. I must own that I do not quite understand this passage, nor its explanation as given in the commentaries. I do not quite see what the penance here mentioned has to do with sacrifice, and yet the commentators seem to take the words 'since sacrifices,' &c., with what precedes them, not with what follows. Taking them, however, with what follows, it is difficult to explain the word 'since.' As far as I can understand the passage I take the sense of it to be as follows: The author having said that penance performed out of a particular motive does not lead to final emancipation, he then proceeds to point out that all 'action' or 'sacrifice' is due to an imperfect understanding of the truth (cf. p. 171 supra), being mostly due to some particular motive. Then he goes on to show the different classes of sacrifice, and finally points out that he who is free from desires is superior to one who is actuated by desires. The original for 'misapprehension' is *ava-bodha*, which commonly means 'apprehension,' but Saṅkara finally makes it mean *moha* or 'delusion.' The original for truth is rendered by *Nilakantha* to mean 'fancies.' *Nilakantha* says that the sacrifice by the mind is the highest; that by speech, viz. *Brahmayagña*, *Gāpa*, &c., is middling; and that by deed, viz. with clarified butter and other offerings, of the lowest class. 'Perfectured by fancies' = one whose fancies are always fulfilled 'through a knowledge,' says *Nilakantha*, 'of the Brahma as possessing qualities.'

sacrifices) of some are by the mind, of others by speech, and also by deed. The man void of fancies takes precedence over the man perfected by fancies, —especially among Brâhmanas¹. And hear this further from me. One should teach this great and glorious² (doctrine); (other doctrines) the wise call mere arrangements of words. On this concentration of mind³, all this⁴ depends. Those who know this become immortal. Not by meritorious action only, O king! does man conquer the truth⁵. One may offer offerings, or sacrifice. By that the child(-like man) does not cross beyond death; nor, O king! does he obtain happiness in his last moments⁶. One should practise devotion quietly, and should not be active even in mind⁷; and then one should avoid delight and wrath (resulting) from praise and censure⁸. I say to you, O learned person! that adhering to this⁹, one attains the Brahman and perceives it, O Kshatriya! by a course (of study) of the Vedas.

¹ This also is far from clear. Should it be, 'and a Brâhmana more especially?' This might be taken as referring to one who knows the Brahman as devoid of qualities, as Nilakantha does take it. But his construction is not quite clear.

² As serviceable in attaining to 'the glory,' the Brahman; see p. 180.

³ See note 1 at p. 181. As to 'arrangements of words,' cf. Maitrî, p. 179.

⁴ 'Everything,' says one copy of Saṅkara's commentary; 'all that is good and desirable,' says another.

⁵ Cf. *inter alia*, *Mundaka*, pp. 281-314.

⁶ For he has got to undergo migration from one life to another as the result of the action. Cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 856; *Mundaka*, p. 278.

⁷ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 70.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 101-110.

⁹ I.e. the yoga or concentration of mind here described. This stanza, like many others in this chapter, occurs in chapter III with slight variations.

CHAPTER VI.

That pure¹, great light², which is radiant; that great glory³; that, verily, which the gods worship⁴; that by means of which the sun shines forth⁵—that eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. From (that) pure (principle) the Brahman⁶ is produced; by (that) pure (principle) the Brahman is developed⁷; that pure (principle), not illumined among all radiant (bodies), is (itself) luminous and illuminates (them)⁸. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. The perfect is raised out of the perfect. It (being raised) out of the perfect is called the perfect. The perfect is withdrawn from the perfect, and the perfect only remains⁹. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees.

¹ Free from ignorance and other taints. See *Kaṭha*, p. 144.

² Saṅkara compares *Kaṭha*, p. 142. See, too, *Mundaka*, p. 303; and note 4 infra.

³ Svetâsvatara, p. 347, and p. 180 supra.

⁴ Saṅkara refers to *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 887.

⁵ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 112, note 1.

⁶ 'Named *Hiranyagarbha*,' Saṅkara. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 107; Svetâsvatara, p. 354; *Mundaka*, p. 309; *Maitrî*, p. 130; *Taitt. Âraṇ.* p. 894.

⁷ 'In the form of *Virâg*,' says Saṅkara. As to these two, cf. *Mundaka*, pp. 270-272; and Saṅkara's and Ânandagiri's notes there. See also Svetâsvatara, pp. 324, 325; and *Nṛisimha Tâpinî*, pp. 233, 234; Colebrooke, *Essays*, pp. 344, 368 (Madras reprint). The *Virâg* corresponds rather to the gross material world viewed as a whole; the *Hiranyagarbha* to the subtle elements similarly viewed, an earlier stage in the development. Cf. the Vedântasâra.

⁸ Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 303, and *Gîtâ*, p. 112.

⁹ The individual self is part of the supreme (*Gîtâ*, p. 112); perfect = not limited by space, time, &c.; as being part of a thing perfect in its essence, the individual soul also is perfect. The individual self is withdrawn from the perfect, viz. the whole aggregate of body, senses, &c. presided over by the self, and when so withdrawn it appears to be the pure self only. Cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 948.

(From the Brahman), the waters¹ (are produced); and then from the waters, the gross body. In the space within that², dwelt the two divine (principles). Both enveloping the quarters and sub-quarters, support earth and heaven³. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. The horse⁴-(like senses) lead towards heaven him, who is possessed of knowledge and divine, (who is) free from old age, and who stands on the wheel of this chariot(-like body), which is transient, but the operations of which are imperishable⁵. That eternal divine being⁶ is perceived by devotees. His form has no parallel⁷; no one sees him with the eye⁸. Those who apprehend him by means of the understanding, and also the mind and heart, become immortal⁹. That eternal

¹ 'The five elements,' says Saṅkara, cf. Aitareya, p. 189; and for 'gross body,' the original is literally 'water;' see supra, p. 179, note 6; and see, too, Īṣopaniṣad, p. 11, and Svetâsvatara, p. 368, for different but kindred meanings.

² Viz. the lotus-like heart. Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 528.

³ The two principles between them pervade the universe, the individual self being connected with the material world, the other with heaven; 'divine' is, literally, 'the brilliant,' says Saṅkara, who quotes *Kaṭha*, p. 305, as a parallel for the whole passage.

⁴ Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 111; *Maitrî*, pp. 19-34; and *Mahâbhârata* *Strî Parvan*, chap. VII, st. 13. Heaven = the Brahman here (see *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 876); divine = not vulgar, or unrefined—Saṅkara, who adds that though the senses generally lead one to sensuous objects, they do not do so when under the guidance of true knowledge.

⁵ The body is perishable, but action done by the self while in the body leaves its effect.

⁶ To whom, namely, the man of knowledge goes, as before stated.

⁷ Cf. *Svetâsvatara*, p. 347.

⁸ Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 152, and comment there, where the eye is said to stand for all the senses.

⁹ *Kaṭha*, p. 149; *Svetâsvatara*, pp. 346-348, also p. 330 (should it be *manîṣhâ* there instead of *manviro*?). The meanings of the three words are difficult to fix accurately. Saṅkara varies in his interpre-

divine being is perceived by devotees. The currents of twelve collections¹, supported by the Deity, regulate the honey²; and those who follow after it move about in (this) dangerous (world). That eternal divine being³ is perceived by devotees. The bee⁴ drinks that accumulated honey for half a month⁵. The Lord created the oblation for all beings⁶. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. Those who are devoid of wings⁷, coming

tations. Probably the meaning he gives here is the best. Mind and understanding have been explained at *Gîtâ*, p. 57. The heart is the place within, where the self is said to be, and it may be taken as indicating the self, the meaning would then be—a direct consciousness in the self of its unity with the Supreme. See, too, *Taitt. Âran.* p. 896.

¹ The five organs of action, the five senses of perception, the mind and understanding make the twelve.

² Each current has its own honey regularly distributed to it under the supervision of the Deity, the Supreme. Honey=material enjoyment. Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 126, where Saṅkara renders it by *karmaphala*, 'fruit of action.'

³ Who supervises the distribution as stated. Cf. *Vedānta-sūtra* III, 2, 28-31.

⁴ *Bhramara*, which the commentators interpret to mean 'one who is given to flying about—the individual self.'

⁵ I. e. in one life in respect of actions done in a previous life.

⁶ Saṅkara says this is in answer to a possible difficulty that action performed here cannot have its fruit in the next world, as the fruit is so far removed in time from the action. The answer is, The Lord, the Supreme, can effect this, and taking his existence into account there is no difficulty. Oblation=food, &c., Saṅkara. The meaning of the whole passage, which is not very clear, seems to be that the Lord has arranged things so that each being receives some of this honey, this food, which is the fruit of his own action. Then the question arises, Do these beings always continue taking the honey and 'migrating,' or are they ever released? That is answered by the following sentence.

⁷ 'The wings of knowledge,' says Saṅkara, citing a *Brāhmaṇa* text, 'those, verily, who have knowledge are possessed of wings, those who are not possessed of knowledge are devoid of wings.'

to the Asvattha of golden leaves¹, there become possessed of wings, and fly away happily². That eternal divine being³ is perceived by devotees. The upward life-wind swallows up the downward life-wind; the moon swallows up the upward life-wind; the sun swallows up the moon⁴; and another⁵ swallows up the sun. Moving about above the waters, the supreme self⁶ does not raise one leg⁷. (Should he raise) that, which is always performing sacrifices⁸, there will be no death, no immortality⁹. That eternal divine being¹⁰ is perceived by devotees.

¹ So, literally; Saṅkara explains 'golden' to mean 'beneficial and pleasant,' by a somewhat fanciful derivation of the word *hiranya*. He refers to *Gîtâ*, p. 111, about the leaves of the Asvattha. Nilakantha takes the leaves to be son, wife, &c., which are 'golden,' attractive at first sight. 'Coming to the Asvattha,' Saṅkara says, 'means being born as a Brâhmana,' &c. 'Flying away' = obtaining final emancipation.

² The 'selves' are compared to birds in the famous passage at *Mundaka*, p. 306 (also *Svetâsvatara*, p. 337). See also *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 499.

³ Knowledge of whom leads to 'flying away happily.'

⁴ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 441. Saṅkara says that the author here explains the yoga by which the Supreme is to be attained. As to the life-winds, cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 61. 'The moon,' says Saṅkara, 'means the mind, and the sun the understanding, as they are the respective deities of those organs' (cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, pp. 521-542, and *Aitareya*, p. 187, where, however, the sun is said to appertain to the eye).

⁵ I.e. the Brahman; the result is, one remains in the condition of being identified with the Brahman.

⁶ Literally, flamingo. Cf. *Svetâsvatara*, pp. 332, 367; see also p. 289; *Maitrî*, p. 99; and the commentary on *Svetâsvatara*, p. 283.

⁷ Viz. the individual self, Saṅkara; that is, as it were, the bond of connexion between the Supreme and the world. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 112.

⁸ This is the meaning, though the word in the original is *Ritvig*, which in the later literature only means priest.

⁹ As the whole of the material world is dissolved, when the self is dis severed from the delusion which is the cause of it.

¹⁰ Viz. who moves about on the waters, as above stated.

The being which is the inner self, and which is of the size of a thumb¹, is always migrating in consequence of the connexion with the subtle body². The deluded ones do not perceive that praiseworthy lord, primeval and radiant, and possessed of creative power³. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. Leading mortals to destruction by their own action⁴, they conceal themselves like serpents in secret recesses⁵. The deluded men then become more deluded⁶. The enjoyments afforded by them cause delusion, and lead to worldly life⁷. That eternal divine being⁸ is perceived by devotees. This⁹ seems to be common to all mankind—whether possessed of resources¹⁰ or not possessed of resources—it is common to immortality and the other¹¹. Those who are possessed (of them)¹² attain there to the source of the honey¹³. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. They go,

¹ Svetâsvatara, pp. 330–355; Taitt. Âraṇ. p. 858, and comments there.

² The life-winds, the ten organs or senses, mind, and understanding. See the same word similarly interpreted at Svetâsvatara, p. 306, and Sâṅkhya-sûtra III, 9.

³ According to Saṅkara, he who makes the distinct entities, after entering into them; he alludes apparently to *Khândogya*, p. 407.

⁴ Namely, that of giving the poison of sensuous objects.

⁵ I. e. the eye, ear, &c., like the holes of serpents.

⁶ I. e. can appreciate nought but those sensuous objects.

⁷ One reading is, 'lead to danger' = which means 'to hell,' according to Nilakantha.

⁸ Scil. delusion about whom leads to 'danger' or 'worldly life.'

⁹ The quality of being one with the Brahman in essence.

¹⁰ Self-restraint, tranquillity, &c.

¹¹ I. e. whether in the midst of worldly life, or in the state of perfect emancipation.

¹² Viz. the resources spoken of before.

¹³ Viz. the supreme Brahman. 'There' Saṅkara takes to mean 'in the supreme abode of Vishṇu.' See Introduction.

pervading both worlds by knowledge¹. Then the Agnihotra though not performed is (as good as) performed². Your (knowledge) of the Brahman, therefore, will not lead you to littleness³. Knowledge is (his)⁴ name. To that the talented ones attain. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. The self of this description absorbing the material cause⁵ becomes great. And the self of him who understands that being is not degraded here⁶. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. One should ever and always be doing good. (There is) no death, whence (can there be) immortality⁷? The real and the unreal have both the same real (entity) as their basis. The source of the existent and the non-existent is but one⁸. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. The

¹ Saṅkara does not explain this. Nīlakaṇṭha says pervading = fully understanding; both worlds = the self and the not-self. Is the meaning something like that of the passage last cited by Saṅkara under Vedānta-sūtra IV, 2, 14?

² He obtains the fruit of it, Saṅkara. See as to Agnihotra, *Khândogya*, p. 381 seq.; and Vedānta-sūtra IV, 1, 16.

³ I. e. this mortal world, as action &c. would do.

⁴ I. e. of one who understands himself to be the Brahman. See *Aitareya-upanishad*, p. 246.

⁵ Saṅkara says, 'the cause in which all is absorbed.' Cf. a similar, but not identical, meaning given to Vaisvānara at *Khândogya*, p. 264; and see Vedānta-sūtra I, 2, 24. Becomes great = becomes the Brahman, Saṅkara.

⁶ Even in this body, Saṅkara; degradation he takes to mean departure from the body, citing *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 540.

⁷ There is no worldly life with birth and death for one who does good, and thinks his self to be the Brahman; hence no emancipation from such life either.

⁸ The Brahman is the real, and on that the unreal material world is imagined. Cf. *Taittirīya*, p. 97, and Saṅkara's comments there, which are of use in understanding this passage.

being who is the inner self, and who is of the size of a thumb, is not seen, being placed in the heart¹. He is unborn, is moving about day and night, without sloth. Meditating on him, a wise man remains placid². That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. From him comes the wind³; in him, likewise, is (everything) dissolved. From him (come) the fire and the moon; and from him comes life⁴. That is the support (of the universe); that is immortal; that is all things perceptible⁵; that is the Brahman, that glory. From that all entities were produced; and in that (they) are dissolved⁶. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. The brilliant (Brahman) supports the two divine principles⁷ and the universe, earth and heaven, and the quarters. He from whom the rivers flow in (various) directions, from him were created the great oceans⁸. That eternal divine being is perceived by devotees. Should one fly, even after furnishing oneself with thousands upon thousands of wings, and even though one should have the velocity of thought⁹, one would never reach the end of the (great) cause¹⁰. That eternal divine

¹ Cf. *Kaṭha*, pp. 130, 157; and *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 360.

² Cf. *Svetâsvatara*, p. 342; *Kaṭha*, pp. 100, 107; *Maitrî*, p. 134.

³ Cf. *Taittirîya*, p. 67; *Kaṭha*, p. 146; *Mundaka*, p. 293.

⁴ *Kaṭha*, p. 298; *Mundaka*, p. 288.

⁵ See p. 180, note 7.

⁶ See p. 180 *supra*.

⁷ 'The individual soul, and God,' say the commentators, the latter being distinct from the supreme self. 'The universe,' says *Nilakantḥa*, 'means earth,' &c., by which I suppose he means earth, heaven, quarters, mentioned directly afterwards.

⁸ *Kaṭha*, p. 293.

⁹ This figure is implied in the *Îropanishad*, p. 10.

¹⁰ 'Therefore it is endless,' says *Saṅkara*; and as to this, cf. *Taittirîya*, p. 51.

being is perceived by devotees. His form dwells in the unperceived¹; and those whose understandings are very well refined² perceive him. The talented man who has got rid (of affection and aversion) perceives (him) by the mind. Those who understand him³ become immortal. When one sees this self in all beings stationed in various places⁴, what should one grieve for after that⁵? The Brâhmana has (as much interest) in all beings, as in a big reservoir of water, to which waters flow from all sides⁶. I alone am your mother⁷, father;

¹ 'In a sphere beyond the reach of perception,' says Saṅkara, who also quotes *Kaṭha*, p. 149, or *Svetâsvatara*, p. 347, where the same line also occurs.

² The original for understandings is *sattva*, which Saṅkara renders to mean *antaḥkarana*. 'Refined,' he says, 'by sacrifices and other sanctifying operations.' In the *Kaṭha* at p. 148 *sattva* is rendered by Saṅkara to mean *buddhi*—a common use of the word.

³ 'As being,' says Saṅkara, 'identical with themselves.' It will be noted that the form of expression is slightly altered here. It is not 'those who understand this.'

⁴ I.e. in different aggregates of body, senses, &c. Cf. *Gîtâ*, pp. 104 and 124; also *Khândogya*, pp. 475-551.

⁵ Cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 882; Saṅkara also refers to *Îsopanishad*, p. 14.

⁶ The words are pretty nearly the same as at *Gîtâ*, p. 48. Saṅkara says, the Brâhmana 'who has done all he need do' has no interest whatever in any being, as he has none in a big reservoir, and he cites *Gîtâ*, p. 54, in support of this. One copy of Saṅkara, however, differs from this; that runs thus: 'As a person who has done all he need do, has no interest in a big reservoir of water, so to a Brâhmana who sees the self in all beings, there is no interest in all the actions laid down in the Vedas, &c.; as he has obtained everything by mere perception of the self.' Nīlakantha's reading is exactly the same as at *Gîtâ*, p. 48.

⁷ Saṅkara says that Sanatsugâta states here his own experiences, like Vâmadeva (about whom there is a reference at *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 216) and others, to corroborate what he has already said. Cf. also *Gîtâ*, p. 83, as to the whole passage.

and I too am the son. And I am the self of all this—that which exists and that which does not exist¹. (I am) the aged grandfather of this, the father, and the son, O descendant of Bharata! You dwell in my self only². You are not mine, nor I (yours). The self only is my seat³; the self too is (the source of) my birth⁴. I am woven through and through⁵ (everything). And my seat is free from (the attacks of) old age⁶. I am unborn, moving about day and night, without sloth. Knowing (me), verily, a wise man remains placid⁷. More minute than an atom⁸, possessed of a good mind⁹, I am stationed within all beings¹⁰. (The wise) know the father of all beings to be placed in the lotus¹¹ (like heart of every one).

¹ See Gîtâ, p. 84. Nilakantha takes what exists to mean 'present,' and what does not exist to mean 'past and future.' Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 532.

² See Gîtâ, p. 82, where there is also a similar apparent contradiction.

³ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 518.

⁴ That is to say he is 'unborn,' says Nilakantha. Saṅkara seems to take 'my' with 'seat' only, and not with birth; for he says, 'everything has its birth from the self.'

⁵ Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 298; *Maitrî*, p. 84, and comment there.

⁶ Cf. Gîtâ, pp. 77, 109, and *Khândogya*, pp. 535, 550.

⁷ See p. 192, note 2.

⁸ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 78, and note 3 there.

⁹ I.e. a mind free from affection and aversion, hatred, &c., Saṅkara.

¹⁰ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 113, and note 3; and also *Îsopanishad*, p. 12.

¹¹ *Khândogya*, p. 528; and cf. Gîtâ, p. 113.

A N U G Î T Â.

INTRODUCTION

TO

ANUGÎTÂ.

LIKE the Bhagavadgîtâ and the Sanatsugâtiya, the Anugîtâ is one of the numerous episodes of the Mahâbhârata. And like the Sanatsugâtiya, it appears here for the first time in an English, or, indeed, it is believed, in any European garb. It forms part of the Asvamedha Parvan of the Mahâbhârata, and is contained in thirty-six chapters of that Parvan. These chapters—being chapters XVI to LI—together with all the subsequent chapters of the Asvamedha Parvan, form by themselves what in some of our copies is called the Anugîtâ Parvan—a title which affords a parallel to the title Bhagavadgîtâ Parvan, which we have already referred to. The Anugîtâ is not now a work of any very great or extensive reputation. But we do find some few quotations from it in the Bhâshyas of Sañkarâkârya, and one or two in the Sâñkhya-sâra of Vigñâna Bhikshu, to which reference will be made hereafter. And it is included in the present volume, partly because it affords an interesting glimpse of sundry old passages of the Upanishad literature in a somewhat modified, and presumably later, form; and partly, perhaps I may say more especially, because it professes to be a sort of continuation, or rather recapitulation, of the Bhagavadgîtâ. At the very outset of the work, we read, that after the great fratricidal war of the Mahâbhârata was over, and the Pândavas had become sole and complete masters of their ancestral kingdom, *Krishna* and *Arguna*—the two interlocutors in the Bhagavadgîtâ—happened to take a stroll together in the great magical palace built for the Pândavas by the demon *Maya*. In the course of the conversation which they held on the occasion, *Krishna* communicated to *Arguna* his wish to return to his own people at Dvârakâ, now that the business which had called

him away from them was happily terminated. Arguna, of course, was unable to resist the execution of this wish ; but he requested *Krishna*, before leaving for Dvârakâ, to repeat the instruction which had been already conveyed to him on 'the holy field of Kurukshetra,' but which had gone out of his 'degenerate mind.' *Krishna* thereupon protests that he is not equal to a verbatim recapitulation of the Bhagavad-gîtâ, but agrees, in lieu of that, to impart to Arguna the same instruction in other words, through the medium of a certain 'ancient story'—or purâtana itihâsa. And the instruction thus conveyed constitutes what is called the Anugîtâ, a name which is in itself an embodiment of this anecdote.

Now the first question which challenges investigation with reference to this work is, if we may so call it, the fundamental one—how much is properly included under the name? The question is not one quite easy of settlement, as our authorities upon it are not all reconcilable with one another. In the general list of contents of the Asvamedha Parvan, which is given at the end of that Parvan in the edition printed at Bombay, we read that the first section is the Vyâsa Vâkya, and the second the Samvartamaruttiya. With neither of these have we aught to do here. The list then goes on thus : 'Anugîtâ, Vâsudevâgamana, Brâhmana Gîtâ, Gurusishyasamvâda, Uttankopâkhyâna,' and so forth. With the later sections, again, we are not here concerned. Now let us compare this list with the list which may be obtained from the titles of the chapters in the body of the work itself. With the sixteenth chapter, then, of the Asvamedha Parvan, begins what is here called the Anugîtâ Parvan ; and that chapter and the three following chapters are described as the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth chapters respectively of the Anugîtâ Parvan, which forms part of the Asvamedha Parvan. The title of the twentieth chapter contains a small, but important, addition. It runs thus, 'Such is the twentieth chapter of the Anugîtâ Parvan, forming part of the Asvamedha Parvan—being the Brahma Gîtâ.' This form is continued down to the thirty-fourth chapter, only Brâhmana

Gîtâ being substituted for Brahma Gîtâ. At the close of the thirty-fifth chapter, there is another alteration caused by the substitution of *Gurusishyasamvâda* for *Brâhmaṇa Gîtâ*; and this continues down to the fifty-first chapter, where the thread of the narrative is again taken up—the philosophical parenthesis, if I may so say, having come to an end. With the fifty-first chapter our present translation also ends. Now it appears from the above comparison, that the list of contents set out above is accurate, save in so far as it mentions *Vāsudevâgamaṇa* as a distinct section of the *Asvamedha Parvan*. No such section seems to be in existence. And there appears to be nothing in the *Asvamedha Parvan* to which that title could be appropriately allotted. The edition printed at Madras agrees in all essential particulars with the Bombay edition; with this difference, that even at the close of the twentieth chapter, the name is *Brâhmaṇa Gîtâ*, and not *Brahma Gîtâ* as it is in the Bombay edition. The Calcutta edition also agrees in these readings. Turning now to a MS. procured for me by my excellent friend Professor Ābāgī Vishṇu Kāthavate at Ahmedabad, and bearing date the 15th of Phālguna Vadya 1823, Sunday, we find there at the end of the *Asvamedha Parvan* a list of contents like that which we have seen in the printed edition. The relevant portion of that list is as follows: ‘*Samvartamarut-tīya, Anugîtâ, Gurusishyasamvâda, and Uttankopākhyâna.*’ Here we find neither the erroneous entry of *Vāsudevâgamaṇa*, nor the correct entry of *Brahma Gîtâ*, which are both contained in the other list. In another MS. which I have now before me, and which has been lent me by Professor Bhândārkar, who purchased it in Pura for the Government of Bombay—in this MS., which contains the commentary of Arguna Misra, the earlier chapters are described not as chapters of the *Anugîtâ Parvan*, but of the *Anugîtâ* contained in the *Asvamedha Parvan*, and they are numbered there as they are numbered in our translation, not continuously with the numbering of the previous chapters of the *Asvamedha Parvan*. At the close of chapter IV, we have an explicit statement that the *Anugîtâ* ends there. Then the *Brahma Gîtâ* begins. And the first chapter is

described as a chapter of the Brahma Gîtâ in the Asvamedha Parvan. The numbering of each of these chapters of the Brahma Gîtâ is not given in the copy before us—the titles and descriptions of the various chapters being throughout incomplete. Some of the later chapters are described as chapters of the Brâhma Gîtâ, and some as chapters of the Brâhmaṇa Gîtâ; but this discrepancy is probably to be put to the account of the particular copyist who wrote out the copy used by us. With what is chapter XX in our numbering the Gurusishyasamvâda begins. This MS. omits all reference to any Anugîtâ Parvan, and fails to number the various chapters. Its list of sections agrees with that in the Bombay edition. It bears no date.

So much for what may be described as our primary sources of information on this subject. Let us now glance at the secondary sources. And, first, Nilakantha in commenting on what is, according to his numbering, chapter XV, stanza 43, apparently distinguishes that chapter from what he speaks of as the Brâhmaṇa Gîtâ and Gurusishyasamvâda, which, as he implies, follow after that chapter—thus indicating that he accepted in substance the tradition recorded in the passages we have already set forth, viz. that the first four chapters of our translation form the Anugîtâ, the next fifteen the Brâhmaṇa Gîtâ, and the last seventeen the Gurusishyasamvâda. This is also the view of Arguna Misra. At the close of his gloss on chapter IV, he distinctly states that the Anugîtâ ends at that chapter; and again at the close of the gloss on chapter XIX, he explicitly says that the Brâhmaṇa Gîtâ ends there. He also adds the following interesting observation: 'The feminine form (Gîtâ, namely) is used in consequence of (the word) Upanishad being feminine.' The full title of that part of the Mahâbhârata would then be, according to this remark of Arguna Misra, 'the Upanishads sung by the Brâhmaṇa,' a title parallel to that of the Bhagavadgîtâ, 'the Upanishads sung by the Deity.' It is to be further remarked, that the last chapter of the Gurusishyasamvâda is called in this commentary the eighteenth chapter of the Gurusishyasamvâda, a fact which seems to indicate that Arguna Misra either

found in the MS. which he used, or himself established, a separate numbering for the chapters in the several sections¹ of which the *Asvamedha Parvan* is made up.

Although the information here set out from these various sources is not easily to be harmonised in all its parts, the preponderance of testimony seems to be in favour of regarding the portion of the *Asvamedha Parvan* embraced in our translation as containing three distinct sections, viz. the *Anugîtâ*, the *Brâhmana Gîtâ*, and the *Gurusishyasamvâda*. And some indirect support for this conclusion may be derived from one or two other circumstances. In the *Sāṅkhya-sāra* of *Vigñāna Bhikshu*—a work which, as we shall see in the sequel, expressly mentions the *Anugîtâ*—we have a passage cited as from the '*Bhârata*'² which coincides almost precisely with a passage occurring in chapter XXVII of our translation (see p. 335). And in the *Bhâshya* of *Saṅkarâkârya* on the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, chapter XV, stanza 1, we have a citation as from a '*Purâna*' of a passage which coincides pretty closely with one which occurs in chapter XX of our translation (see p. 313). If the discrepancies between the quotations as given by *Vigñāna Bhikshu* and *Saṅkara*, and the passages occurring in our text, may be treated merely as various readings—and there is nothing inherently improbable in this being the case—it may be fairly contended, that neither *Saṅkara* nor *Vigñāna Bhikshu* would have used the vague expressions, '*a Purâna*,' or even '*the Bhârata*,' if they could have correctly substituted in lieu of them the specific name *Anugîtâ*. And this, it may be said, is a contention of some weight, when it is remembered, that both *Saṅkara* and *Vigñāna* show, in other parts of their writings, an acquaintance with this very *Anugîtâ*. If this reasoning is correct,

¹ In the beginning of his gloss on the *Anugîtâ* he says, that he proposes to explain difficult passages in the *Anugîtâ*, &c.—*Anugîtâdishu*. And at the outset of his gloss on the whole *Parvan* he says, that in the *Anugîtâ* we have a statement of the miseries of birth, &c. as a protest against worldly life; in the *Brahma Gîtâ* we have a recommendation of *Prânâyâma*, &c.; and in the *Gurusishyasamvâda* we have a eulogium on the perception of the self as distinct from *Prakṛiti* or nature, and incidentally a protest against *Pravṛtti* or action.

² P. 21.

the conclusion to be derived from it must be, that Saṅkara and Vigñāna must have considered the chapters of the *Asvamedha Parvan* from which their respective quotations are taken as not forming part of the *Anugîtâ*.

The testimony we have thus collected is apparently of considerable weight. Against it, however, we have to weigh some testimony which appears to me to be entitled, upon the whole, to even greater weight. In the *Sânkhya-sâra* of Vigñāna Bhikshu, to which we have already referred, we have two quotations¹ from the *Anugîtâ* which are distinctly stated to be taken from that work. The first occurs in our translation at p. 332, the second at p. 313. Now, if we adopt the conclusion above referred to, regarding the correct titles of the thirty-six chapters which we have translated, it is a mistake to attribute the passages in question to the *Anugîtâ*. They would, on that view, form part of the *Gurusishyasamvâda*. Again, in his commentary on the *Sanatsugâtiya*, Saṅkara refers to sundry passages which he expressly says are taken from the *Anugîtâ*, but which are not contained in the *Anugîtâ* as limited by the evidence we have considered above. One of the passages referred to is taken from chapter XI of our translation, and others are contained in the comments on *Sanatsugâtiya* I, 6, and on I, 20 and I, 41². It is difficult to resist the conclusion to which this positive evidence leads. One cannot possibly explain this evidence upon the view which we have first stated; while, on the other hand, the points which apparently support that view are capable of some explanation on the theory that the *Anugîtâ* includes all the chapters here translated. And that in this wise. The passages which we have referred to as cited by Saṅkara and Vigñāna from a *Purâṇa* and from the *Bhârata* may have been actually taken from some other work than the *Anugîtâ*. Even waiving the fact that the readings are different,—though in regard especially to the quotation given by Saṅkara it is not one to be entirely lost sight of,—there is this fact which is of great and almost conclusive weight on such a point as

¹ Pp. 15, 21. The latter corresponds to Saṅkara's quotation above referred to.

² See p. 206 note.

this, namely, that we have many instances of passages common, almost verbatim et literatim, to the Mahābhārata and other works. For one instance, take the very passage on which a chronological argument has been founded by us in the Introduction to the Sanatsugātiya¹. It ought to have been there pointed out, that the stanza about a young man being bound to rise to receive an elderly person, occurs in the Manu Smṛiti² also in exactly the same words. The omission to note this circumstance in its proper place in the Introduction to the Sanatsugātiya was due to a mere inadvertence. But the conclusion there hinted at was expressed in very cautious language, and with many qualifications, out of regard to circumstances such as those which we are now considering. Similar repetitions may be pointed out in other places. The passage about the Kshetragña and Sattva and their mutual relations (see p. 374) occurs, as pointed out in the note there, in at least two other places in the Mahābhārata. The passage likewise which occurs in Gītā, p. 103, about the 'hands, feet, &c., on all sides,' is one which may be seen, to my own knowledge, in about half a dozen places in the Mahābhārata. Such cases, I believe, may be easily multiplied; and they illustrate and are illustrated by Mr. Freeman's proposition respecting the epic age in Greece, to which we have already alluded. It follows, consequently, that the quotations from Saṅkara and Vigñāna, to which we have referred above, do not militate very strongly against the final conclusion at which we have arrived. The testimony of the MSS. and the commentators is of considerably greater force. But Nilakantha, whatever his merits as an exegete—and even these are often marred by a persistent effort to read his own foregone conclusions into the text he comments on—Nilakantha is but an indifferent authority in the domain of historical criticism. In his commentary on the Sanatsugātiya, for instance, he tells us that he has admitted into his text sundry verses which were not in the copy used by Saṅkara, and for which he had none but a very modern voucher, and he very naively adds that he has done so on the principle of collecting all

¹ P. 139, and cf. p. 176 with Vishnu XXX, 44 seq.

² See II, 120.

good things to a focus. Arguna Misra is a very much more satisfactory commentator. But he is not likely to be a writer of a very remote date. I assume, that he must be more recent than Saṅkarākārya, though I cannot say that I have any very tenable ground for the assumption. But assuming that, I think it more satisfactory to adopt Saṅkarākārya's nomenclature, and to treat the thirty-six chapters here translated as constituting the Anugītā. It is not improbable, if our assumption is correct, that the division of the thirty-six chapters in the manner we have seen may have come into vogue after the date of Vigñāna Bhikshu, who, according to Dr. F. E. Hall, 'lived in all probability in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and whom there is some slight reason for carrying back still further¹.'

Do these thirty-six chapters, then, form one integral work? Are they all the work of one and the same author? These are the questions which next present themselves for consideration. The evidence bearing upon them, however, is, as might be expected, excessively scanty. Of external evidence, indeed, we have really none, barring Saṅkara's statement in his commentary on the *Brhadāraṇyaka-upanishad*² that the verse which he there quotes from the Anugītā has Vyāsa for its author. That statement indicates that Saṅkara accepted the current tradition of Vyāsa's authorship of the Anugītā; and such acceptance, presumably, followed from his acceptance of the tradition of Vyāsa's authorship of the entire Mahābhārata. If that tradition is incorrect, and Vyāsa is not the author of the Anugītā, we have no means of ascertaining who is the author. And as to the tradition in question, it is difficult, in the present state of our materials, to form any satisfactory judgment. We therefore proceed at once to consider whether the Anugītā is really one work. And I must admit at the outset that I find it difficult to answer this question. There are certainly some circumstances connected with the work which might be regarded as indicating a different authorship of different parts of it. Thus

¹ See Preface, Sāṅkhya-sāra, p. 37.

² P. 234.

in an early portion of the work, we find the first personal pronoun is used, where the Supreme Being is evidently intended to be signified, and yet the passage is not put into the mouth of *Kṛishṇa*, but of the *Brāhmaṇa*. A similar passage occurs a little later on also. Now it must be taken to be a somewhat strained interpretation of the words used in the passages in question to suppose that the speaker there used the first personal pronoun, identifying himself for the nonce with the Supreme Being¹. Again, in a passage still further on, we have the vocative O *Pārtha*! where the person addressed is not *Arguna* at all, but the *Brāhmaṇa*'s wife. Now these lapses are susceptible of two explanations—either we are to see in them so many cases of 'Homer nodding,' or we may suppose that they are errors occasioned by one writer making additions to the work of a previous writer, without a vivid recollection of the framework of the original composition into which his own work had to be set². I own, that on balancing the probabilities on the one side and the other, my mind rather leans to the hypothesis of one author making a slip in the plexus of his own story within story, rather than the hypothesis of a deliberate interpolator forgetting the actual scheme of the original work into which he was about to foist his own additions³. And this the rather, that we find a similar slip towards the very beginning of the work, where we have the *Brāhmaṇa* *Kāśyapa* addressed as *Parantapa*, or destroyer of foes—an epithet which, I think, is exclusively reserved for *Kshatriyas*, and is, in any case, a very inappropriate one to apply to a humble seeker for spiritual light. This slip appears to me to be incapable of explanation on any theory of interpolation⁴. And hence the other slips above noted can hardly be regarded as supporting any such theory. Another circumstance, not indeed bearing

¹ In fact the *Brāhmaṇa* is not identified with the Supreme Being afterwards. But that fact has not much bearing on the question here.

² Cf. Wilson's *Dasakumārācharita*, Introd. p. 22.

³ The third alternative, that a work independently written was afterwards bodily thrown into the *Mahābhārata*, is one which in the circumstances here seems to me improbable.

⁴ See also pp. 235, 252, 299.

out that theory, but rendering interpolations possible, deserves to be noted. The scheme of the Anugītā certainly lends itself to interpolations. A story might without much difficulty be added to the series of story joined to story which it contains. Against this, however, it must not be forgotten, that the Sānti Parvan of the Mahābhārata and the Yogavāsishṭha exhibit a precisely similar framework of contents, and that the Pañkatantra and the Kathāsaritsāgara, among other works, follow the same model. And from this fact it may be fairly argued, that while there is, doubtless, room for suspecting interpolations in such cases, there is this to be remembered, that with respect to any particular one of these cases, such suspicion can carry us but a very short way. And further, it is to be observed, valeat quantum, that the connexion of the several chapters of the Anugītā one with the other is not altogether a loose one, save at one or two points only, while they are all linked on to the main body of the narrative, only in what we have treated as the last chapter of the Anugītā, without any trace of any other connecting link anywhere else. Upon the whole, therefore, we here conclude, though not without doubt, that the whole of the Anugītā is the work of one author.

The next question to be discussed is the important one of the age of the work. The quotations already given above from Saṅkarākārya's works, and one other which is referred to in the note below¹, suffice to show that the Anugītā must have been some few centuries old in the time of Saṅkarākārya. For whether we treat the Anugītā as a part of the original Mahābhārata or not, it is not likely that such a scholar as Saṅkara would have accepted the book as a genuine part of the Mahābhārata, and as a work of Vyāsa, if it had not been in his day of some respectable antiquity, of antiquity sufficient to have thrown the real author into oblivion, and to have substi-

¹ See Saṅkara, Sārīraka Bhāṣhya, p. 726. That, however, may be a quotation from some other work. It may be noted that the passages quoted in the Bhāṣhya on Sanatsugātiya I, 20 and I, 41 are not to be traced in our copies, though expressly stated there to have been taken from the Anugītā.

tuted in his place Vyâsa, who lived at the junction of the Dvâpara and Kali ages¹, upwards of thirty centuries before the Christian era. The calculation is avowedly a very rough one, but I think we may, as the result of it, safely fix the third century of the Christian era as the latest date at which the Anugîtâ can have been composed. Let us now endeavour to find out whether we can fix the date as lying within any better defined period. It is scarcely needful to say, that the Anugîtâ dates from a period considerably subsequent to the age of the Upanishads. The passages relating to the *Prânasamvâda* and so forth, which occur originally in the Upanishads, are referred to in the Anugîtâ as 'ancient stories'—an indication that the Upanishads had already come to be esteemed as ancient compositions at the date of the latter work. It is not necessary, therefore, to go through an elaborate examination of the versions of the ancient stories alluded to above, as contained in the Upanishads and in the Anugîtâ, more especially because it is possible for us to show that the Anugîtâ is later than the Bhagavadgîtâ, which latter work, as we have seen, is later than the Upanishads. And to this point we shall now address ourselves. We have already observed upon the story referred to at the opening of this Introduction, which, historically interpreted, indicates the priority of the Bhagavadgîtâ to the Anugîtâ. This conclusion is confirmed by sundry other circumstances, which we must now discuss in some detail, as they are also of use in helping to fix the position of the work in the history of Sanskrit literature and philosophy. First, then, it seems to me, that the state of society mirrored in the Anugîtâ indicates a greater advance in social evolution than we have already seen is disclosed in the Bhagavadgîtâ. Not to mention decorations of houses and so forth, which are alluded to in one passage of the Anugîtâ, we are here told of royal oppressions, of losses of wealth accumulated with great difficulty, and of fierce captivities; we are told, to adapt the language of a modern English poet, of laws grinding the weak, for strong men rule the

¹ Cf. *Sâmrakâ Bhâshya*, p. 913.

law; we have references to the casting of images with liquefied iron, and to the use of elephants as vehicles¹; and we meet with protests against the amusements of music and dancing, and against the occupation of artisans². True it is, that all these indications put together, fail to constitute what, according to the standard of modern times, would be called a highly artificial state of society. But it seems to me to mark a very perceptible and distinct advance beyond the social condition when mankind was divided into four castes or classes, with such a division of duties, to put it briefly, as that of preparation for a future world, government of this world, agriculture and trade, and service respectively³. Artisans, it will be observed, are not even referred to in the *Bhagavadgītā*, nor is there any trace of royal oppressions, or unequal laws. Then as regards music, it may be noted, that there are references to it in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* and *Kaushītaki-upanishads*⁴, without any indications of disapprobation. The protest against music, therefore, and the sister art of dancing, is probably to be explained as evoked by some abuses of the two arts which must have come into prevalence about the time of the composition of the *Anugītā*. A similar protest is found recorded in the *Dharmasāstras* of *Manu* and *Āpastamba* and *Gautama*⁵. We shall consider in the sequel the chronological positions of the *Anugītā* with reference to those *Dharmasāstras*. But we have already pointed out that the *Gītā* stands prior to them both⁶.

Look again at the views on caste which are embodied in the *Anugītā* and the *Bhagavadgītā* respectively. The reference to the *Kshatriya* as representing the quality of passion, while the *Brāhmaṇa* represents the quality of goodness⁷, seems to place a considerably larger distance between the *Brāhmaṇa* and the *Kshatriya* than is suggested by the *Bhagavadgītā*, and thus marks an advance in the direction of the later doctrine on the subject. And in connexion

¹ Cf. *Lalita Vistara*, p. 17.

² See pp. 325-365.

³ See *Gītā*, p. 126.

⁴ See *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 454, and *Kaushītaki*, p. 68.

⁵ See *Bühler's Āpastamba I*, 1, 3, 11, *Gautama II*, 13, and *Manu II*, 178.

⁶ P. 21 seq.

⁷ P. 329.

with this, perhaps, the discrepancy between the reading of the *Bhagavadgītā* at p. 85, and that of the *Anugītā* at p. 255, is not entirely without significance, though much weight would not be due to it, if it stood alone. The expression 'devoted royal sages,' which we find in the one work, makes way for 'well-read Kshatriyas who are intent on their own duties' in the other. Again, although the passage at p. 353 is undoubtedly susceptible of a different interpretation, it seems to me, that the word 'twice-born' there employed, was meant to be interpreted as meaning the *Brāhmaṇas*, and not the three twice-born castes; and if this interpretation is correct, we have here the very proposition upon the absence of which in the *Bhagavadgītā* we have already made some observations¹. That twice-born in the passage in question means *Brāhmaṇa* only, is, of course, not a proved fact. But having regard to the passages noted above and to the passage at p. 320, where reference is made to disparagement of *Brāhmaṇas*—it is not twice-born there—and in the same clause with disparagement of gods and Vedas, it seems to me that the interpretation we have suggested must be taken to be the true one. And it is to be further noted, that this conclusion is corroborated by a comparison of the passage now under consideration with a passage occurring in the *Sānti Parvan*², in the *Rāgadharma* section of it, where we read that 'the cow is the first among quadrupeds, gold among metals, a mantra among words, and the *Brāhmaṇa* is the first among bipeds.' The cow and gold occur in the passage in the *Anugītā* also, very near the clause we are now discussing. And it is allowable to argue, that reading the two together, twice-born in the *Anugītā* must be interpreted to be synonymous with *Brāhmaṇa* in the *Rāgadharma*. And the same conclusion is, to my mind, confirmed indirectly by comparing the clause 'the twice-born among men' of the *Anugītā* with 'the ruler of men among men' of that *Bhagavadgītā*, the teaching of which the former work professes to recapitulate.

¹ P. 24 supra.² See note at p. 353.

A similar inference seems to be derivable from a comparison of the specific doctrines as to the duties of Brâhmanas which are enunciated in the Gîtâ and the Anugîtâ. In the latter work, the famous six duties are expressly mentioned. We have already argued in our Introduction to the Gîtâ, that a comparison of the teaching of that work upon this point with the teaching of Âpastamba and Manu shows the former to have been older than the latter. The six duties mentioned in the Anugîtâ are those also mentioned by Manu and Âpastamba. It follows, therefore, that the Gîtâ is prior to the Anugîtâ also. Whether the Anugîtâ is prior or subsequent to Manu and Âpastamba, is a question which will have to be discussed in the sequel.

The net result of the whole of this comparison appears to me to clearly show the Anugîtâ to be a work of considerably more recent date than the Bhagavadgîtâ. What interval of time lay between the two, is a most interesting, but also a most difficult, question. The differences we have noted appear to me to indicate a pretty wide interval. If I am right in regarding the Gîtâ as a work of what may be called, for practical purposes, the age of the older Upanishads, I am inclined to think that the interval between the Gîtâ and the Anugîtâ must have been one of larger extent than even three or four centuries. For as we have already pointed out, the description of the various 'Itihâsas' mentioned in the Anugîtâ as 'purâtana'—ancient—points to at least three or four centuries having elapsed between the close of the Upanishad period and the composition of the Anugîtâ. It is obvious, however, that this result is not one with which we can rest satisfied. Even if it were more precise and accurate, it would only fix the age of the Anugîtâ with reference to the age of another work itself of unknown and unascertained date. We must therefore endeavour to compare the Anugîtâ with some other work, the date of which is better known. For this purpose, it seems to be not of any great use to refer to the Sâṅkhya and Yoga-sûtras, although it is not improbable that some materials might be forthcoming for a useful comparison between them and the Anugîtâ. Neither the Sâṅkhya nor the Yoga-sûtras can

be said to have their ages fixed with even any approach to accuracy. And in the case of the Sāṅkhya-sūtras, there is the further difficulty presented by the circumstance, that there is room for very serious doubts as to whether the current Sūtras are really of the authorship of Kapila, or whoever else was the original founder of the system. With regard to the Yoga, one or two observations from a different point of view may not, however, be entirely out of place. At p. 248 the Yoga Sāstra is referred to *eo nomine*. What Sāstra is here alluded to? Is it Patañjali's, or some other Sāstra dealing with similar topics? Or, again, is it an entirely different matter that is alluded to, and are we not to see in the expression in question an allusion to any system formally propounded? I own, as stated in the note on the passage, that my mind inclines to the last view. There is not very much to say on either side of the question, as far as I am able to understand it. But the view I incline to appears to have one small circumstance in its favour. At p. 249 we have an allusion to persons who understand the Yoga, and to a certain illustration propounded by them. Now who are these persons? My limited knowledge of Yoga literature has not enabled me to trace the illustration anywhere else than in the *Kaṭhopanishad*, and in the *Sanatsugātiya*. It seems to me very unlikely, that the illustration can have been put forward in any work older than the *Kaṭhopanishad*. And we may, I think, assume it as most probable that the *Sanatsugātiya* borrowed it from that work. If so, it is not likely that the *Anugītā* can have referred to any other master of the Yoga than the author of the *Kaṭhopanishad*. And then it would seem to follow, that the *Anugītā* must have been composed at a time when, although the Upanishads were looked on with reverence and as works of authority, they were not yet regarded as part and parcel of the Vedic revelation¹. It is impossible not to perceive, that the train of reasoning here is at every stage hedged round with difficulties and doubts. And the inference therefore to which we are led by it must be accepted with proportionate

¹ This seems to be also the implication of the passage at p. 309, where the rules for final emancipation are alluded to.

caution. But if the reasoning is correct, it seems to be certain, that the Anugītā belongs to some period prior to the second, and probable, that it belongs to some period prior to the third century, before Christ. For in the second century before Christ was composed the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali, in which Rahasyas—which is another name for Upanishads—are mentioned as forming part of the Vedic literature. And in Āpastamba's Dharma-sūtras, which are older than Patañjali, Upanishads¹ are mentioned in the same way. I am aware that it may be said, that because Upanishads as a class of works are mentioned by Patañjali and Āpastamba, it does not follow that any particular Upanishad, such as the Kaṭha, for instance, also existed at that time. This is quite true. But without going now into the general question, it is sufficient to point out, that our argument here is concerned merely with the recognition of the Upanishads as a class of works forming part of the Vedic canon. Such recognition must have come later than the period at which the Anugītā could speak of a passage in the Kaṭha-upanishad as the utterance of Yogavids, or persons who understood the Yoga.

Turning now to the materials available for ascertaining the relative chronological positions of the Anugītā and the rise of Buddhism, we have again to complain of their unsatisfactory character. We will briefly note the two or three circumstances which appear to have a bearing upon this question. In the first place, we have the word Nirvāṇa used in one passage of the Anugītā in the sense of the highest tranquillity, and there the simile of the extinction of the fire is expressly adduced. On this it may be argued, that if the term Nirvāṇa had become the well-understood property of Buddhism, such a use of it as we find here would probably not have occurred. Again, we have the injunction that an ascetic must dwell in a town only for one day and no more, while he may stay at one place during the rains. This is very similar to an injunction prescribed by the Buddhistic teachers also. But

¹ They are also referred to in the Buddhistic Lalita Vistara, p. 65.

this fact furnishes, I think, no safe ground for a chronological inference, more especially because, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler, the Buddhistic injunction is itself only borrowed from the Brahminical rules on the subject¹. It is impossible, therefore, to say that the *Anugītā* borrowed its doctrine from Buddhism. It is, of course, equally impossible on the other hand to say, that Buddhism borrowed its rule from the *Anugītā*. And, therefore, we can build no safe inference upon this fact either. We have next the very remarkable passage at chapter XXXIV, where various contradictory and mutually exclusive views of piety are stated, or rather passingly and briefly indicated—a passage which one most devoutly wishes had been clearer than it is. In that passage I can find no reference to Buddhism. True it is that *Nilakantha's* commentary refers some of the doctrines there stated to Buddhistic schools². But that commentary, unsatisfactory enough in other places, is particularly unsatisfactory here. And its critical accuracy may be judged from its reference to *Saugatas* and *Yogākāras* apparently as two distinct schools, whereas in truth the *Saugatas* are Buddhists, and *Yogākāras* one of the four principal Buddhist sects. And it must be further remembered, that the interpretations of *Nilakantha*, upon which his specifications of the different schools are based, are by no means such as necessarily claim acceptance. If then we do not find any reference to Buddhism in this passage, that fact becomes certainly a remarkable one. Still, on the other hand, I am not prepared to apply the 'negative argument' here, and to say that inasmuch as Buddhism is not referred to where so many different opinions are referred to, Buddhism cannot have come into existence at the date of the *Anugītā*. It seems to me that the argument will here be a very hazardous one, because if the author of the *Anugītā* was, as we may assume he was, an orthodox Hindu, he might well have declined, although not unacquainted with Buddhism, to put into the mouths of the seven sages even as a possible view, that

¹ See *Gautama*, pp. lv and 191. ² See also the gloss on chap. XXXIV, st. 14.

which was the view of a school esteemed heretical by the author and his co-religionists. This passage, therefore, also fails to furnish any tangible ground for a chronological inference, at all events in the present state of our knowledge. Lastly, we come to the allusion to those who indulge in constant talk in disparagement of Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, the two being thus bracketed together in the original. That seems, at the first blush, to be a somewhat more distinct allusion to Buddhism than any of those we have noted above. But even that is not unambiguous. If the stanzas quoted by Mādhavākārya, in his Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha in its first section, are the composition of the original founder of the Kārvāka school, or even if they correctly represent the earliest opinions of that school, it is at least quite as likely that the Kārvākas were the target for the denunciations of the Anugītā in the passage in question as that the Buddhists were so. To me, indeed, it appears to be more likely. For Buddha's opinion with regard to the Vedas is, that they are inadequate; with regard to the Brāhmaṇas, that they are in no sense the chosen of God as they claim to be. The opinion of the Kārvākas, on the other hand, is a far more aggressive one, so to say. According to Mādhavākārya, they taught that the Vedas were either simple fatuity or imposture, and that the Brāhmaṇas were impostors. It seems to me much more likely, that this, which I have called a comparatively aggressive attitude, was the one at which the remarks of the Anugītā were levelled; and more especially does this appear to be correct when we remember, that the view taught by Gautama Buddha regarding the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas was propounded by him only in its strongest form; and that even before his time, the doctrine of the inadequacy of the Vedas for the purpose of securing the summum bonum of humanity had been taught by other teachers. It is further to be recollected, that we have evidence showing that other thinkers also than Buddha, or Bṛihaspati, had in early days attacked the authority of the Vedas. Kautsa is the name of one who was probably the most distinguished among them. It is certainly possible that his followers

were the people branded as of 'the dark quality' by the *Anugîtâ* in the passage in question. We have, therefore, at least two different recognised bodies of thinkers, and one individual thinker, to whom the words under discussion may apply, and it is plainly unsafe, under these circumstances, to draw any chronological inference based on the hypothesis of one particular body out of those three being the one intended by the author. Before closing this part of the investigation, it may be interesting to note, that the phrase 'turning the wheel,' a phrase now so familiar to us as one of the household words of Buddhism, is used in the *Anugîtâ* with respect to king *Ganaka*. I do not think, however, that either alone, or even coupled with the word *Nirvâṇa*, that phrase can be made the basis of any legitimate deduction in favour of the priority of the *Anugîtâ* to Buddhism. At the outside, the only deduction admissible, if any deduction were admissible, would be, that the *Anugîtâ* was composed prior to the recognition, of *Nirvâṇa* and *Kakrapravartana* as specially Buddhistic words. But priority to such recognition is not, I apprehend, necessarily synonymous with priority to the rise of Buddhism.

The net result of this part of the investigation appears to be, that we have pretty strong grounds for holding the *Anugîtâ* to belong to a period very considerably removed from the period of the Upanishads and the *Bhagavadgîtâ*; but that we have no tangible grounds on which to base any deduction regarding its priority or otherwise to the *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* systems of philosophy, or to the great movement of *Gautama Buddha*. There is only one other point, which we can establish in a not entirely unsatisfactory way, and which enables us to draw closer the limits within which the *Anugîtâ* must have been composed. That point is the position of the *Anugîtâ* with reference to *Āpastamba's Dharma-sūtra*. I need not say again, that I accept here the proposition about the age of *Āpastamba* which has been laid down by *Dr. Bühler*, as a sufficiently satisfactory working hypothesis. And accepting that proposition, I venture to suggest the fourth century B.C. as a not unlikely date for the *Anugîtâ*. It appears to me, that a comparison of

the Anugîtâ and the rules of Âpastamba upon one important point which they both deal with shows the priority of the former work. I allude to the rules and regulations touching the four Âsramas or orders contained in the Anugîtâ and in the Dharma-sûtra of Âpastamba. One circumstance strikes us at once on comparing the two works on this point. Âpastamba goes into a very great deal of minute details more than the Anugîtâ, although the latter work does not deal with the topic in any very summary mode. Taking all the differences between the two works together, and the fact that the Anugîtâ sets about the discussion of the topic in a manner which seems intended to be—not, indeed, absolutely exhaustive, but still—very full, I am very strongly inclined to attribute the differences to an actual development and progress of doctrine. I will endeavour to illustrate this view by means of a few detailed instances¹. And let us first take the order of householders to which the Anugîtâ gives precedence over the others. One of the injunctions laid down by the Anugîtâ is that the householder should always be devoted to his wife. Against this simple precept, we have a very minute series of rules prescribed by Âpastamba, which it is not necessary to refer to specifically, but which may be seen in several of the Sûtras contained in the first *Khandâ* of the first *Pañala* of the second *Prasna*. Compare again the excessive minuteness of the rules regarding the Bali-offering or the reception of guests, as given by Âpastamba, with the simple statement of the Anugîtâ that the five great sacrifices should be performed. There again, I think, we are to see in this difference of treatment the result of a pretty long course of ceremonial progress. Proceeding to the rules regarding the *Brahmakârin* or student, an analogous phenomenon meets us there. Taking first the subject of food, we have a considerable number of detailed injunctions in Âpastamba, compared with the simple rule of the Anugîtâ, that the student should, with the leave of his preceptor, eat his food without decrying it. Again with regard to alms, whereas the Anugîtâ simply

¹ Cf. pp. 358, 360 *infra* with Âpastamba, pp. 9 seq., 103 seq., 114 seq.

says that the student should take his food out of the alms received by him, Āpastamba has an elaborate catena of rules as to how the alms are to be collected, and from whom, and so forth. Take again the provisions in the two works regarding the description of the cloth, staff, and girdle of the student. Āpastamba refers to various opinions on this subject, of which there is not even a trace in the Anugītā¹. It appears that even before Āpastamba's time, distinctions had been laid down as to the description of girdle staff and cloth to be used by the different castes—distinctions of which there is no hint in the Anugītā, where all students, of whatever caste, are spoken of under the generic name. These distinctions appear to me to point very strongly to that ceremonial and doctrinal progress of which we have spoken above. The tendency is visible in them to sever the Brāhmanas from the other castes—by external marks. And that tendency, it seems to me, must have set in, as the merits which had given the Brāhmaṇa caste its original position at the head of Hindu society were ceasing to be a living reality, and that caste was intrenching itself, so to say, more behind the worth and work of the early founders of its greatness, than the worth and work of their degenerating representatives. These comparisons, taken together, appear to me to warrant the proposition we have already laid down with regard to the priority of the Anugītā to Āpastamba. If we have not referred to the rules relating to the two other orders of forester and ascetic, it is because the scope for a comparison of those is very limited. Those rules alone would scarcely authorise the inference drawn above; but I can perceive nothing in them to countervail the effect of the comparisons already made. And it must be remembered, that the rules as to foresters and ascetics would be less apt to undergo change than those as to students and householders.

It appears to me that the view we have now expressed may be also supported by a comparison of the doctrines of the Anugītā and Āpastamba touching the duties of Brāhmanas. According to Āpastamba, the occupations lawful

¹ Cf. also Bühler's Gautama, p. 175.

to Brāhmaṇas are the famous six referred to in our Introduction to the Bhagavadgītā, and two others superadded, namely, inheritance and gleaning corn in the fields. These last are not mentioned in the Anugītā, or in Manu either, and are, even according to Āpastamba, common to Brāhmaṇas with Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. But as regards the six above referred to, it is worthy of note, that the Anugītā apparently groups them into two distinct sets of three. The first set of three consists of those which, in our Introduction to the Bhagavadgītā, we have characterised as constituting rather the rights than the duties of Brāhmaṇas, and which the Anugītā describes as 'means of livelihood for Brāhmaṇas.' The other set of three consists of real duties, and these the Anugītā speaks of as 'pious duties.' This grouping appears to me to furnish powerful corroboration of the view put forward in our Introduction to the Bhagavadgītā. It would seem, that the possession of the moral and spiritual merits which, according to the Gītā, constituted the duty of Brāhmaṇas, in the simple and archaic society there disclosed, was developed, in a more advanced and artificial state of society, into the performance of the 'pious duties' of the Anugītā and the duties which are 'the means of livelihood.' Then in the further social evolution, in the course of which the old spiritual view began to be forgotten, and the actual facts of the past began to be transmuted into the dogmatic rules of the future, the occupations of receiving presents, imparting instruction, and officiating at sacrifices, became the special occupations of the Brāhmaṇas, and the distinction between these occupations from their higher duties was thrown into the background; and accordingly we find no allusion to any such distinction in Āpastamba or Manu, or, as far as I know, in any other later embodiment of the current ideas on the subject¹. If all this has been correctly argued, the conclusion derivable from it is in entire accord with that which we have already drawn, namely, that the Bhagavadgītā, the Anugītā, and the Dharma-sūtra of Āpastamba, belong to different

¹ In Gautama X, 1-3, the 'pious duties' are called 'obligatory,' the others 'additional for Brāhmaṇas.' See the note on the passage in Bühler's edition, and cf. Gautama VIII, 9, 10.

stages of ancient Indian history, and that the stage to which the *Gitâ* belongs is the earliest, and that to which *Âpastamba* belongs, the latest of such stages.

I am unable to find anything else in the way of internal evidence bearing upon the date of the *Anugîtâ*. It appears to me, that the date to which the investigation we have now gone through leads us, is one which, in the present state of our information, may be fairly accepted as a provisional hypothesis. It does not appear to me to conflict with any ascertained dates, while it is pointed to as probable by the various lines of testimony which we have here considered. We now proceed to discuss one or two other points which may have a bearing upon this topic, but which at present cannot yield us any positive guidance in our search for the date of the *Anugîtâ*. And first among these, let us consider the various names of deities that occur in different parts of the work. We have, then, *Vishnu*, *Sambhu*, *Gishnu*, *Soma*, *Âditya*, *Sûrya*, *Mitra*, *Agni*, *Kandra*, *Rudra*, *Siva*, *Varuna*, *Pragâpati*, *Maghavat*, *Purandara*, *Indra*, *Brahman*, *Satakratu*, *Dharma*, *Nârâyana*, *Vâyu*, *Yama*, *Tvashtri*, *Hari*, *Îsvara*, and lastly *Umâ* under three different names, namely, *Umâ*, *Mâhervari*, and *Pârvatî*. Now, leaving aside for the moment the three names of *Umâ*, which appear from the passage where they are used to be all three the names of the same goddess, there is no doubt that in the list above set out, some of the names are merely used in different passages, but still to indicate the same being. Thus, *Indra*, *Satakratu*, *Purandara*, and *Maghavat* are really the names of one and the same deity. But when *Soma* is mentioned as the deity presiding over the tongue, and *Kandramas* as the deity presiding over the mind, it becomes doubtful whether the two names do really indicate the same deity, albeit in later Sanskrit *Soma* and *Kandramas* both signify the moon. Similarly, when *Arka* is said to be the deity presiding over the eye, and *Mitra* over another organ, it seems open to question whether *Arka* and *Mitra* both signify the sun there, as they undoubtedly do in classical Sanskrit. True it is, that even in such a recent work as the *Sânkhya-sâra*, this mention

of Arka and Mitra as presiding deities of two several organs does occur. But it is plain, that that circumstance can have no bearing on the inquiry before us, for the Sâṅkhya-sāra is avowedly a compilation based on older authorities, and in the particular part under consideration, really reproduces a passage from some older work. It cannot, therefore, be argued, that because Arka and Mitra were identified with one another at the time of the Sâṅkhya-sāra, and yet are mentioned as deities of two separate organs, therefore, they must have also been regarded as one in the older original work where they are also mentioned as deities of two separate organs. And it may, perhaps, be remarked here in passing, that the Vedānta Paribhāṣhā has *Mṛityu* instead of Mitra, which would get rid of the difficulty here altogether; while as regards Soma and *K'andramas*, the passage in the Sâṅkhya-sāra reads *Praketas* instead of Soma, which would get rid of the other difficulty above pointed out. Whether these discrepancies are owing to any tampering with the lists of organs and deities, at a time when the later identifications between different deities took place, or whether they are to be explained on some other theory, it is impossible at present to say. And, therefore, it is also unnecessary to pursue the inquiry here any further. It must suffice for the present to have drawn attention to the matter.

Akin to this point, though quite distinct from it, is one which arises on a passage where the emancipated being is identified with Vishṇu, Mitra, Agni, Varuṇa, and Pragâpati¹. Now it is reasonable to suppose, that the deities thus specified here must have been among those held in highest repute at the time, the whole significance of the passage where they are mentioned requiring that that should be so. But in our Pantheon as disclosed by our later literature, Mitra and Agni and Varuṇa occupy but a very subordinate position. Even in Kālidāsa², the subordination of these deities to our celebrated Trinity seems to be quite

¹ See p. 345.

² See *inter alia*, Kumāra II, 20 seq., and VII, 44 seq., and cf. our *Bhartṛhari* (Bombay Sanskrit Classics), *Introd.* p. xix.

fully established. But, on the other hand, in the Vedic theogony, they are among the most prominent deities. In the Taittiriya-upanishad, we have in the very first sentence Mitra, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, and Brahman (who may be identified with Pragâpati) all mentioned together, and their blessings invoked. This does not help in fixing a date for the Anugîtâ; but it lends some support to the conclusion already arrived at on that point, by showing that the theogony of the Anugîtâ is not yet very far removed from the theogony of the Vedic times, while it is separated by a considerable interval from the theogony disclosed in the works of even such an early writer of the classical period as Kâlidâsa.

Another point of similar bearing on our present investigation is the mode in which the story of Parasurâma is dealt with in the Anugîtâ. There is in the first place no allusion to his being an incarnation of Viṣṇu, nor to the encounter between him and his namesake, the son of Dasaratha and the hero of the Râmâyana. We have, on the contrary, an explicit statement, that after the advice of the 'Pitris' he entirely abandons the slaughter of the Kshatriyas, and resorting to penance thereby achieves final emancipation. We have elsewhere argued¹, that the theory of Parasurâma being an incarnation of Viṣṇu, must have probably originated prior to the time of Bhartṛihari, but later than the time of Kâlidâsa. The allusion to Parasurâma in the work before us does not, however, enable us to judge of its chronological position with reference to Kâlidâsa. But the last point discussed renders it unnecessary to consider this question further. It may be noted, by the way, that the Anugîtâ represents Parasurâma, although living in the Âsrama or hermitage of his father, who was a Rishi, as mounting a chariot for the purpose of sweeping away the kinsmen of Kârtavîrya. Whence he obtained a chariot in a hermitage, the Anugîtâ does not explain.

In connexion with the episode of Parasurâma, may be noted the list which occurs in the course of it, of the

¹ See 'Was the Râmâyana copied from Homer?' pp. 56, 57.

degraded Kshatriya tribes, of Dravidas, Sabaras, &c. I am unable to see that those names can give us any further help in our present investigation than in so far as they show that, at the time of the Anugītā, there must have been some information about the south of India available in the districts where the author of the Anugītā lived. Some of the tribes mentioned appear to have been located far in the south of the Indian peninsula. But this is a point on which we shall have to say something more in discussing the next item of internal evidence to which we shall refer. Here it is enough to point out that some of the tribes mentioned in the Anugītā are also referred to in no less a work than the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa¹.

We come next to the enumeration of the principal mountains which is contained in one passage of the Anugītā. Those mountains are the Himālaya, the Pāriyātra, the Sahya, the Vindhya, the Trikūṭavat, the Sveta, the Nīla, the Bhāsa, the Koshṭhāvat, the Mahendra, the Mālyavat, and perhaps the Guruskandha. I am not sure whether the last name is intended to be taken as a proper name, or only as an epithet of Mahendra. Now compared with the mountains mentioned in the Bhagavadgītā, this is certainly a remarkable list. The Gītā mentions only Meru² and Himālaya; while here we have in the Anugītā the Sahya, and Malaya, and Trikūṭavat, and Nīla (the same, I presume, with the modern Nilgiri, the Sanatorium of the Madras Presidency), which take us far to the west and south of the Indian peninsula; and the Mahendra and Mālyavat, which, coupled with the mention of the river Ganges, cover a considerable part of the eastern districts. The Pāriyātra and Vindhya occupy the regions of Central India. The Anugītā, therefore, seems to belong to that period in the history of India, when pretty nearly the whole,

¹ Haug's ed., p. 183. And see generally on these tribes, Wilson's *Vishnu Purāṇa* (Hall's ed.), vol. ii, p. 170 seq., and *Sānti Parvan* (Moksha), chap. 207, st. 42.

² This is also mentioned in the Anugītā, but in a different passage. The Nīla is said by Professor Wilson to be a mountain in Orissa. But our suggestion has, I find, been already made by Dr. F. E. Hall also; see on this, and generally, Wilson's *Vishnu Purāṇa*, vol. ii, p. 141 seq. (ed. Hall). See also *Indian Antiquary*, VI, 133 seq.

if not absolutely the whole, of the Indian continent was known to the Sanskrit-speaking population of the country. When was this knowledge reached? It is difficult to fix the precise period; and even if it could be fixed, it would not help us to fix satisfactorily any point of time to which the *Anugîtâ* could be attributed. But it may be pointed out here, that in Patañjali's *Mahâbhâshya* we have evidence of such knowledge having been possessed by the *Âryas* in the second century B.C. In truth, the evidence available in the *Mahâbhâshya* is even fuller than this in the *Anugîtâ*. For Patañjali tells us of a town or city in the south named *Kâñkîpura*¹; he speaks of the dominions of the *Pândya* kings, and of the *Kola* and *Kerala* districts²; he refers also to the large tanks of the south; and he makes allusions to linguistic usages current in the southern and other provinces³. Before Patañjali's time there had taken place Mahendra's invasion of Ceylon, and the invading army must have penetrated through the southern provinces. And there had been also put up the great Inscriptions of Asoka, which have attracted so much interest, and are proving such prolific sources of information in various departments of knowledge. One of these inscriptions was at *Gaṇḍam*, which is not very far from the Mahendra mountain alluded to in the *Anugîtâ*⁴. All these facts support the conclusion drawn by General Cunningham from the correctness of the information given to Alexander the Great by the Hindus of his time, namely, that 'the Indians, even at that early date in their history, had a very accurate knowledge of the form and extent of their native land⁵.' And not only do they support that conclusion, they show that the knowledge covered other facts regarding

¹ Banâras ed., p. 74 (IV, 2, 2).

² P. 60 (IV, 1, 4). See also p. 65.

³ See *Mahâbhâshya*, p. 82 (I, 1, 5), p. 16 (I, 1, 1); and cf. Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. ii, pp. 152, 355.

⁴ See Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum*, I, p. 1.

⁵ See *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 3. And compare also the information collected in the *Periplus of the Eurythraean Sea* (translated by Mr. McRindle), pp. 112-136, where a large number of ports is mentioned as existing on the Indian coasts. The *Periplus* seems to date from about 90 A.D. (see *ibid.* p. 5).

their native land than its form and extent. It follows consequently that this enumeration of mountains does not require the date of the Anugîtâ to be brought down to a later period than the fourth century B.C., and leaves it open to us, therefore, to accept whatever conclusion the other evidence available may seem to justify. On the other hand, it is plain also, that it affords no positive information as to when the Anugîtâ was composed, and therefore we need not dwell any further upon the point on the present occasion.

There are a few other points which arise upon the contents of the Anugîtâ, but which are not, in the present condition of our knowledge, capable of affording any certain guidance in our present investigation. Thus we have the story of Dharma appearing before king Ganaka disguised as a Brâhmaṇa. I am not aware of any case of such disguises occurring in any of the Upanishads, although there are numerous parallel instances throughout the Purânîk literature¹. It is, however, difficult to draw any definite chronological inference from this fact. There is further the reference to the attack of Râhu on the sun. It is difficult, in the present state of our knowledge, to say for certain, when the theory of eclipses there implied was prevalent. In the *Khândogya-upanishad*² we have the emancipated self compared to the moon escaped from the mouth of Râhu. And a text of the Rîg-veda, quoted by Mr. Yagñesvara Sâstrin in his *Ārya-vidyâsudhâkara*³, speaks of the demon Râhu attacking the sun with darkness. Here again we have another matter of some interest; but I cannot see that any safe deduction can be derived from it, without a more ample knowledge of other relevant matters than is at present accessible. Take again the references to certain practices which look very much like the practices of the Gainas of the present day. Is the Anugîtâ, then, earlier or later than the rise of the Gaina system? It is not safe, I think, to found an answer to this question upon the very narrow basis afforded by the

¹ And see, too, Kâlidâsa Kumâra V, st. 84.

² P. 622.

³ P. 26. In Kâlidâsa's *Raghuvamśa* the true explanation of eclipses is alluded to. See Canto XIV, 40.

passage referred to. But it may be observed, that the precepts laid down in the passage in question are laid down as precepts for orthodox Hindus, and not as the doctrines of a heretical sect. They are also very general, and not so minute as those which the *Gainas* of the present day observe as binding upon them. If, therefore, any conclusion is to be drawn from these precepts, it must be that the *Anugîtâ* must have been composed prior to the rise of *Gainism*; and that *Gainism* must have appropriated and developed this doctrine which it obtained from the current *Brâhmanism*¹. If this is so, the *Anugîtâ* must be a very ancient work indeed. It is not, however, necessary to further work out this line of argument, having regard to the opinions recently expressed by Mr. Thomas², rehabilitating the views enunciated long ago by Colebrooke and others. If those views are correct, and if *Gainism* was a dominant system in this country prior even to the time of Gautama Buddha, and if, further, we are right in the suggestion—for it is no more, it must be remembered—that the *Anugîtâ* dates from a period prior to the rise of *Gainism*, then it would seem to follow that the *Anugîtâ* belongs to some period prior to the sixth century B.C. All this, however, is at present very hypothetical, and we draw attention to it only that the question may be hereafter considered when fuller materials for expressing a final judgment upon it become accessible. Meanwhile, having regard to the views above alluded to as so elaborately put forward by Mr. Thomas, it is possible for us still to hold that, in the present state of our knowledge, the third or fourth century B.C. is not too early a date to assign to the *Anugîtâ*, even on the assumption that the precepts contained in that work regarding the care to be taken of worms and insects were borrowed by it from the *Gaina* system. With this negative result, we must for the present rest contented.

One other fact of similar nature to those we have now

¹ As the Buddhists did in sundry instances. Cf. inter alia Bühler's *Gautama*, pp. lv and 191. And cf. also 'Was the *Râmâyana* copied from Homer?' pp. 48, 49.

² See Mr. Thomas's very elaborate discussion of the whole subject in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series)*, vol. ix, p. 155 seq.

dealt with may, perhaps, be also noticed here. We allude to the stanzas which we find in the *Anugîtâ* and also in the *Sânti Parvan* of the *Mahâbhârata* and in the *Manusmṛiti*. There is also one which the *Anugîtâ* has in common with the *Parisishṭa* of Yâska's *Nirukta*¹. It is not possible, I conceive, to say finally whether one of these works borrowed these stanzas from the other of them; while, on the other hand, it is quite possible, as already argued by us in the Introduction to the *Gîtâ*, that all these works were only reproducing from some entirely different work, or that the stanzas in question were the common property of the thinkers of the time. We have no means available for deciding between these conflicting hypotheses.

We have thus noticed all the salient points in the evidence, external and internal, which is available for determining the position of the *Anugîtâ* in our ancient literature. Nobody who has seen even a little of the history of that literature will be surprised at the quantity or quality of that evidence, or the nature of the conclusions legitimately yielded by it. We have endeavoured to express those conclusions in language which should not indicate any greater certainty attaching to them than can fairly be claimed for them. The net result appears to be this. The *Anugîtâ* may be taken with historical certainty to have been some centuries old in the time of the great *Saṅkarâkârya*. It was very probably older than the *Dharma-sûtras* of *Âpastamba*, but by what period of time we are not in a position at present to define. It was, perhaps, older also than the rise of Buddhism and Gainism, and of the Yoga philosophy; but on this it is impossible to say anything with any approach to confidence. It is, on the other hand, almost certain that it belongs to a period very considerably removed from the older *Upanishads*; probably removed by a distance of some centuries, during which 'stories' not contained in the *Upanishads* had not only obtained currency, but also come to be regarded as belonging to antiquity². And yet the period to

¹ Cf. *Anugîtâ* I, 36 with Yâska (ed. Roth), p. 190.

² Some of the *Purâtana Itihâsas*, e.g. that of *Nârada* and *Devamata*, are not traceable in any Vedic work known to us. *Devamata*'s name I do not find referred to anywhere else.

which the work belongs was one in which the Upanishads were only revered as the authoritative opinions of eminent men, not as the words of God himself¹. In this respect, it may be said that the Anugîtâ seems rather to belong to an earlier stratum of thought than even the Sanatsugâtiya, in which a *Gñānakānda*, as forming a part of the Vedic canon, seems to be recognised². But it is abundantly clear, that the Anugîtâ stands at a very considerable chronological distance from the Bhagavadgîtâ.

Such are the results of our investigation. We have not thought it necessary to discuss the verse or the language of the work. But it must in fairness be pointed out, that upon the whole, the verse and language are both pretty near the classical model. There are, it is true, a few instances of the metrical anomalies we have noticed elsewhere, but having regard to the extent of the work, those instances are far from being very numerous. The language and style, too, are not quite smooth and polished; though, judging from them alone, I should rather be inclined to place the Sanatsugâtiya prior to the Anugîtâ. But that suggests a question which we cannot now stop to discuss.

One word, in conclusion, about the translation. The text used has been chiefly that adopted in the commentary of Arguna Misra, a commentary which on the whole I prefer very much to that of Nilakantha, which has been printed in the Bombay edition of the Mahābhārata. Arguna Misra, as a rule, affords some explanation where explanation is wanted, and does not endeavour to suit his text to any foregone conclusion. His comments have been of the greatest possible help to me; and my only regret is that the only copy of his commentary which was available to me, and the use of which I owe to the kindness of my friend Professor Bhāndārkar, was not as correct a one as could be desired. I have also looked into the Vishamaslokî, a short work containing notes on difficult passages of the Mahābhārata.

¹ See p. 211 supra.

² See p. 146 supra. The Buddhists seem to have borrowed the division of Karma and *Gñānakāndas*. See Dr. Ragendralāla Mitra's *Lalita Vistara* (transl.), p. 21. The division, therefore, was probably older than the first century B. C.

The MS. of it belonging to the Government Collection of MSS. deposited in Deccan College was lent me also by Professor Bhândârkar. The principles adopted in the translation and notes have been the same as those followed in the other pieces contained in this volume.

P. S. I take this opportunity of stating that it is not at all certain that Arguna Misra is the name of the author of the commentary which I have used. I find that in supposing Arguna Misra to be the author, I confounded that commentary, which does not mention its author's name, with the commentary on another section of the Mahâ-bhârata which does give its author's name as Arguna Misra, and which is also among the MSS. purchased by Professor Bhândârkar for the Government of Bombay. (See with regard to these MSS. Professor Bhândârkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. of 7th July, 1880.)

ANUGÎTÂ.

CHAPTER I.

*Ganamegaya*¹ said :

What conversation, O twice-born one²! took place between the high-souled Kesava and Arguna, while they dwelt in that palace³ after slaying their enemies?

Vaisampâyana said :

The son of *Prithâ*, after becoming possessed of his kingdom (in an) undisturbed (state), enjoyed himself in the company of *Krishna*, full of delight in that heavenly palace. And once, O king! they happened to go, surrounded by their people, and rejoicing, to a certain portion of the palace which resembled heaven. Then Arguna, the son of *Pându*, having surveyed with delight that lovely palace, in the company of *Krishna*, spoke these words: 'O you of mighty arms! O you whose mother is *Devakî*⁴! when the battle was about to commence, I became aware of your greatness, and that divine

¹ This is the prince to whom the *Mahâbhârata*, as we have it, purports to have been related.

² I. e. *Vaisampâyana*, who relates the *Mahâbhârata* to *Ganamegaya*.

³ This appears to have been situated at *Indraprastha*, and to have been the one built for the *Pândavas* by the demon *Maya*, as related in the *Sabhâ Parvan*.

⁴ This is a rather unusual form of address.

form of yours¹. But that, O Kesava! which through affection (for me) you explained before², has all disappeared, O tiger-like man! from my degenerate mind. Again and again, however, I feel a curiosity about those topics. But (now), O Mâdhava! you will be going at no distant date to Dvârakâ.'

Vaisampâyana said :

Thus addressed, that best of speakers, *Krishna*, possessed of great glory, replied in these words after embracing *Arguna*.

Vâsudeva said :

From me, O son of *Prithâ*! you heard a mystery, and learnt about the eternal³ (principle), about piety in (its true) form, and about all the everlasting worlds⁴. It is excessively disagreeable to me, that you should not have grasped it through want of intelligence. And the recollection (of it) now again is not possible (to me). Really, O son of *Pându*! you are devoid of faith and of a bad intellect. And, O *Dhanañgaya*! it is not possible for me to repeat in full (what I said before). For that doctrine was perfectly adequate for understanding the seat⁵ of the Brahman. It is not possible for me to state it again in full in that way. For then accompanied by my mystic power⁶, I declared to you the Supreme Brahman. But I shall relate an ancient story upon

¹ Cf. *Bhagavadgîtâ*, chapters X and XI passim.

² I.e. in the *Bhagavadgîtâ*.

³ This may also be taken with piety thus: 'and learnt about the eternal piety in (its true) form.'

⁴ As to the plural, see *Saṅkara* on *Mundâka*, p. 320.

⁵ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 78. For 'understanding' here we might, perhaps, substitute 'attaining.' The original word means both understanding and attaining.

⁶ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 82.

that subject, so that adhering to this knowledge, you may attain the highest goal. O best of the supporters of piety! listen to all that I say. (Once), O restrainer of foes! there came from the heavenly world and the world of Brahman¹, a Brâhmana difficult to withstand², and he was (duly) honoured by us. (Now) listen, without entertaining any misgivings, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! O son of Prithâ! to what he said on being interrogated by us according to heavenly rules³.

The Brâhmana said:

O *Krishna*! O destroyer of Madhu! I will explain to you accurately what you, out of compassion for (all) beings⁴, have asked me touching the duties (to be performed) for final emancipation. It is destructive of delusion, O Lord! Listen to me with attention⁵, as I relate it, O Mâdhava! A certain Brâhmana named Kâsyapa, who had performed (much) penance, and who best understood piety, approached a certain twice-born (person) who had learnt the Scriptures relating to (all) duties⁶, having heard (of him, as one) who had over and over again gone through all knowledge and experience about coming and going⁷, who was well versed in the true nature of all worlds⁸,

¹ This seems to mean not the Supreme Brahman, but the Creator.

² Cf. *Sanatsugâtîya*, p. 161, 'not to be shaken.'

³ I suppose this to mean according to the forms proper in the case of such a being as the one in question. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 62, and note there.

⁴ This is not easy to understand. Perhaps the allusion is to the doctrine at *Gîtâ*, pp. 54, 55. ⁵ Cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 447.

⁶ I.e. all prescribed acts of piety.

⁷ As to knowledge and experience, cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 57; and as to coming and going, cf. *ibid.* p. 84.

⁸ I.e. as stated, for instance, at *Gîtâ*, p. 79, or *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 613.

who knew about happiness and misery¹, who knew the truth about birth and death², who was conversant with merit and sin, who perceived the migrations of embodied (souls) of high and low (degrees) in consequence of (their) actions, who moved about like an emancipated being, who had reached perfection³, who was tranquil, whose senses were restrained, who was illumined with the Brahmic splendour⁴, who moved about in every direction, who understood concealed movements⁵, who was going in company of invisible Siddhas and celestial singers⁶, and conversing and sitting together (with them) in secluded (places), who went about as he pleased, and was unattached (anywhere) like the wind. Having approached him, that talented ascetic possessed of concentration (of mind), that best of the twice-born, wishing to acquire piety, fell at his feet, after seeing that great marvel. And amazed on seeing that marvellous man, the best of the twice-born, Kāsyapa, pleased the preceptor by his great devotion. That was all appropriate⁷, (being) joined to sacred learning and correct conduct. And, O terror of your foes! he pleased that (being) by (his purity of) heart and behaviour (suitable) towards a preceptor⁸. Then being satisfied and pleased, he spoke to the pupil these words, referring to the

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 245.

² Cf. *Gītā*, pp. 48, 103.

³ Cf. *Gītā*, *passim*.

⁴ Cf. *Sanatsugātīya*, p. 162.

⁵ I. e. moving about so as not to be seen by everybody.

⁶ Literally, 'holders of wheels,' which Arguna Misra interprets to mean '*Kāraṇas*.' At *Sānti Parvan* (Moksha Dharma) CCXLIV, 26 *Nilakantha* renders *Kakradhara* by *Kakravartin* or Emperor.

⁷ I. e. as Kāsyapa was possessed of Vedic lore, and behaved as he ought to behave in his capacity of pupil, it was natural that the other should be pleased.

⁸ See p. 176 seq. *supra*.

highest perfection. Hear (them) from me, O Ganârdana !

The Siddha said :

Mortals, O dear friend¹ ! by their actions which are (of) mixed (character), or which are meritorious and pure, attain to this world as the goal, or to residence in the world of the gods². Nowhere is there everlasting happiness ; nowhere eternal residence³. Over and over again is there a downfall from a high position attained with difficulty. Overcome by lust and anger, and deluded by desire, I fell into uncomfortable and harassing states (of life), in consequence of (my) committing sin. Again and again death, and again and again birth⁴. I ate numerous (kinds of) food, sucked at various breasts, saw various mothers, and fathers of different sorts ; and, O sinless one ! (I saw) strange pleasures and miseries. Frequently (I suffered) separation from those I loved, association with those I did not love. Loss of wealth also came on me, after I had acquired that wealth with difficulty ; ignominies full of affliction from princes and likewise from kinsmen ; excessively poignant pain, mental and bodily. I also underwent frightful indignities, and fierce deaths and captivities ; (I had a) fall into hell, and torments in the house of Yama⁵. I also suffered much from old age, continual ailments, and numerous misfortunes flowing from the pairs of opposites⁶. Then on one occasion, being much afflicted with misery, I abandoned the whole

¹ The same word as at Gîtâ, p. 72.

² Cf. *Khândogya-upanishad*, pp. 356-359, and Gîtâ, p. 84.

³ See Gîtâ, p. 76, and cf. *Ka/ha*, p. 90.

⁴ For the whole of this passage, cf. *Maitrî-upanishad*, p. 8.

⁵ See *Manu* VI, 61.

⁶ See Gîtâ, p. 48.

course of worldly life, through indifference (to worldly objects), and taking refuge with the formless (principle)¹. Having learnt about this path in this world, I exercised myself (in it), and hence, through favour of the self², have I acquired this perfection³. I shall not come here again⁴; I am surveying the worlds, and the happy migrations⁵ of (my) self from the creation of beings to (my attaining) perfection. Thus, O best of the twice-born! have I obtained this highest perfection. From here I go to the next⁶ (world), and from there again to the still higher (world)—the imperceptible seat of the Brahman. Have no doubt on that, O terror of your foes⁷! I shall not come back to this mortal world. I am pleased with you, O you of great intelligence! Say, what can I do for you? The time is now come for that which you desired in coming to me. I know for what you have come to me. But I shall be going away in a short time, hence have I given

¹ Taking refuge, says Nilakantha, in the belief of my being identical with the Brahman, which is to be comprehended by means of the profound contemplation called Asampragñāta Samādhi.

² I.e., says Nilakantha, the mind, and he cites Maitrī, p. 179. Cf. Kaṭha, p. 108. The rendering at p. 192 supra will also suit (through the self becoming placid). This placidity is defined at Sānti Parvan (Moksha Dharma) CCXLVII, 11, with which cf. Gītā, p. 69. See Gītā, p. 51.

³ As above described.

⁴ Cf. Khândogya, p. 628; see also ibid. p. 282.

⁵ He calls them happy because they have ended happily, I presume. 'Surveying the worlds' Nilakantha takes to be an index of omniscience. Cf. Sanatsugâtīya, p. 174. See also Yoga-sūtras III, 25, and commentary there.

⁶ I.e. the world of Brahman, or the Satyaloka; and the next step is assimilation into the Brahman.

⁷ So read all the copies I have seen, though Kāśyapa is the person addressed.

this hint to you. I am exceedingly pleased, O clever one! with your good conduct. Put (your) questions without uneasiness, I will tell (you) whatever you desire. I highly esteem your intelligence, and greatly respect it, inasmuch as you have made me out¹; for, O Kâsyapa! you are (a) talented (man).

CHAPTER II.

Vâsudeva² said :

Then grasping his feet, Kâsyapa asked questions very difficult to explain, and all of them that (being), the best of the supporters of piety, did explain.

Kâsyapa said :

How does the body perish, and how, too, is it produced? How does one who moves in this harassing course of worldly life become freed? And (how) does the self, getting rid of nature, abandon the body (produced) from it³? And how, being freed from the body, does he attain to the other⁴? How does this man enjoy the good and evil acts done by himself? And where do the acts of one who is released from the body remain?

The Brâhmana said :

Thus addressed, O descendant of *Vrîṣṇi*! that Siddha answered these questions in order. Hear me relate what (he said).

¹ This was difficult, as the Siddha possessed extraordinary powers, such as that of concealed movement, &c. ² Sic in MSS.

³ Cf. as to getting rid of nature, *Gîtâ*, pp. 75-106. As to the body produced from nature, cf. *ibid.* p. 112, and pp. 317-318 *infra*.

⁴ I.e. the Brahman, says *Nilakantha*.

The Siddha said :

When those actions, productive of long life and fame¹, which a man performs here, are entirely exhausted, after his assumption of another body, he performs (actions of an) opposite character, his self being overcome at the exhaustion of life². And his ruin being impending, his understanding goes astray. Not knowing his own constitution³, and strength, and likewise the (proper) season, the man not being self-controlled, does unseasonably what is injurious to himself. When he attaches himself to numerous very harassing (actions); eats too much⁴, or does not eat at all; when he takes bad food, or meat⁵, or drinks, or (kinds of food) incompatible with one another, or heavy food in immoderate quantities, or without (previously taken food) being properly digested; or takes too much exercise, or is incontinent; or constantly, through attachment to action, checks the regular course (of the excretions⁶); or takes juicy food⁷; or sleeps by day⁸; or (takes food) not thoroughly prepared; (such a man) himself aggravates the dis-

¹ One reading omits 'fame,' as to which cf. *Taittirîya-upanishad*, p. 129; *Khândogya*, pp. 122-227. As to long life, cf. *Khândogya*, p. 272; exhausted, i.e. by enjoyment of fruit in another world.

² Cf. *Sârîraka Bhâshya*, p. 753 seq., where we have a slightly different view.

³ Arguna Misra renders the original, *sattva*, by *svabhâva*.

⁴ Cf. for all this, *Gîtâ*, pp. 62, 69, 118, which passages, however, are from a slightly different point of view. See also *Khândogya*, p. 526.

⁵ A various reading here excludes meat. But cf. *Âpastamba I*, 1, 2, 23; *Gautama II*, 13.

⁶ So says *Nîlakantha*.

⁷ I.e. which turns to juice in digestion, much juice being a cause of indigestion, say the commentators.

⁸ This is doubtful. The sense may be, 'who takes juicy or not thoroughly prepared food by day and night.' But see *Âsvalâyana Grîhya-sûtra*, p. 90; *Âpastamba I*, 1, 2, 24; *Gautama II*, 13.

orders (in the body) when the time comes¹. By aggravating the disorders (in) his own (body), he contracts a disease which ends in death, or he even engages in unreasonable (acts), such as hanging² (oneself). From these causes, the living³ body of that creature then perishes. Learn about that correctly as I am about to state it. Heat being kindled in the body, and being urged by a sharp wind⁴, pervades the whole frame, and, verily, checks the (movements of all the) life-winds. Know this truly, that excessively powerful heat, if kindled in the body, bursts open the vital parts—the seats of the soul⁵. Then the soul, full of torments, forthwith falls away from the perishable (body). Know, O best of the twice-born! that (every) creature leaves the body, when the vital parts are burst open, its self being overcome with torments. All beings are constantly distracted with birth and death; and, O chief of the twice-born! are seen abandoning (their) bodies, or entering the womb on the exhaustion of (their previous) actions⁶. Again, a man suffers similar torments, having his joints broken and suffering from

¹ The time of destruction, says Arguna Misra.

² Which, say the commentators, leads to death, even without any disease.

³ So I construe the original, having regard to the question, 'how does the body perish?' The other reading, which is in some respects better, is equivalent to 'the life falls away from the body of that creature.'

⁴ This is different, as the commentators point out, from the ordinary life-winds.

⁵ The original here is *gîva*, not *âtman*, which we have rendered 'self.' This refers rather to the vital principle. As to the seats, cf. *Yâgñavalkya Smṛiti* III, 93 seq.

⁶ I adopt the reading *karmanâm*, which I find in one of the MSS. I consulted. I think it probable that that was the reading before the commentators. The other reading is *marmanâm*.

cold, in consequence of water¹. As the compact association of the five elements is broken up, the wind in the body, distributed within the five elements², between the upward and downward life-winds, being aggravated by cold, and urged by a sharp wind³, goes upwards⁴, abandoning the embodied (self) in consequence of pain. Thus it⁵ leaves the body, which appears devoid of breath. Then devoid of warmth, devoid of breath, devoid of beauty, and with consciousness destroyed, the man, being abandoned by the Brahman⁶, is said to be dead. (Then) he ceases to perceive (anything) with those very currents⁷ with which the supporter of the body⁸ perceives objects of sense. In the same way, it is the eternal soul which preserves in the body the life-winds which are produced from food⁹. Whatever (part of the body) is employed in the collection¹⁰ of that, know

¹ Having spoken of heat, he now speaks of the effects of cold. I am not sure if the water here refers to the water of the 'juicy' substances before referred to.

² This means, I presume, within the dissolving body. Cf. *Maitri-upanishad*, p. 42.

³ See note 4, last page.

⁴ To the head, Arguna Misra.

⁵ That is, the wind, I suppose, and then the breath departs from the body, and the man is said to die. 'Devoid of beauty,' further on, means, disfigured in the state of death.

⁶ I.e. the mind, Arguna Misra.

⁷ The senses. Cf. *Svetâsvatara*, p. 288.

⁸ See and cf. p. 262 *infra*.

⁹ This, says Arguna Misra, is in answer to the possible question why this 'sharp wind' does not work with the life-winds. The answer is, that such working requires the presence of the soul, which Arguna Misra says here means 'mind.' As to 'production from food,' cf. *Khândogya*, p. 421 seq., and *Taittiriya Âraṇyaka*, p. 893.

¹⁰ Collection of that = turning the food into semen, says Arguna Misra, who adds, 'in those vital parts, which are useful for this purpose, the life-wind dwells.'

that to be a vital part, for thus it is seen (laid down) in the Scriptures. Those vital parts being wounded, that (wind) directly comes out therefrom, and entering the bosom of a creature obstructs the heart¹. Then the possessor of consciousness knows nothing². Having his knowledge enveloped by darkness³, while the vitals are still enveloped, the soul⁴, being without a fixed seat, is shaken about by the wind. And then he heaves a very deep and alarming gasp, and makes the unconscious body quiver as he goes out (of it). That soul, dropping out of the body, is surrounded on both sides by his own actions⁵, his own pure and meritorious, as also his sinful (ones). Brâhmanas, possessed of knowledge, whose convictions are correctly (formed) from sacred learning, know him by (his) marks as one who has performed meritorious actions or the reverse. As those who have eyes see a glow-worm disappear here and there in darkness, so likewise do those who have eyes of knowledge. Such a soul, the Siddhas see with a divine eye, departing (from the body), or coming to the birth, or entering into a womb⁶. Its three descriptions⁷ of seats are here learnt from the Scriptures. This world is the world of actions⁸, where

¹ Arguna Misra renders this to mean 'mind.'

² As the mind is obstructed, says Arguna Misra. The possessor of consciousness = the self, Arguna.

³ I.e. pain, Arguna Misra.

⁴ I.e. mind, Arguna Misra. ⁵ Cf. *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 843.

⁶ See *Aitareya-upanishad*, p. 222, and Saṅkara's commentary there. The coming to the birth is the coming out of the womb into the world. Cf. also *Gîtâ*, p. 112.

⁷ As stated further on, viz. this world, the next world, and the womb. With this compare *Khândogya*, p. 359.

⁸ Cf. our *Bhartrihari* (Bombay series), Notes (*Nītisataka*), p. 27.

creatures dwell. All embodied (selves), having here performed good or evil (actions), obtain (the fruit). It is here they obtain higher or lower enjoyments by their own actions. And it is those whose actions here are evil, who by their actions go to hell. Harassing is that lower place where men are tormented. Freedom from it is very difficult, and the self should be specially protected from it. Learn from me now the seats in which creatures going up¹ dwell, and which I shall describe truly. Hearing this, you will learn the highest knowledge, and decision regarding action². All (the worlds in) the forms of stars, and this lunar sphere³, and also this solar sphere which shines in the world by its own lustre, know these to be the seats of men who perform meritorious actions. All these, verily, fall down again and again in consequence of the exhaustion of their actions⁴. And there, too, in heaven, there are differences of low, high, and middling⁵. Nor, even there, is there satisfaction, (even) after a sight of most magnificent splendour. Thus have I stated to you these seats distinctly. I will after this (proceed to) state to you the production of the foetus⁶. And, O twice-born one! hear that attentively from me as I state it.

¹ Cf. on this and 'lower place,' Gītā, p. 109; Sāṅkhya Kārikā, 44.

² The readings here are most unsatisfactory. The meaning of the printed reading adopted above would seem to be, 'decision as to what actions should be performed,' &c.

³ Cf. Gītā, p. 81, and Sanatsugātīya, p. 158. ⁴ Cf. Gītā, p. 84.

⁵ Arguna Misra says, 'In heaven = in the next world, low = inferior (?), high = heaven, and middling = the space below the skies (antariksha).' For the three degrees of enjoyment in heaven, see Yogavāsishtha I, 35 seq.

⁶ This is the third of the three seats above referred to.

CHAPTER III.

There is no destruction here of actions good or not good¹. Coming to one body after another they become ripened in their respective ways². As a fruitful (tree) producing fruit may yield much fruit, so does merit performed with a pure mind become expanded³. Sin, too, performed with a sinful mind, is similarly (expanded). For the self engages in action, putting forward this mind⁴. And now further, hear how⁵ a man, overwhelmed with action, and enveloped in desire and anger⁶, enters a womb. Within the womb of a woman, (he) obtains as the result of action a body good or else bad⁷, made up of virile semen and blood. Owing to (his) subtlety and imperceptibility, though he obtains a body appertaining to the Brahman, he is not attached anywhere; hence is he the eternal Brahman⁸. That is the seed of all beings; by that

¹ Cf. Maitrî-upanishad, p. 53, and *Mundaka*, p. 270. And see generally as to this passage, *Sârîraka Bhâshya*, pp. 751-760.

² I.e. they yield their respective fruits; cf. Maitrî, p. 43, and *Khândogya*, p. 358.

³ This explains, say the commentators, how even a little merit or sin requires sometimes more than one birth to enjoy and exhaust.

⁴ As a king performs sacrifices 'putting forward' a priest, Arguna Misra; and cf. *Dhammapada*, the first two verses.

⁵ Arguna Misra has *tathâ*, 'in the same way,' instead of this, and renders it to mean 'putting forward' the mind.

⁶ Hence he does not get rid of birth and death.

⁷ Good=of gods or men; bad=of the lower species of creatures, Arguna.

⁸ He, in the preceding sentences, according to Arguna Misra, means the self, through the mind, or 'putting forward' the mind, as said above. In this sentence, he takes 'he' to mean the mind itself; Brahman=the self; and the mind, he says, is called the Brahman, as it, like the self, is the cause of the *Kaitanya*, intelligence, in all creatures.

all creatures exist. That soul, entering all the limbs of the foetus, part by part, and dwelling in the seat of the life-wind¹, supports (them) with the mind². Then the foetus, becoming possessed of consciousness, moves about its limbs. As liquefied iron being poured out assumes the form of the image³, such you must know is the entrance of the soul into the foetus. As fire entering a ball of iron, heats it, such too, you must understand, is the manifestation of the soul in the foetus. And as a blazing lamp shines in a house, even so does consciousness light up bodies⁴. And whatever action he performs, whether good or bad, everything done in a former body must necessarily be enjoyed (or suffered). Then⁵ that is exhausted, and again other (action) is accumulated, so long as the piety which dwells in the practice of concentration of mind for final emancipation⁶ has not been learnt. As to that, O best (of men)! I will tell you about that action by which, verily, one going the round of various births, becomes happy. Gifts, penance, life as a Brahma-kârin, adherence to prescribed regulations, restraint of the senses⁷, and also

¹ I. e. the heart.

² Arguna Misra says that the soul at the beginning of the sentence means the mind, and mind here means knowledge or intelligence. Cf. p. 238 supra.

³ In the mould of which, that is to say, it is poured.

⁴ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 106. The three similes, says Nilakantha, show that the soul pervades the whole body, is yet imperceptible, and also unattached to the body. Arguna Misra's explanation is different, but I prefer Nilakantha's.

⁵ I. e. by the enjoyment or suffering.

⁶ I. e. while he does not possess the knowledge which leads to the piety necessary as a preliminary for final emancipation, and which ultimately destroys action. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 62.

⁷ I. e. keeping the senses of hearing &c. from all operations

tranquillity, compassion to (all) beings, self-restraint, and absence of cruelty, refraining from the appropriation of the wealth of others, not acting dishonestly even in thought towards (any) being in this world, serving mother and father, honouring deities and guests, honouring preceptors, pity, purity, constant restraint of the organs¹, and causing good to be done; this is said to be the conduct of the good². From this is produced piety, which protects people to eternity. Thus one should look (for it) among the good, for among them it constantly abides. The practice to which the good adhere, points out (what) piety (is)³. And among them dwells that (course of) action which constitutes eternal piety. He who acquires that, never comes to an evil end⁴. By this are people held in check from making a slip in the paths of piety⁵. But the devotee who is released⁶ is esteemed higher than these. For the deliverance from the course of worldly life of the man who acts piously and well, as he should act, takes place after a long time⁷. Thus a creature always meets with (the effects of) the action performed (in a) previous (life). And that⁸ is the sole cause by which he comes here (in a) degraded (form). There is

save those relating to the Brahman. Tranquillity is the same thing as regards the mind.

¹ This I take to mean restraint of the active organs, such as speech, &c. 'Self-restraint' is rendered by *Nilakantha* to mean 'concentration of mind.'

² Cf. *Maitrî*, p. 57; *Khândogya*, p. 136; and *Gîtâ*, pp. 103, 119.

³ Cf. *Âpastamba I*, 1, 1, 2; I, 7, 20, 7; *Sakuntalâ*, p. 30 (Williams).

⁴ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 72.

⁵ By this, i.e. by the practice of the good, *Arguna Misra*.

⁶ From delusion, *Arguna Misra*; emancipated by force of his devotion, *Nilakantha*.

⁷ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 73; *Khândogya*, pp. 136, 137. ⁸ Scil. the action.

in the world a doubt as to what originally was the source from which he became invested with a body. And that I shall now proceed to state. Brahman, the grandfather of all people, having made a body for himself, created the whole of the three worlds, moving and fixed¹. From that he created the Pradhâna, the material cause of all embodied (selfs), by which all this is pervaded, and which is known in the world as the highest². This is what is called the destructible³; but the other⁴ is immortal and indestructible. And Pragâpati, who had been first created, created all creatures and (all) the fixed entities, (having) as regards the moving (creation), a pair separately for each⁵ (species). Such is the ancient (tradition) heard (by us). And as regards that, the grandsire fixed a limit of time, and (a rule) about migrations among (various) creatures, and about the return⁶. What I say is all correct and proper, like (what may be said by) any talented person who has in

¹ I.e. animate and inanimate. 'A body for himself' = undeveloped Âkâsa, *Nilakantha*. But see Sâṅkhya-sâra, p. 19, and Sâṅkhya Prav. Bhâshya I, 122, and III, 10.

² Cf. *inter alia* Gîtâ, p. 58 and note, and Sâṅkhya-sâra, p. 11. As to the words at the beginning of this sentence, 'from that,' cf. *Taittirîya-upanishad*, p. 67, where everything is derived from Âkâsa, mentioned in the last note, and Âkâsa from the Brahman.

³ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 113, where there are three principles distinguished from each other.

⁴ I.e. the self, *Arguna Misra*.

⁵ A pair, i.e. a male and female for each species, such as man, &c., *Arguna Misra*.

⁶ Pragâpati fixed the limit of life for every 'moving' creature, and the rule as to going from one species of body into another, and as to going from one world to another. As to a part of 'the ancient tradition,' the first stanza of the *Mundaka-upanishad* may be compared.

a former birth perceived the self¹. He who properly perceives pleasure and pain to be inconstant, the body to be an unholy aggregate², and ruin to be connected with action³, and who remembers that whatever little there is of happiness is all misery⁴, he will cross beyond the fearful ocean of worldly life, which is very difficult to cross. He who understands the Pradhâna⁵, (though) attacked by birth and death and disease, sees one (principle of) consciousness in all beings possessed of consciousness⁶. Then seeking after the supreme seat, he becomes indifferent to everything⁷. O best (of men)! I will give you accurate instruction concerning it. Learn from me exhaustively, O Brâhmana! the excellent knowledge concerning the eternal imperishable seat, which I am now about to declare.

CHAPTER IV.

He who becoming placid⁸, and thinking of nought, may become absorbed in the one receptacle⁹, abandoning each previous (element), he will cross beyond

¹ Arguna Misra says the strength of the impression in the former birth would give him this knowledge in the subsequent birth.

² Cf. Sanatsugâtîya, p. 155.

³ Cf. inter alia p. 256 infra.

⁴ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 79.

⁵ Otherwise called Prakṛiti, or nature.

⁶ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 124.

⁷ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 111.

⁸ We now begin, as *Nilakantha* points out, the answer to the question put above by Kâsyapa about the emancipation of the self. Placid, Arguna Misra renders to mean 'silent, taciturn.' See p. 234 supra.

⁹ The path of knowledge, says Arguna Misra; the Brahman, says *Nilakantha*. Abandoning each element=absorbing the gross into the subtle elements, and so forth, *Nilakantha*; abandoning each elementary mode of worship till one reaches that of contemplating the absolute Brahman, Arguna Misra.

(all) bonds. A man who is a friend of all, who endures all, who is devoted to tranquillity¹, who has subdued his senses, and from whom fear and wrath have departed, and who is self-possessed², is released. He who moves among all beings as if they were like himself³, who is self-controlled, pure, free from vanity⁴ and egoism, he is, indeed, released from everything. And he, too, is released who is equable towards both life and death⁵, and likewise pleasure and pain, and gain and loss, and (what is) agreeable and odious⁶. He who is not attached to any one, who contemns no one, who is free from the pairs of opposites, and whose self is free from affections⁷, he is, indeed, released in every way. He who has no enemy, who has no kinsmen, who has no child, who has abandoned piety, wealth, and lust altogether, and who has no desire, is released. He who is not pious and not impious⁸, who casts off (the merit or sin) previously accumulated, whose self is tranquillised by the exhaustion of the primary elements of the body⁹, and who is free from the pairs of opposites, is released. One who does no action¹⁰, and who has no desire, looks on this universe as

¹ This, in the terminology of the Vedânta, means keeping the mind from everything save 'hearing' &c. about the Brahman.

² One who has his mind under his control. But see Gîtâ, p. 63.

³ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 71.

⁴ I.e. the desire to be honoured or respected, Arguna Misra. Cf. Sanatsugâtîya, p. 161.

⁵ Who does not care when death comes. ⁶ Cf. p. 151 supra.

⁷ Cf. Gîtâ for all this, pp. 101, 103, 125, &c. ⁸ Cf. Ka/ha, p. 101.

⁹ Nîlakantha says this means the constituents of the body. Arguna Misra says, 'Prâna or life-wind,' &c. They are seven. See gloss on *Khândogya-upanishad*, p. 441, and p. 343 infra.

¹⁰ Because, says Arguna Misra, he has no desire. Nîlakantha says this means an ascetic, sannyâsin. See p. 257 infra, note 1.

transient, like an Asvattha tree¹, always full of birth, death, and old age². Having his understanding always (fixed) upon indifference to worldly objects, searching for his own faults³, he procures the release of his self from bonds in no long time. Seeing the self void of smell⁴, void of taste, void of touch, void of sound, void of belongings, void of colour, and unknowable, he is released. He who sees the enjoyer of the qualities⁵, devoid of qualities, devoid of the qualities of the five elements⁶, devoid of form, and having no cause, is released. Abandoning by the understanding⁷ all fancies bodily and mental⁸, he gradually obtains tranquillity⁹, like fire devoid of fuel. He who is free from all impressions¹⁰, free from the pairs of opposites, without belongings, and who moves among the collection of organs with penance¹¹, he is indeed released. Then freed from all impressions, he attains to the eternal

¹ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 111, where Saṅkara explains the name to mean 'what will not remain even till to-morrow.'

² Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 109, and other passages.

³ Arguna Misra has a different reading, which means 'particularly observing the evils of (the three kinds of) misery.'

⁴ Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 119; *Mundaka*, p. 267; and *Māndūkya*, p. 371.

⁵ Cf. *Gîtâ*, pp. 104, 105, and *Kaṭha*, p. 112.

⁶ Nilakantha says this refers to the gross elements, the next expression to the subtle ones, and being free from these two, he is 'devoid of qualities,' viz. the three qualities. ⁷ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 65.

⁸ I.e. those which cause bodily and mental activity.

⁹ Cf. *Maitrî*, p. 178. The original is the famous word 'Nirvâṇa.'

¹⁰ Scil. derived from false knowledge, says Arguna Misra. Nilakantha says all impressions from outside oneself which are destroyed by those produced from concentration of mind, &c. See p. 391 infra.

¹¹ I.e. all those operations by which the internal man is rendered pure and free from all taints; see below, p. 248, where Nilakantha renders it as 'the performance of one's duty which is called penance.' But see, too, pp. 74, 119, 166 supra. The meaning seems to be that the

Supreme Brahman, tranquil, unmoving, constant, indestructible¹. After this I shall explain the science of concentration of mind, than which there is nothing higher, (and which teaches) how devotees concentrating (their minds) perceive the perfect self². I will impart instruction regarding it accurately. Learn from me the paths³ by which one directing the self within the self perceives the eternal⁴ (principle). Restraining the senses, one should fix the mind on the self; and having first performed rigorous penance⁵, he should practise concentration of mind for final emancipation. Then the talented Brâhmana, who has practised penance, who is constantly practising concentration of mind, should act on (the precepts of) the science of concentration of mind⁶, seeing the self in the self by means of the mind⁷. If such a good man is able to concentrate the self on the self, then he, being habituated to exclusive meditation⁸, perceives the self in the self. Being

man in question lets his senses work, but does not permit himself to be in any way identified with their operations. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 64.

¹ Cf. the expressions at Gîtâ, p. 45. 'Unmoving,' which occurs at Îra, p. 10, is there explained by Saṅkara to mean 'always the same.' The same sense is given by Mahidhara. Weber's Satapatha, p. 980.

² 'Perfect' would seem to mean here free from all bonds or taints, the absolute.

³ I.e. sources of knowledge, says Arguna Misra.

⁴ Cf. as to 'directing the self within the self,' Gîtâ, p. 69. Nīlakantha says, 'paths, means of mental restraint, the self, mind; in the self, in the body.'

⁵ See p. 247, note 11. Nīlakantha's note there referred to occurs on this passage. See also p. 166, note 1 supra.

⁶ It is not easy to say what this science is. Is it Patañjali's system that is meant? No details occur to enable one to identify the 'science.' But, probably, no system is alluded to.

⁷ See note 4 above.

⁸ Nīlakantha has a very forced explanation of the original word,

self-restrained and self-possessed¹, and always concentrating his mind, and having his senses subjugated, he who has achieved proper concentration of mind² sees the self in the self. As a person having seen one in a dream, recognises him (afterwards), saying, 'This is he;' so does one who has achieved proper concentration of mind perceive the self³. And as one may show the soft fibres, after extracting them from the Muñga, so does a devotee see the self extracted from the body. The body is called the Muñga; the soft fibres stand⁴ for the self. This is the excellent illustration propounded by those who understand concentration of mind. When an embodied (self) properly perceives the self concentrated⁵, then there is no ruler over him, since he is the lord of the triple world⁶. He obtains various bodies as he pleases; and casting aside old age and death, he grieves not and exults not. The man who

which also occurs further on; he takes the meaning to be, 'he who is habituated to that by which the One is attained, viz. meditation.'

¹ The original is the same as at *Gîtâ*, p. 63.

² That is to say, one who has got the power of concentrating his mind as he pleases; and the words 'always concentrating' &c., just before, would mean 'one who always exercises that power.'

³ I.e. having perceived the self in the state of concentration, he sees the whole universe to be the self in this state when the concentration has ceased, *Nilakantha*. *Arguna Misra* says, 'having perceived the self at the time of concentration, he recognises it as the same at the time of direct perception,' meaning, apparently, the time of final emancipation.

⁴ I.e. the reality, which in this simile forms the substratum of what are called the fibres; the simile is in the *Kaṭha-upanishad*; see, too, *Sanatsugâtîya*, p. 176.

⁵ I.e. on the supreme self, as above explained.

⁶ Cf. *Sanatsugâtîya*, p. 161; *Svetâsvatara*, p. 290; and *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 218; *Khândogya*, p. 523; *Aitareya*, p. 26; *Kaushîtaki*, p. 126.

has acquired concentration of mind, and who is self-restrained, creates for himself even the divinity of the gods¹; and abandoning the transient body, he attains to the inexhaustible Brahman. When (all) beings are destroyed, he has no fear; when (all) beings are afflicted, he is not afflicted by anything². He whose self is concentrated, who is free from attachment, and of a tranquil mind, is not shaken by the fearful effects of attachment and affection³, which consist in pain and grief⁴. Weapons do not pierce him⁵; there is no death for him; nothing can be seen anywhere in the world happier than he. Properly concentrating his self, he remains steady to the self; and freed from old age and grief, he sleeps at ease. Leaving this human frame, he assumes bodies at pleasure. But one who is practising concentration should never become despondent⁶. When one who has properly achieved concentration perceives the self in the self, then he forthwith ceases to feel any attachment to Indra himself⁷.

¹ I do not quite understand the original. The other reading, *dehatvam* for *devatvam*, is not more intelligible. But comparing the two, the meaning seems to be, that the divinity of the gods, i.e. their qualities and powers as gods, are within his reach, if he likes to have them.

² Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 107.

³ Affection is the feeling that a thing is one's own; attachment is the feeling of liking one has for a thing acquired with difficulty, *Arguna Misra*.

⁴ Pain appears to be the feeling immediately following on hurt or evil suffered; grief is the constant state of mind which is a later result.

⁵ Cf. *Yoga-sûtra Bhâshya*, p. 208.

⁶ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 70. Despondency is the feeling that one has not acquired 'concentration' after much practice, and that therefore the practice should be abandoned.

⁷ The other reading here may be rendered, 'Then forthwith Indra himself esteems him highly.'

Now listen how one habituated to exclusive meditation attains concentration. Thinking¹ of a quarter seen before, he should steady his mind within and not out of the city in which he dwells. Remaining within (that) city, he should place his mind both in its external and internal (operations) in that habitation in which he dwells. When, meditating in that habitation, he perceives the perfect one, his mind should not in any way wander outside. Restraining the group of the senses, in a forest² free from noises and unpeopled, he should meditate on the perfect one within his body with a mind fixed on one point. He

¹ This is all rather mystical. Nilakantha takes 'city' to mean 'body,' and 'habitation' to mean the mûlâdhâra, or other similar mystic centre within the body, where, according to the Yoga philosophy, the soul is sometimes to be kept with the life-winds, &c. 'Thinking of a quarter,' &c., he explains to mean 'meditating on the instruction he has received after studying the Upanishads.' I do not understand the passage well. 'City' for 'body' is a familiar use of the word. Cf. *Gitâ*, p. 65. The original word for habitation occurs at *Aitareya-upanishad*, p. 199, where Saṅkara explains it to mean 'seat.' Three 'seats' are there mentioned,—the organs of sight, &c.; the mind; and the Âkâra in the heart. There, too, the body is described as a 'city,' and Anandagiri explains habitation to mean 'seat of amusement or sport.' Here, however, the meaning seems to be that one should work for concentration in the manner indicated, viz. first fix the mind on the city where one dwells, then on the particular part of it oftenest seen before, then one's own habitation, then the various parts of one's body, and finally one's own heart and the Brahman within it. Thus gradually circumscribed in its operations, the mind is better fitted for the final concentration on the Brahman. As to external and internal operations, cf. note 8, p. 247. The perfect one is the Brahman. Cf. *Sanatsugâtîya*, p. 171. As to âvasatha, which we have rendered by 'habitation,' see also *Māndūkya*, p. 340; *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 751; and the alternative sense suggested by Saṅkara on the *Aitareya*, loc. cit.

² Cf. *Maitrî-upanishad*, p. 100.

should meditate on his teeth¹, palate, tongue, neck, and throat likewise, and also the heart, and likewise the seat of the heart. That talented pupil, O destroyer of Madhu! having been thus instructed by me, proceeded further to interrogate (me) about the piety (required) for final emancipation, which is difficult to explain. 'How does this food eaten from time to time become digested in the stomach? How does it turn to juice and how also to blood? And how, too, do the flesh, and marrow, and muscles, and bones—which all (form) the bodies for embodied (selfs)—develop in a woman as that (self) develops? How, too, does the strength develop? (And how is it also) about the removal of non-nutritive (substances)², and of the excretions, distinctly? How, too, does he breathe inwards or outwards? And what place does the self occupy, dwelling in the self³? And how does the soul moving about carry the body? And of what colour and of what description (is it when) he leaves it? O sinless venerable sir! be pleased to state this accurately to me.' Thus questioned by that Brâhmaṇa, O Mâdhava! I replied⁴, 'O you of mighty arms! O

¹ Nilakanṭha cites numerous passages from works of the Yoga philosophy in illustration of this. He takes 'heart' to mean the Brahman seated in the heart (cf. *Khândogya*, p. 528), and 'the seat of the heart' to mean the one hundred and one passages of the heart. The latter expression Arguna Misra seems to render by 'mind.' See also generally on this passage, *Maitrî-upanishad*, p. 133, and *Yoga-sûtra* III, 1 and 28 seq., and commentary there.

² Literally, 'those which are void of strength.' I adopt Arguna Misra's reading. The other reading literally means 'obstructions.'

³ The self here means the body, I take it. See p. 248 supra.

⁴ The reply does not appear here. Nilakanṭha says that the succeeding chapters contain it. Arguna Misra seems to say that the answer has been already given. The context here is obscure.

restrainer of (your) foes! according to what (I had) heard. As one placing any property in his store-room should fix his mind on the property¹, so placing one's mind in one's body, and (keeping) the passages confined, one should there look for the self and avoid heedlessness². Being thus always assiduous and pleased in the self, he attains in a short time to that Brahman, after perceiving which he understands the Pradhâna³. He is not to be grasped by the eye, nor by any of the senses. Only by the mind (used) as a lamp is the great self perceived⁴. He has hands and feet on all sides; he has eyes, heads, and faces on all sides; he has ears on all sides; he stands pervading everything in the world⁵. The soul sees the self⁶ come out from the body; and abandoning his body, he perceives the self,—holding it to be the immaculate Brahman,—with, as it were, a mental smile⁷. And then depending upon it thus, he attains final emancipation in me⁸.

¹ *Nīlakantha* says the original means household effects; *Arguna Misra* says wealth, and adds, the mind is fixed on it from fear of others finding it out.

² Cf. *Sanatsugâtīya*, p. 152. Here, however, the sense is the ordinary one.

³ I.e. all nature, that from which the universe is developed.

⁴ Cf. *Kaṭha*, pp. 117-130. See *Sānti Parvan* (Moksha) CCXL, 16.

⁵ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 103. The stanza occurs often in the *Bhārata*. This, says *Arguna Misra*, answers the question 'how the soul carries the body.' The soul can do that as it is all-pervading.

⁶ The individual soul, which has acquired true knowledge, perceives the self to be distinct from the body. See p. 249 *supra*.

⁷ I.e. at the false notions which he entertained. *Nīlakantha* says, 'smile, i.e. amazement that he should have been deceived by the mirage-like course of worldly life.'

⁸ I.e. final emancipation and assimilation with the supreme; 'depending upon it thus' = taking refuge with the Brahman in the way above stated.

This whole mystery I have declared to you, O best of Brâhmanas¹! I will now take my leave, I will go away; and do you (too) go away, O Brâhmaṇa! according to your pleasure.' Thus addressed by me, O Kṛishṇa! that pupil, possessed of great penance,—that Brâhmaṇa of rigid vows,—went away as he pleased.

Vâsudeva said:

Having spoken to me, O son of Prithâ! these good words relating to the piety (required) for final emancipation, that best of Brâhmanas disappeared then and there. Have you listened to this, O son of Prithâ! with a mind (fixed) on (this) one point only²? For on that occasion, too, sitting in the chariot you heard this same (instruction). It is my belief, O son of Prithâ! that this is not easily understood by a man who is confused, or who has not acquired knowledge with his inmost soul purified³. What I have spoken, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! is a great mystery (even) among the gods. And it has never yet been heard by any man in this world, O son of Prithâ! For, O sinless one! there is no other man than you worthy to hear it. Nor is it easily to be understood by (one whose) internal self (is) confused. The world of the gods⁴, O son of Kuntî! is filled by those who perform

¹ Arguna Misra says, the only questions among those stated above, which are of use for final emancipation, have been here answered. The others should be looked for elsewhere.

² The original words here are identical with those at Gitâ, p. 139.

³ I adopt Nîlakantha's reading here. Arguna Misra reads 'vigagdhena,' which he explains to mean 'one who eats kinds of food incompatible with one another.' A third reading is 'krîtaghnena,' ungrateful!

⁴ See Gitâ, p. 84.

actions. And the gods are not pleased with a cessation of the mortal form¹. For as to that eternal Brahman, O son of *Prithâ*! that is the highest goal, where one, forsaking the body, reaches immortality and is ever happy. Adopting this doctrine, even those who are of sinful birth, women, Vaisyas, and *Sûdras* likewise, attain the supreme goal. What then (need be said of) *Brâhmanas*, O son of *Prithâ*²! or well-read *Kshatriyas*, who are constantly intent on their own duties, and whose highest goal is the world of the Brahman? This has been stated with reasons; and also the means for its acquisition; and the fruit of its full accomplishment, final emancipation, and determination regarding misery³. O chief of the descendants of *Bharata*! there can be no other happiness beyond this. The mortal, O son of *Pându*! who, possessed of talents, full of faith, and energetic⁴, casts aside as unsubstantial the (whole) substance of this world⁵, he forthwith attains the highest goal by these means. This is all that is to be said, there is nothing further than this. Concentration of mind comes to him, O son of *Prithâ*! who practises concentration of mind constantly throughout six months⁶.

¹ Cf. *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 234, where *Śaṅkara* quotes the original stanza, but with a reading which means, 'And the gods are not pleased at mortals rising above (them).' That is a better reading.

² See *Gîtâ*, pp. 85, 86, where the words are nearly identical with those in the text.

³ This is not quite clear. Does 'determination regarding misery,' the original of which is *duḥkhasya ka vinirṇayaḥ*, mean 'conclusion of all misery?' Comp. *Gîtâ*, p. 79.

⁴ *Arguna Misra* says this means assiduous.

⁵ I.e. wealth and so forth, says *Nilakanṭha*. Cf. 'human wealth' at *Sanatsugâtiya*, p. 161.

⁶ Cf. *Maitrî-upanishad*, p. 154. The copy of *Arguna Misra*'s

CHAPTER V.

On this¹, too, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! they relate this ancient story, (in the form of) a dialogue, which occurred, O son of Prithā! between a husband and wife. A Brāhmaṇa's wife, seeing the Brāhmaṇa her husband, who had gone through all knowledge and experience², seated in seclusion, spoke to him (thus): 'What world, indeed, shall I go to, depending on you as (my) husband, you who live renouncing (all) action, and who are harsh and un-discerning³. We have heard that wives attain to the worlds acquired by (their) husbands. What goal, verily, shall I reach, having got you for my husband?' Thus addressed, that man of a tranquil self, spoke to her with a slight smile: 'O beautiful one! O sinless one! I am not offended at these words of yours. Whatever action there is, that can be caught (by the touch)⁴, or seen, or heard, that only do the men of action engage in as action. Those who are devoid of knowledge only lodge⁵ delusion in themselves by means of action. And freedom from action is not to be attained in this world even for an

commentary which I have used, says that the Anugītā ends here. But, as we have shown, there is a verse coming further on, which Saṅkarācārya cites as from the Anugītā. In the printed copies of the Mahābhārata the next chapter is called the Brāhmaṇagītā.

¹ I.e. the questions at p. 252, *Nilakanṭha*; more probably, perhaps, the 'doctrine' mentioned at p. 254 is what is alluded to.

² Cf. Gītā, p. 57 and note.

³ *Nilakanṭha* says this means 'ignorant that the wife has no other support.' Arguna Misra interprets *kīṇāsa* to mean 'indigent' instead of 'harsh.'

⁴ So Arguna Misra. *Nilakanṭha*'s reading and his interpretation of the passage are different.

⁵ I follow Arguna Misra; the original literally means 'restrain.'

instant¹. From birth to the destruction of the body, action, good or bad, by act, mind or speech², does exist among (all) beings. While the paths³ (of action), in which the materials are visible, are destroyed by demons⁴, I have perceived by means of the self the seat abiding in the self⁵—(the seat) where dwells the Brahman free from the pairs of opposites, and the moon together with the fire⁶, upholding (all) beings (as) the mover of the intellectual principle⁷; (the seat) for which⁸ Brahman and others concentrating (their minds) worship that indestructible (principle), and for which learned men have their senses restrained, and their selves tranquil, and (observe) good vows. It is not to be smelt by the nose, and not to be tasted by the tongue. It is not to be touched by the sense of touch, but is to be apprehended by the mind. It cannot be

¹ Cf. *Gîtâ*, pp. 52, 53; see also, as to freedom from action, *Gîtâ*, p. 127.

² I.e. thought, word, and deed. I have in the text kept to a more literal rendering.

³ This is *Nilakantha*'s reading and interpretation. *Arguna Misra* reads 'actions visible and invisible.'

⁴ Cf. *inter alia* *Kumâra-sambhava* II, 46.

⁵ I.e. says *Arguna Misra*, the safe place, within the body; and says *Nilakantha*, the seat called *Avimukta*, between the nose and the brows; as to which cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 67. In the *Kenopanishad* (p. 220) the word *âyatana* is used to signify a means to the attainment of the Brahman.

⁶ The moon and fire constitute the universe, says *Arguna Misra*. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 113. *Nilakantha* interprets this more mystically as referring to the *Idâ* and *Pîngalâ* arteries.

⁷ So *Nilakantha*, but he takes it to stand for 'vâyu' or wind, as a distinct principle. The sense is by no means clear. But the moon being the deity of the mind also may, perhaps, be described as she is here, on that account.

⁸ This is *Arguna Misra*'s interpretation of the original locative.

conquered by the eyes, and is entirely beyond the senses of hearing. It is devoid of smell, devoid of taste and touch, devoid of colour and sound, and imperishable¹. (It is that) from which (this whole) expanse² (of the universe) proceeds, and on which it rests. From this the *Prâna*, *Apâna*, *Samâna*, *Vyâna*, and *Udâna* also proceed, and into it they enter³. Between the *Samâna* and the *Vyâna*, the *Prâna* and the *Apâna* moved. When that⁴ is asleep, the *Samâna* and *Vyâna* also are absorbed⁵; and between the *Prâna* and the *Apâna* dwells the *Udâna* pervading (all). Therefore the *Prâna* and the *Apâna* do not forsake a sleeping person. That is called the *Udâna*, as the life-winds are controlled⁶ (by it). And therefore those who study the Brahman engage in penance⁷ of which I am the goal⁸. In

¹ Cf. note 4, p. 247 supra, and p. 253.

² Arguna Misra says this means the five great elements, the eleven organs (active and perceptive, and the mind), the life-wind, and the individual soul.

³ The *Prâna* is at the nose, the *Apâna* at the arms, the *Samâna* at the navel, the *Vyâna* pervades the whole body, and the *Udâna* is at all the joints; cf. *Yoga-sûtra* III, 38 seq. *Nilakantha* says this explains how the 'expanse' (meaning, he says, the operations of the creation, &c.) 'proceeds' from the Brahman. See on the life-winds, *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 667; *Khândogya*, pp. 42-188; *Sânkhya-tattva-kaumudī*, p. 96; *Vedânta Paribhâṣhâ*, p. 45; p. 271 infra.

⁴ The self, Arguna Misra. *Nilakantha* says, 'the *Prâna* accompanied by the *Apâna*.'

⁵ I. e. into the *Prâna* and *Apâna*, Arguna Misra.

⁶ *Nilakantha* derives the word thus, *utkarshena ānayati*.

⁷ I. e. the subjugation of the life-winds as indicated at *Gîtâ*, p. 61.

⁸ The meaning of the passage as a whole is not very clear, and the commentators afford but little help. The sense appears to be this: The course of worldly life is due to the operations of the life-winds which are attached to the self and lead to its manifestations as individual souls. Of these, the *Samâna* and *Vyâna* are

the interior¹, in the midst of all these (life-winds) which move about in the body and swallow up one another², blazes the Vaisvâna fire³ sevenfold. The nose, and the tongue, and the eye, and the skin, and the ear as the fifth, the mind and the understanding, these are the seven tongues⁴ of the blaze of Vaisvânara. That which is to be smelt, that which is to be drunk, that which is to be seen, that which is to be touched, and likewise that which is to be heard, and also that which is to be thought of, and that which is to be understood, those are the seven (kinds of) fuel for me⁵. That which smells, that which eats, that which sees, that which touches, and that which hears as the fifth, that which thinks, and that which understands, these are the seven great officiating priests⁶. And mark this always,

controlled and held under check by the Prâna and Apâna, into which latter the former are absorbed in sleep. The latter two are held in check and controlled by the Udâna, which thus controls all. And the control of this, which is the control of all the five, and which is otherwise called penance, destroys the course of worldly life, and leads to the supreme self.

¹ I. e. within the body. ² As explained in note 8, p. 258.

³ This, says Nîlakantha, explains the word 'I' in the sentence preceding. Vaisvânara is a word often used to denote the self. The Vishamasloki derives it thus, 'that which saves all beings from hell;' see the Prasna-upanishad, pp. 167-188 (where seven tongues are also referred to); Mundaka, p. 292; Khândogya, p. 364; Mândukya, p. 341.

⁴ Cf. Taittiriya-âraṇyaka, p. 802.

⁵ I. e. the Vaisvânara. Cf. Taittiriya-âraṇyaka, p. 803 and gloss.

⁶ These I take to be the powers of hearing, &c., which are presided over by the several deities; or, better, perhaps, they may mean the soul distinguished as so many with reference to these several powers; cf. Brîhadâraṇyaka, p. 169; Maitrî, p. 96; Prasna, pp. 214, 215; Kaushîtaki, p. 96; Aitareya, p. 187; Khândogya, p. 616. The latter sense is accepted by Arguna Misra.

O beautiful one! The learned sacrificers throwing (in) due (form) the seven offerings into the seven fires in seven ways, produce them in their wombs¹; (namely), that which is to be smelt, that which is to be drunk, that which is to be seen, that which is to be touched, and likewise that which is to be heard, that which is to be thought of, and also that which is to be understood. Earth, air, space, water, and light as the fifth, mind and understanding, these seven, indeed, are named wombs. All the qualities which stand² as offerings are absorbed in the mouth of the fire³; and having dwelt within that dwelling are born in their respective wombs⁴. And in that very (principle), which is the generator of all entities, they remain absorbed during (the time of) deluge. From that⁵ is produced smell; from that is produced taste; from that is produced colour; from that touch is produced; from that is produced sound; from that doubt⁶ is produced; from that is produced determination. This (is what) they know as the sevenfold production. In this very way was it⁷ comprehended by the ancients. Becoming perfected by the perfect sacrifice⁸, they were perfectly filled with light.'

¹ The next clause explains this; that which is to be smelt is earth, and so on throughout. The men who sacrifice all sensuous objects, get such powers that they can create the objects whenever they like. As to 'in their wombs,' see Yoga Bhāṣya, p. 108.

² I. e. are so treated in the above allegory.

³ I. e. the Brahman.

⁴ I. e. when the sacrificer wishes, as stated in note 1.

⁵ That principle—viz. the Brahman.

⁶ This is the operation of the mind, see Gītā, p. 57 note.

⁷ The Brahman, Arguna Misra. Or it may be the 'sevenfold production.'

⁸ The wholesale sacrifice of all sensuous perceptions. The

CHAPTER VI.

The Brâhmaṇa said :

On this, too, they relate this ancient story. Learn now of what description is the institution of the ten sacrificial priests¹. The ear², the skin, the two eyes, the tongue, the nose, the two feet, the two hands, speech, the genital organ, and the anus, these, verily, are ten sacrificial priests, O beautiful one! Sound, touch, colour, and taste, smell, words, action, motion, and the discharge of semen, urine, and excrement, these are the ten oblations. The quarters, wind, sun, moon, earth and fire, and Vishṇu also, Indra, Pragâpati, and Mitra, these, O beautiful one! are the ten fires³. The ten organs are the makers of the offering; the offerings are ten, O beautiful one! Objects of sense, verily, are the fuel; and they are offered up into the ten fires. The mind is the ladle⁴; and the wealth is the pure, highest knowledge⁵. (Thus) we have heard, was the universe duly divided⁶. And the mind, which is the instru-

root corresponding with perfect occurs three times in the original, hence the repetition of perfect above.

¹ Cf. Taittirīya-brâhmaṇa, p. 411, and Âraṇyaka, p. 281.

² Cf. Brîhadâraṇyaka, p. 459. The reading in the printed edition of Bombay is defective here.

³ See p. 337 seq., where all this is more fully explained. And cf. the analogous Buddhistic doctrine stated at Lalita Vistara (Translation by Dr. R. Mitra), p. 11.

⁴ See Taittirīya-âraṇyaka loc. cit., and cf. Gîtâ, p. 61. 'The wealth' probably means the Dakṣiṇâ to be given to the priests, which is mentioned at Gîtâ, p. 119.

⁵ The 'priests' here being the senses, the knowledge would accrue to them, as to which cf. Gîtâ, p. 108.

⁶ See note 3.

ment of knowledge, requires everything knowable¹ (as its offering). The mind is within the body the upholder of the frame, and the knower is the upholder of the body². That³ upholder of the body is the Gârhapatya fire; from that another is produced, and the mind which is the Âhavanîya; and into this the offering is thrown. Then the lord of speech was produced⁴; that (lord of speech) looks up to the mind. First, verily, are words produced; and the mind runs after them.

¹ Each sense can only offer up its own perceptions—the mind offers up all knowledge whatever.

² Arguna Misra says this is an implied simile, the mind is an upholder of the body as the 'knower' or self is.

³ Arguna Misra says this means 'the mind.' I think it better to take it here as the self (see p. 238 supra), to which the 'mind' and the 'other,' mentioned further on, would be subordinate; the 'other' Arguna Misra renders by the 'group of the senses.' The senses are compared to fires at Gîtâ, p. 61. The passage at Taittirîya-âraṇyaka above cited refers only to the Gârhapatya and Âhavanîya fires. Nilakanṭha's text and explanation of this passage are, to my mind, not nearly so satisfactory as Arguna Misra's.

⁴ In the Taittirîya-brâhmana and Âraṇyaka loc. cit., the equivalent of the original word for 'lord of speech' here occurs, viz. Vâkpati for Vâkaspati here; but that is there described as the Hotri priest, and speech itself as the Vedî or altar. The commentator there interprets 'lord of speech' to mean the wind which causes vocal activity, and resides in the throat, palate, &c. As to mind and speech, see also Khândogya, pp. 285-441, and comments of Saṅkara there. The meaning of this passage, however, is not by any means clear to my mind. The Darahotri mantras in the Taittirîya are stated to be the mantras of the Ishî, or sacrifice, performed by Pragâpati for creation. It is possible, then, that the meaning here is, that speech which is to be learnt by the pupil, as stated further on—namely, the Vedas—was first produced from that Ishî (cf. Kullûka on Manu I, 21). But to understand that speech, mind is necessary; hence it is said to look up to the mind. The Brâhmana's wife, however, seems to understand speech as ordinary speech, hence her question.

The Brāhmaṇa's wife said :

How did speech come into existence first, and how did the mind come into existence afterwards, seeing that words are uttered (after they have been) thought over by the mind? By means of what experience does intelligence come to the mind, and (though) developed, does not comprehend¹? What verily obstructs it?

The Brāhmaṇa said :

The Apāna becoming lord changes it into the state of the Apāna in consequence. That is called the movement of the mind, and hence the mind is in need (of it)². But since you ask me a question regarding speech and mind, I will relate to you a dialogue between themselves. Both speech and mind went to the self of all beings³ and spoke (to him thus), 'Say which of us is superior; destroy our doubts, O lord!' Thereupon the lord positively said to speech, 'Mind (is superior).' But speech thereupon said to him, 'I, verily, yield (you) your desires⁴.'

¹ This, again, is to my mind very hard to understand. The original word for 'intelligence' is *mati*, which at *Khândogya*, p. 514, Śaṅkara interprets thus: 'intelligence is pondering, application to (literally, respect for) the subject of thought.' The original for 'developed,' Arguna Misra renders by 'mixed or assimilated with;' and 'does not comprehend,' he takes to mean 'does not understand—speech or words.' This question appears to be suggested by the last words of the previous speech.

² These two sentences are again very obscure. *Nilakantha*, as usual, deserts his original, giving peculiar meanings to the words without producing any authority. Arguna Misra is very meagre, and besides the MS. is very incorrect. See p. 264, note 5 *infra*.

³ I. e. *Pragāpati*, says Arguna Misra, which seems to be justified by the sequel. *Nilakantha* takes it to mean the individual self, which doubtless is its meaning elsewhere, e. g. *Maitrī*, p. 56.

⁴ I. e. speech conveys information on all matters, Arguna Misra;

The Brâhmana¹ said :

Know, that (in) my (view), there are two minds², immovable and also movable. The immovable, verily, is with me ; the movable is in your dominion. Whatever mantra, or letter, or tone goes to your dominion, that indeed is the movable mind³. To that you are superior. But inasmuch, O beautiful one! as you came personally to speak to me (in the way you did)⁴, therefore, O Sarasvatî! you shall never speak after (hard) exhalations⁵. The goddess speech, verily, dwelt always between the Prâna and Apâna⁶. But, O noble one! going with the Apâna

as the means of acquiring desired fruit, visible or invisible, is learnt by speech, *Nilakantha*. Cf. as to all this, *Bṛihadâraṇyaka-upanishad*, pp. 50 seq. and 261.

¹ I.e. *Nilakantha* says, 'the Brâhmana named mind,' alluding apparently to p. 310 infra. But the reading of some of the MSS., viz. Brahman for the Brâhmana, seems preferable, having regard to what follows. Apparently, the Brâhmana's own speech should begin at 'The goddess speech' further on.

² *Nilakantha* says, immovable=to be understood by the external senses ; movable=not perceptible by senses, such as heaven, &c., which is not quite intelligible. *Arguna Misra* says, the immovable mind is that of the teacher, which is fixed, as it has not to learn or acquire anything, while that of the pupil is movable as acquiring new impressions and knowledge.

³ I.e. it is the movable mind which takes cognisance of the significations of all mantras (sacred texts), letters, tones, in which, I presume, sacred instruction is conveyed. To this mind, speech is superior, as that mind only works on what speech places before it ; but the mind which is 'with' *Pragâpati*, is superior to speech as it is not dependent on speech like the other.

⁴ I.e. proudly, about her being the giver of desires to Brahman.

⁵ I.e., says *Arguna Misra*, the words will not come out with the Prâna life-wind and convey any sense to the hearer, but will be absorbed down into the Apâna life-wind, and not be articulated as speech at all. Cf. *Kaushîtaki*, p. 41 ; *Kaṭha*, p. 184 (with glosses) ; and *Khândogya*, p. 42.

⁶ I.e., I presume, was dependent on the two life-winds named.

wind¹, though impelled, (in consequence of) being without the *Prâna*, she ran up to *Pragâpati*, saying, 'Be pleased², O venerable sir!' Then³ the *Prâna* appeared again nourishing speech. And therefore speech never speaks after (hard) exhalation. It is always noisy or noiseless. Of those two, the noiseless is superior to the noisy⁴ (speech). This excellent (speech), like a cow, yields milk⁵, and speaking of the Brahman it always produces the eternal (emancipation). This cow-like speech, O you of a bright smile! is divine, with divine⁶ power. Observe the difference of (its) two subtle, flowing (forms)⁷.

The *Brâhmaṇa*'s wife said :

What did the goddess of speech say on that occasion in days of old, when, though (she was) impelled with a desire to speak, words could not be uttered?

The *Brâhmaṇa* said :

The (speech) which is produced in the body by

Cf. p. 353 *infra*. For this sense of the word 'between,' see p. 258 *supra*, and *Khândogya-upanishad*, p. 623.

¹ And not with the *Prâna*, so as to be articulated. Cf. p. 264.

² I. e. to withdraw the 'curse' pronounced, as above stated.

³ After the curse was withdrawn, says *Arguna Misra*. Cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 317.

⁴ Since, says *Arguna Misra*, noiseless speech is the source of all words—*Vânmaya*. Perhaps we may compare *Aitareya-brâhmaṇa* (*Haug*), p. 47.

⁵ Viz. *Vânmaya* ; milk, as a source of pleasure.

⁶ I. e. enlightening, *Arguna Misra*. But, perhaps, the translation should be, 'has powers divine and not divine.' As to this, cf. *Sânkhya Bhâshya* on III, 41, and *Sânkhyatattvakaumudî*, p. 118, and *Wilson's Sâṅkhya Kârikâ*, p. 37 (Sanskrit), and *Svetâsvatara*, p. 284 (gloss).

⁷ *Arguna Misra* refers to a 'Satapatha text' in praise of the subtle speech. I cannot trace the text. But see *Nirukta* (*Roth*), pp. 167-187.

means of the *Prâna* ¹, and which then goes into the *Apâna*, and then becoming assimilated with the *Udâna* leaves the body ², and with the *Vyâna* envelopes all the quarters ³, then (finally) dwells in the *Samâna* ⁴. So speech formerly spoke. Hence the mind is distinguished by reason of its being immovable, and the goddess distinguished by reason of her being movable ⁵.

CHAPTER VII.

The *Brâhmaṇa* said :

On this, too, O beautiful one! they relate this ancient story, (which shows) of what description is the institution of the seven sacrificial priests ⁶. The

¹ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 285, and the passage there quoted by *Saṅkara* as well as *Ānandagiri*'s gloss. And see, too, p. 353 *infra*.

² Viz. the part of it which specially appertains to speech—the throat, &c.

³ All the *nâḍīs* or passages of the body, *Arguna Misra*.

⁴ I. e. at the navel in the form of sound, as the material cause of all words. There and in that condition speech dwells, after going through the body, as above stated. There, adds *Arguna Misra*, devotees are to meditate on speech.

⁵ This is not quite clear, but the meaning seems to be, that the merit of the immovable mind consists in its unchangeability, and that of speech in being the cause of variations in the movable mind by conveying new knowledge and new impressions. Cf. on this result, *Khândogya-upanishad*, p. 482.

⁶ *Arguna Misra* says, the last chapter explained *Prânâyâma*, and this explains *Pratyâhâra*. *Prânâyâma* is the restraint of the life-winds, *Pratyâhâra* that of the senses, according to the *Yoga-philosophy* (see the quotation in the commentary at *Yoga-sûtra* III, 1, and see also pp. 141–145). Cf. also *Gîtâ*, p. 61. The *Sapta-hotri-vidhâna* as taught in the *Taittirîya-brâhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka* is to be found a few pages after the pages referred to for the *Dasahotri-vidhâna* at p. 261 *supra*. And the other *Vidhânas* also are to be found in the same parts of those books.

nose, and the eye, and the tongue, and the skin, and the ear as the fifth, mind and understanding, these are the seven sacrificial priests separately stationed. Dwelling in a minute space, they do not perceive each other. Do you, verily, O beautiful one! learn about these sacrificial priests, (which are) seven according to (their several) natures.

The Brâhmana's wife said :

How (is it) these do not perceive each other, dwelling (as they do) in a minute space? What are their natures, O venerable sir? Tell me this, O lord!

The Brâhmana said :

Not knowing the qualities (of anything) is ignorance (of it). Knowledge of the qualities is knowledge. And these never know the qualities of each other. The tongue, the eye, the ear likewise, the skin, the mind, and the understanding also, do not apprehend smells, the nose apprehends them. The nose, the eye, the ear likewise, the skin, the mind, and the understanding also, do not apprehend tastes, the tongue apprehends them. The nose, the tongue, the ear likewise, the skin, the mind, and the understanding also, do not apprehend colours, the eye apprehends them. The nose, the tongue, and next the eye, the ear, the understanding, the mind likewise, do not apprehend (objects of) touch, the skin apprehends them. The nose, the tongue, and the eye, the skin, the mind, and the understanding also, do not apprehend sounds, the ear apprehends them. The nose, the tongue, and the eye, the skin, the ear, and the understanding also, do not apprehend doubt, the mind apprehends it. The nose, the tongue, and the eye, the skin, the ear, and the mind

also, do not apprehend final determination, the understanding apprehends it. On this, too, they relate this ancient story,—a dialogue, O beautiful one! between the senses and the mind.

The mind said :

The nose smells not without me, the tongue does not perceive taste, the eye does not take in colour, the skin does not become aware of any (object of) touch. Without me, the ear does not in any way hear sound. I am the eternal chief among all elements¹. Without me, the senses never shine, like an empty dwelling, or like fires the flames of which are extinct. Without me, all beings, like fuel half dried and half moist, fail to apprehend qualities or objects, even with the senses exerting themselves².

The senses said :

This would be true as you believe, if you, without us, enjoyed the enjoyments (derived from) our objects³. If when we are extinct, (there is) pleasure and support of life, and if you enjoy enjoyments, then what you believe is true; or if when we are absorbed⁴, and objects are standing, you enjoy objects according to their natures by the mere operation of the mind.

¹ Cf. Kaushîtaki-upanishad, p. 93; *Khândogya*, p. 297; *Maitrî*, p. 158; and *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 284. The passages in the last two works seem to be identical ones.

² I. e. in their respective operations.

³ The implication, of course, is, as Arguna Misra says, that this is not so, as what is not perceived by the senses cannot be the object of the mind's operations,—a proposition which reminds one of the maxim, 'Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuerit in sensu,' apparently without Leibnitz's limitation of it. Cf. Archbishop Thomson's *Laws of Thought*, p. 52.

⁴ As in sleep, &c.

If again you think your power over our objects is constant¹, then take in colours by the nose, take in tastes by the eye, take in smells by the ear, take in (objects of) touch by the tongue, and take in sounds by the skin, and also (objects of)² touch by the understanding. For those who are powerful have no rules (to govern them); rules are for the weak. You should accept enjoyments unenjoyed before; you ought not to enjoy what has been tasted³ (by others). As a pupil goes to a preceptor for Vedic learning, and having acquired Vedic learning from him, performs the directions of the Vedic texts, so you treat as yours⁴ objects shown⁵ by us, both past and future⁶, in sleep and likewise wakefulness. Besides, when creatures of little intelligence are distracted in mind, life is seen to be supported, when our objects⁷ perform their functions. And even after having carried on numerous mental operations, and indulged in dreams, a creature, when troubled by desire to enjoy, does run to objects of sense only. One entering upon enjoyments, resulting from mental operations (alone), and not connected with objects

¹ I. e. if you can enjoy objects independently of the senses, whenever you choose to perform your operations. This, says Arguna Misra, meets an objection which might be made, that the mind at the time stated does not desire objects.

² Sic in original. It comes twice.

³ Eating what has been tasted by another is a cause of degradation. Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 81; *Maitrî*, p. 103; and p. 363 *infra*.

⁴ You incorrectly attribute to yourself the quality of apprehending them.

⁵ I. e. presented before you by us.

⁶ This is not quite clear. Arguna Misra has, 'not past, not future;' literally, 'not come, not gone.'

⁷ Viz. smell, sound, &c.; not by the mere operations of the mind, but by obtaining the objects, is life supported.

of sense, (which is) like entering a house without a door¹, always meets death, on the exhaustion of the life-winds², as a fire which is kindled (is extinguished) on the exhaustion of fuel. Granted, that we have connexions with our (respective) qualities, and granted that we have no perception of each other's qualities; still, without us, you have no perception³, and so long no happiness can accrue to you.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Brâhmana said :

On this, too, they relate an ancient story, O beautiful one ! (showing) of what description is the institution of the five sacrificial priests. The learned know this to be a great principle, that the Prâna and the Apâna, and the Udâna, and also the Samâna and the Vyâna, are the five sacrificial priests.

The Brâhmana's wife said :

My former belief was that the sacrificial priests were seven by (their) nature⁴. State how the great principle is that there are verily five sacrificial priests⁵.

¹ The senses are the doors of the house here, as they are among the doors of the city at Gîtâ, p. 65.

² Owing to the want of food, &c. Cf. Maitrî, p. 112, and *Khândogya*, p. 422.

³ Perception of pleasure, says Arguna Misra; but he takes the subsequent clause to mean this, 'and without you no pleasure accrues to us either.' The text is here in an unsatisfactory state.

⁴ As stated in the last chapter; some MSS. read 'your' for 'my' at the beginning of the sentence.

⁵ Arguna Misra says that in this *Pañkahotri-vidhâna* the five chief *Hotris* only are stated for briefly explaining the Prânâyâma.

The Brâhmaṇa said :

The wind prepared by the Prâṇa afterwards becomes the Apâna. The wind prepared in the Apâna then works as the Vyâna. The wind prepared by the Vyâna works as the Udâna. And the wind prepared in the Udâna is produced as Samâna¹. They formerly went to the grandsire, who was born first, and said to him, 'Tell us which is greatest among us. He shall be the greatest among us².'

Brahman said :

He, verily, is the greatest, who being extinct, all the life-winds in the body of living creatures become extinct; and on whose moving about, they again move about. (Now) go where (you) like.

The Prâṇa said :

When I am extinct, all the life-winds in the body

¹ Arguna Misra says, 'The wind going to the Prâṇa, and being obstructed in upward progress by the Prâṇa, goes to the Apâna, and then unable to go upwards or downwards, enters the passages or *nâḍīs* of the body and becomes Vyâna. In the same way Udâna, by the collision of the two, produces sound in the throat, and depends on Prâṇa and Apâna; so, too, the Samâna dwelling in the navel and kindling the gastric fire is also dependent on those two.' The meaning seems to be that one life-wind is distributed in the different places, and gets different names, as stated, in the order mentioned. See Maitrî, p. 28.

² A similar visit on the part of the Prâṇas (who, however, are not there the life-winds only, but the Prâṇa life-wind and the active organs) to Pragâpati is mentioned at *Bṛihadâraṇyaka-upanishad*, p. 1016, and *Khândogya*, p. 297. Cf. also *Prasna*, p. 178; *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 317; and *Kaushîtaki*, p. 63. See also, generally, as to the life-winds and their functions, *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 280, and Saṅkara's comment there; *Yoga-sûtras* III, 38, and comment; Cowell's note at Maitrî, p. 247; *Sânti Parvan* (*Moksha Dharma*), chap. 184, st. 24-25; chap. 185, st. 1 seq.; and p. 258 supra.

of living creatures become extinct; and on my moving about, they again move about. I am the greatest. See I am extinct!

The Brâhmana said :

Then the Prâna became extinct, and again moved about. Then the Samâna and Udâna also¹, O beautiful one! spoke these words, 'You do not pervade all this here as we do. You are not the greatest among us, O Prâna, because the Apâna is subject to you².' The Prâna again moved about³, and the Apâna⁴ said to him.

The Apâna said :

When I am extinct, all the life-winds in the body of living creatures become extinct; and on my moving about, they again move about. I am the greatest. See I am extinct!

The Brâhmana said :

Then the Vyâna and the Udâna addressed him who was speaking (thus): 'You are not the greatest, O Apâna! because the Prâna is subject to you.' Then the Apâna moved about, and the Vyâna spoke to him: 'I am the greatest among (you) all. Hear the reason why. When I am extinct, all the life-winds in the body of living creatures become extinct.

¹ Arguna Misra says, Vyâna and Apâna also by force of the two 'ands' which occur in the original; and so in other places too.

² Arguna Misra says on this, 'The Prâna moves upwards through the help of the Apâna. If it moved downwards, it would be simply absorbed into the Apâna.'

³ I. e. recommenced its proper operation in its proper place.

⁴ And the other life-winds also, Arguna Misra says, the name Prâna being merely 'indicative,' as the phrase is, of the class to which it belongs.

And on my moving about, they again move about.
I am the greatest. See I am extinct!

The Brâhmana said :

Then the Vyâna became extinct, and again moved about. And the Prâna and Apâna, and the Udâna, and the Samâna, spoke to him, 'You are not the greatest among us, O Vyâna! because the Samâna¹ is subject to you.' The Vyâna moved about again, and the Samâna spoke again. 'I am the greatest among (you) all. Hear the reason why. When I am extinct, all the life-winds in the body of living creatures become extinct; and on my moving about, they again move about. I am the greatest. See I am extinct!' Then the Samâna moved about, and the Udâna said to him: 'I am the greatest among (you) all. Hear the reason why. When I am extinct, all the life-winds in the body of living creatures become extinct; and on my moving about, they again move about. I am the greatest. See I am extinct!' Then the Udâna became extinct, and again moved about. And the Prâna and Apâna, and the Samâna, and the Vyâna also, spoke to him: 'O Udâna! you are not the greatest. The Vyâna² only is subject to you.'

The Brâhmana said :

Then Brahman, the lord of (all) creatures, said to them who were assembled together: 'You are all - greatest, and not greatest³. You are all possessed

¹ Because the Samâna helps in the digestion of the food which afterwards goes to the Vyâna for distribution through the nâdîs.

² Because the Udâna is able to generate sound after the nâdîs are filled up by the Vyâna.

³ 'Not greatest' because none of them is independent of the other. 'Greatest' Arguna Misra renders by 'superior to objects.'

of one another's qualities¹. All are greatest in their own spheres, and all support one another. There is one unmoving² (life-wind). There are others moving about, (which are) five, owing to (their) specific qualities. My own self is one only³, (but) accumulated in numerous (forms). Being friendly with one another, and pleasing one another, go away happily. Welfare be to you! Support one another.'

CHAPTER IX.

The Brâhmana said:

On this, too, they relate this ancient story, a dialogue between Nârada and the sage Devamata.

Devamata said:

When a creature is about to be born, what comes into existence first, his Prâna, or Apâna, or Samâna, or Vyâna, or else Udâna?

Nârada said:

By whichever the creature is produced, that which is other than this first comes to him. And the pairs of the life-winds should be understood, which (move) upwards, or downwards, or transversely.

¹ This is not quite clear. I presume it means that each one has the generic qualities which make the others great in their own spheres; but the specific qualities are different.

² The one life-wind is supposed here to be generally unmoving, but its distribution among the different parts of the body as specified, for instance, in the commentary on the Yoga-sûtra III, 38, gives it the different names. The expression does not seem to be quite accurate for this, which nevertheless seems to be the true sense.

³ Another reading is, 'That one is my own self.' Cf. Maitrî, pp. 28 seq., 105, and *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 169.

Devamata said :

By which (of the life-winds) is a creature produced ? and which (of them) first comes to him ? Explain to me also the pairs of the life-winds, which (move) upwards, or downwards, or transversely.

Nârada said :

Pleasure is produced from a mental operation¹, and (it) is also produced from a sound, (it) is also produced from taste, and (it) is also produced from colour, and (it) is also produced from touch, and (it) is also produced from smell. This is the effect² of the Udâna ; the pleasure is produced from union³. From desire the semen is produced ; and from the semen is produced menstrual excretion. The semen and the blood are produced by the Samâna and the Vyâna in common⁴. From the combination of the semen and the blood, the Prâna comes first into operation ; and the semen being developed by the Prâna, the Apâna then comes into operation. The pair Prâna and Apâna go upwards and downwards, and the Samâna and Vyâna are called the pair (moving) transversely. It is the teaching of the

¹ I. e. desire. 'Sound' = recollection of a woman's voice ; 'taste,' scil. of chastity ; 'colour' = the beauty of a woman, Arguna Misra. Cf. Âpastamba I, 2, 7, 8, and Lalita Vistara, p. 19.

² Literally, 'form,' which Arguna Misra interprets to mean effect, and adds, 'The Udâna causes mental activity, and by mental activity sound &c. are apprehended.'

³ I. e. of Udâna and mind, Arguna Misra ; adding, 'the result is that a creature is produced by the Udâna.'

⁴ Or, perhaps, generally, that is to say, the store of them, the specific semen being produced from desire, as before stated. The Samâna's function is the digestion of food, and that of the Vyâna is the distribution of the digested food to the whole body through the nâdis, hence the proposition in the text.

Veda, that the fire verily is all the deities¹, and knowledge (of it) arises among Brâhmanas, being accompanied by intelligence². The smoke of that (fire), which is of excellent glory, (appears) in the shape of (the quality of) darkness; (its) ashes, (the quality of) passion; and (the quality of) goodness is that in connexion with it³, in which the offering is thrown. Those who understand the sacrifice understand the Samâna and the Vyâna as the principal (offering). The Prâna and Apâna are portions⁴ of the offering of clarified butter, and between them is the fire. That is the excellent seat of the Udâna as understood by Brâhmanas⁵. As to that which is distinct from these pairs⁶, hear me speak about

¹ Cf. *inter alia*, Aitareya-brâhmana (Haug's ed.), p. 1.

² Arguna Misra says intelligence means 'discussion, or argument.' The connexion of this with what has gone before, according to Arguna Misra, is this, that the author having first stated the five Hotris fully, now explains in what the Prâna and Apâna are to be offered up for acquiring the Prânâyama. The fire he takes to mean the self. Cf. what has been said about Vaisvânara above, p. 259.

³ That is to say, the flame, I take it. He is drawing out here the figure of the fire.

⁴ These are only a subordinate part of the offering, called Âgyabhâga. They are called subordinate, I suppose, as the operations of the Samâna and Vyâna are more practically important for vitality. The fire is the self. The place of the principal offering is between the Âgyabhâgas, as stated by Arguna Misra.

⁵ The Udâna is here treated as the life-wind into which the others are to be offered up. See p. 258, and note 8 there.

⁶ The next three sentences seem to indicate what is to be destroyed in common with the life-winds. One has to get rid of all notions about day and night, good and evil, existence and non-existence, and then final emancipation is reached. The fire, which is common to all the passages, stands for the self; into that apparently all the ideas of time, and good and evil, and so forth, are to be offered as the life-winds are; and that fire stands in the place of the Udâna, for this purpose, as into the last all the other life-winds

that. Day and night are a pair, between them is the fire. That is the excellent seat of the Udâna as understood by Brâhmanas. That which exists and that which does not exist are a pair, between them is the fire. That is the excellent seat of the Udâna as understood by Brâhmanas. The two—good and evil—are a pair, between them is the fire. That is the excellent seat of the Udâna as understood by Brâhmanas. First¹, the Samâna and Vyâna, their function² is performed: then, secondly, the Samâna comes into operation again. Then the Vâmadevyâ³ for tranquillity, and tranquillity is the eternal Brahman. This is the excellent seat of the Udâna as understood by Brâhmanas.

CHAPTER X.

On this, too, they relate an ancient story (showing) of what nature is the institution of the *Kâturhotra*⁴. The due performance of it in its entirety is now taught. Hear me, O good woman! state this won-

have to be offered. As to that which exists, &c., cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 103, and p. 370, note 9 *infra*. As to good and evil and generally, cf. *Khândogya*, p. 60; *Kaushîtaki*, p. 19. They are nothing to one who knows the Brahman. Day and night *Arguna Misra* takes to mean the *Idâ* and *Piṅgalâ nâdîs*, between which is the *Sushumâ*, as they are connected with the sun and moon. But the sense of the whole passage is far from clear.

¹ *Arguna Misra* understands these to be three Savanas.

² Of taking into the *nâdîs* the food digested in the night, this is the morning Savana; the afternoon Savana is the kindling of the gastric fire for digesting new food.

³ The Vâmadevyâ is a *sûkta* beginning 'Kayâ narâitrâ' (*Rv. IV*, 31, 1). The singing of it is the third Savana, *Arguna Misra*. And see *Taittirîya-âraṇyaka*, p. 889.

⁴ Cf. *Aitareya-brâhmana* (*Haug*), pp. 132, 133.

derful mystery. The instrument, the action, the agent, and emancipation¹, these, indeed, O you of a (pure) heart! are the four *Hotvīs* by whom this universe is enveloped. Hear also the assignment of causes exhaustively². The nose, and the tongue, and the eye, and the skin, and the ear as the fifth, mind and understanding, these seven should be understood to be the causes of (the knowledge of³) qualities. Smell, and taste, and colour, sound, and touch as the fifth, the object of the mental operation and the object of the understanding⁴, these seven are causes of action. He who smells, he who eats, he who sees, he who speaks, and he who hears as the fifth, he who thinks, and he who understands, these seven should be understood to be the causes of the agents⁵. These⁶, being possessed of qualities⁷, enjoy their own qualities, agreeable and disagreeable. And I am here devoid of qualities. Thus these seven are the causes of emancipation⁸. And among the learned who understand (everything), the

¹ Cf. as to the three first, *Gîtâ*, p. 123. They are the four categories, to one or other of which everything in the world may be referred.

² The texts here differ. *Arguna Misra*'s reading he interprets to mean 'the subjugation of these *Hotvīs*.' The reading followed in the text seems to some extent to be supported by the sequel. But the passage altogether is not very clear.

³ So *Arguna Misra*—through these the knowledge of the qualities of objects of sense is acquired.

⁴ The sensations, or perceptions, referred to lead to action.

⁵ This seems to mean, that the powers of smelling, &c., when attributed to the self, make him appear as an agent, as an active principle.

⁶ I. e. action, agent, and instrument, *Arguna Misra*.

⁷ I. e. the three, goodness, passion, and darkness.

⁸ It is these seven from which the self is to be emancipated. 'I' must mean the self, not the *Brâhmaṇa* who speaks.

qualities¹ which are in the position of the deities, each in its own place, always enjoy the offering according to prescribed rules. To him who is not learned, eating various (kinds of) food, the (feeling of this or that being) mine adheres. And cooking food for himself, he, through the (feeling of this or that being) mine, is ruined². The eating of that which should not be eaten, and drinking of intoxicating drinks also destroys him. He destroys the food, and destroying that food he is destroyed in return. The learned man, being (himself) a ruler, destroying this food again produces it³. And not even a trifling obstacle⁴ arises to him from that food. Whatever is thought by the mind⁵, whatever is spoken by speech, whatever is heard by the ear, whatever is seen by the eye, whatever is touched by the sense of touch, and whatever is smelt by the nose, absorbing all these offerings from all sides, together with those (senses) which with the mind are six⁶, my fire⁷ of (high) qualifications⁸, shines dwelling within the body. My sacrifice of concentration of mind is in progress, the performance of which yields the fire⁹ of knowledge;

¹ I. e., I presume, the senses. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 55. The learned do not suppose their self to have aught to do with them. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 64.

² Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 53; *Manu* III, 118.

³ His knowledge gives him this power. He is not 'destroyed' by the food as the other man is. *Nilakantha* compares *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 884. See, too, p. 260, note 1 *supra*.

⁴ I. e. mischief owing to the destruction of life necessary for getting food, says *Nilakantha* quoting *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 913.

⁵ This includes the operation of the understanding also. *Nilakantha* says this verse explains what the word 'food' means here.

⁶ For the phrase cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 112.

⁷ That is to say, my self, *Arguna Misra*. See p. 259, note 3 *supra*.

⁸ As the objects of sense &c. are all absorbed into it.

⁹ It is called 'fire,' as it burns up all action. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 62.

the Stotra in which, is the upward life-wind; the Sastra, the downward life-wind; and which is very beneficial on account of the abandonment of everything¹; the Brahman priest in which, is the counsellor in all action²; the Hotri priest, the self; the Adhvaryu priest, (the self) whose hymn of praise³ is the offering; the Sastra of the Prasâstri, truth; and the Dakshinâ, final emancipation. On this, too, *Rik* verses are recited by the men who understand Nârâyana⁴—the god Nârâyana to whom they formerly offered animal⁵ (offerings). On that Sâman hymns⁶ are sung, of which an illustration is stated⁷.

¹ Arguna Misra's commentary is not intelligible here, so I follow *Nîlakantha*, but diffidently.

² I. e. the mind, say the commentators. 'Mantâ' simply is given among the synonyms of Ahaṅkāra at Sâṅkhya-sâra, p. 16.

³ I. e. the actions performed for knowledge of the truth, Arguna Misra.

⁴ *Nîlakantha* refers to a *Rik* 'Tapa âsîd-grîhapatiḥ,' and also the famous allegory at the end of the Taittirîya-âraṇyaka. These are cited, he says, as authorities for this 'sacrifice (consisting of) concentration of mind.'

⁵ I. e. the senses, *Nîlakantha*. Arguna Misra compares the whole passage with the Puruṣa Sûkta, which are the *Rik* verses alluded to, according to him. He refers for further explanations to his own commentary on that sūkta of the Rîg-veda.

⁶ They sing these hymns, out of the gratification produced by knowledge of the self, says *Nîlakantha*, and he cites Taittirîya-âraṇyaka, p. 749. See also Taittirîya-upanishad, p. 138, and Saṅkara's commentary there.

⁷ The readings of our texts here are not very satisfactory. The illustration is stated, says *Nîlakantha*, whose reading we follow, by the Taittirîyas in the passage referred to in the last note. Arguna Misra's reading means 'such as Tâhu kâhu,' which would seem to be the words of the Sâman hymn referred to. But his commentary does not show what the words before him were. The whole figure as drawn out in this passage is not quite clear, though the general sense is pretty intelligible. Cf. the allegories at Aitareya-brâhmana, pp. 132, 133, and at the close of the Taittirîya-âraṇyaka.

O modest one! understand that god Nārāyaṇa, who is the self of everything.

CHAPTER XI.

There is one director¹; there is no second director. I speak concerning him who abides in the heart. This being, the director, dwells in the heart and directs (all creatures). Impelled by that same (being), I move as I am ordered, like water on a declivity. There is one instructor; there is no second (different) from him. I speak concerning him who abides in the heart. Taught by that instructor, all snakes whatever are ever hated in the world². There is one kinsman; there is no second (different) from him. I speak concerning him who abides in the heart. Taught by him kinsmen are possessed of kinsmen³, (and) the seven *Rishis*, O son of *Prithā*⁴! shine in heaven⁵. There

¹ I.e. the Supreme Being, Arguna Misra. *Nilakantha* connects this with the preceding chapter by saying that this describes Nārāyaṇa, who is there mentioned. See *Sānti Parvan* (Moksha Dharma), chap. 226, st. 8 (Bombay ed.)

² The natural feelings of animosity are caused by the Supreme Being within. Such seems to be the meaning. Cf. *Gītā*, pp. 128, 129. I may remark that Arguna Misra seems to interpret the original words, which we have rendered by 'I speak concerning him,' &c., to mean 'I repeat what has been said by,' &c. This does not seem to me to be satisfactory; and it may be added, too, that Arguna Misra's interpretation appears in his gloss not on the first verse, about the 'director,' but only on the second, about the 'instructor.' Hated = full of animosity, *Nilakantha*.

³ I.e. the feeling of kinship arises from his inspiration.

⁴ The poet seems to be nodding here, as this expression cannot form part of the *Brāhmaṇa*'s speech to his wife.

⁵ The seven sages are always mentioned together, and may well be spoken of as types of the feeling of kinship.

is one hearer¹; there is no second (different) from him. I speak concerning him who abides in the heart. Living under that instructor, (according to the proper mode of) living with an instructor, Sakra² acquired immortality in all worlds. There is one enemy; there is no second (different) from him. I speak concerning him who abides in the heart. Taught by that instructor, all snakes whatever are ever hated in the world³.

On this, too, they relate an ancient story, (about the) instruction of the snakes, and the gods, and sages, by Pragâpati. The gods, and sages, and the snakes, and the demons, approaching Pragâpati, said (to him): 'Tell us the highest good.' To them who were inquiring about the highest good, the venerable one said, 'Om⁴, the Brahman, in a single syllable.' Hearing that, they ran away in (various) directions⁵. When they were running for instruction regarding the self, the inclination of the snakes to biting had been already formed. The natural inclination of the demons towards ostentatiousness had been formed. The gods had been engaged in gifts, and the great sages in restraint of the senses. Having had one teacher,

¹ Nilakantha takes this to mean pupil, but it is difficult to reconcile that with the rest of the passage. Arguna Misra renders it by 'the destroyer of every one's doubts.' For that, it will be necessary to take the word as a form of the causative, and not the simple root *śru*, to hear. But see, too, p. 283, 'the instructor . . . the hearer.'

² Cf. Sanatsugâtîya, p. 152, note 1.

³ The words here are nearly the same as before; the commentators give no explanation of the repetition. But see p. 281, note 2.

⁴ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 79. The full sense is that from the study of this Om the highest good is attained.

⁵ I. e. to their own dwellings, believing that they had learnt what they wanted.

and having been instructed with one word, the snakes, the gods, the sages, and the demons, all engaged in different¹ (pursuits). One hears what is said (to one) and apprehends it duly; (but even) to one who inquires and extols highly, there is no other instructor². And by his counsel does action afterwards take place. The instructor, the learner, the hearer, and the enemy, are always within the heart. Acting sinfully in the world, he becomes (a man of) sinful conduct. Acting virtuously in the world he becomes (a man of) virtuous conduct³. And he becomes a man of conduct according to his own desire⁴, who, owing to his desires, is given up to the pleasures of the senses. But he who, casting aside vows⁵ and actions, merely adheres to the Brahman, he moving about in the world identifying himself with the Brahman, becomes a *Brahmakārin*. To him the Brahman itself is the fuel, the Brahman the fire, the Brahman his origin, the Brahman water, the Brahman the instructor. He is rapt in the

¹ The meaning seems to be that the original inclination was not altered by the new instruction received by them. *Nilakantha* seems to understand the passage differently. What has been rendered in the text by 'when they were running for instruction,' he renders by 'when they were practically carrying out the instruction received by them;' but this rendering seems to omit all consideration of the words '*Pūrvameva tu*'—already. Though, therefore, there are one or two circumstances in favour of this construction, I have adopted the other. Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 964.

² The meaning is that the real instructor is within oneself, 'abiding in the heart,' as said before, although instruction may in form be received from one outside, of whom one seeks to learn, and whom one respects (or extols highly, as the text has it), and although such instruction may be well apprehended.

³ Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, pp. 546–853.

⁴ See *Gitā*, p. 117.

⁵ I. e. fasts and other like observances.

Brahman¹. Such is this subtle life as a Brahmacârin understood by the wise. Understanding it they practised it, being instructed by the Kshetragnâ².

CHAPTER XII.

The Brâhmana said:

I have crossed beyond that very impassable place, in which fancies are the gadflies and mosquitoes³, in which grief and joy are cold and heat, in which delusion is the blinding darkness, in which avarice is the beasts of prey and reptiles, in which desire and anger are the obstructors, the way to which consists in worldly objects, and is to be crossed by one singly⁴. And I have entered the great forest⁵.

The Brâhmana's wife said:

Where is that forest, O very intelligent person! what are the trees (there), and what the rivers, and the hills and mountains; and at what distance is that forest?

¹ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 61. The water is that required for the sacrifice. The words 'the Brahman is his origin' are not quite clear, as being not connected with the figure employed. Perhaps it might be taken otherwise thus, 'the Brahman (is) the fire produced from the Brahman,' this last standing for the arani.

² I.e. one who understands the truth, *Nilakantha*; God, *Arguna Misra*. The same sentence winds up two of the following chapters; and at p. 310 *Krishna* says the Kshetragnâ signifies the supreme self. See Gîtâ, p. 102 seq.

³ Cf. *Lalita Vistara*, p. 44.

⁴ I.e. not with the help of son, wealth, &c., says *Nilakantha*, as each man's salvation after having got into the course of worldly life depends on himself. Cf. *Sânti Parvan* (*Moksha Dharma*), chap. 193, st. 32, and *Manu IV*, 240; obstructor, thief, *Arguna Misra*.

⁵ I.e. the Brahman. *Nilakantha* compares a text from the *Sruti*, 'Kim svid vanam ka u sa yriksha âsa;' see *Rig-veda X*, 31, 7.

The Brâhmaṇa said :

There is nothing else more delightful than that, when there is no distinction from it. There is nothing more afflicting than that, when there is a distinction from it¹. There is nothing smaller than that, there is nothing larger than that². There is nothing more subtle than that; there is no other happiness equal to that. Entering it, the twice-born do not grieve, and do not exult³. They are not afraid of anybody, and nobody is afraid of them. In that forest⁴ are seven large trees⁵, seven fruits, and seven guests; seven hermitages, seven (forms of) concentration, and seven (forms of) initiation. This is the description of the forest. That forest is filled with trees producing splendid flowers and fruits of five colours⁶. That forest

¹ Cf. *Khândogya*, pp. 516, 517.

² Cf. *Sanatsugâtîya*, p. 180 and note there.

³ Cf. as to all this *Gîtâ*, p. 101.

⁴ This is not the forest spoken of before, but what has been before called the 'impassable place,' but which also at p. 286 is by implication called a forest, viz. the course of worldly life.

⁵ Viz. the eye, ear, tongue, skin, and nose, and the mind, and understanding—these are called trees, as being producers of the fruits, namely, the pleasures and pains derived from their several operations; the guests are the powers of each sense personified—they receive the fruits above described; the hermitages are the trees above mentioned, in which the guests take shelter; the seven forms of concentration are the exclusion from the self of the seven functions of the seven senses &c. already referred to; the seven forms of initiation refer to the initiation into the higher life, by repudiating as not one's own the actions of each member out of the group of seven. Cf. as to this *Khândogya*, p. 219, and commentary there.

⁶ Cf. for these different numbers of colours, *Yoga-sûtra* II, 19, and commentary, p. 105, and *Sânkhya-sâra*, p. 18. The trees here meant are the *Tanmâtras*, or subtle elements, and the theory is that the *Gandha-tanmâtra*, or subtle element of smell, has five qualities, its

is filled with trees producing flowers and fruits of four colours. That forest is filled with trees producing flowers and fruits of three colours, and mixed. That forest is filled with trees producing flowers and fruits of two colours, and of beautiful colours. That forest is filled with trees producing flowers and fruits of one colour, and fragrant. That forest is filled with two large trees producing numerous flowers and fruits of undistinguished colours¹. There is one fire² here, connected with the Brahman³, and having a good mind⁴. And there is fuel here, (namely) the five senses. The seven (forms of) emancipation from them are the seven (forms of) initiation⁵. The qualities are the fruits, and the guests eat the fruits. There, in various places, the great sages receive hospitality. And when they have been worshipped and have disappeared⁶, another forest shines forth, in which intelligence is the tree, and emancipation the fruit, and which possesses shade (in the form of) tran-

own special one, so to say, and the four special ones of the others; the next is taste, the next colour, the next touch, and the last sound; each has one quality less than its predecessor. See *Yoga-sūtra*, p. 106, and gloss; *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* I, 62; and *Vedānta Paribhāṣā*, p. 45.

¹ These are mind and understanding; the fruits and flowers are here of 'undistinguished colours,' as the text expresses it, since they include the colours of all the fruits of all the other five sets of trees; that is to say, the subject-matter of their operations is sound, taste, &c., the subject-matters of all the senses together. 'Undistinguished colours' is, perhaps, more literally 'of colours not clear.' Arguna Misra paraphrases it by 'of variegated colours,' which is no doubt the true ultimate sense.

² The self, *Nīlakantha*. See p. 279, note 7 *supra*.

³ I. e., I presume, devoted to the Brahman.

⁴ I. e. true knowledge, Arguna Misra. ⁵ See note 5, p. 285.

⁶ I. e. when the senses having worked, as unconnected with the self, are finally absorbed into it. Cf. *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* 49 and *Kaṭha*, p. 151.

quillity, which depends on knowledge, which has contentment for its water, and which has the Kshetragña within for the sun. The good who attain to that, have no fear afterwards. Its end cannot be perceived upwards or downwards or horizontally¹. There always dwell seven females there², with faces (turned) downwards, full of brilliance, and causes of generation. They absorb³ all the higher delights of people, as inconstancy (absorbs) everything⁴. In that same⁵ (principle) the seven perfect sages, together with their chiefs, the richest⁶, abide, and again emerge from the same. Glory, brilliance, and greatness, enlightenment, victory, perfection, and power⁷—these seven rays follow after this same sun. Hills and mountains also are there collected together, and rivers and streams flowing with water produced from the Brahman⁸. And there is the confluence of the rivers in the secluded place⁹ for the

¹ It extends on all sides, its end cannot be perceived on any side.

² These are, according to Arguna Misra, the Mahat, Ahankâra, and five Tanmâtras. Their faces are turned downwards, as they are obstacles in the way upwards, viz. the way of final emancipation; they are brilliant, as they light up the course of worldly life; and hence, too, they are 'causes of generation.' They give birth to the universe.

³ They conceal the higher delight of final emancipation.

⁴ I follow Arguna Misra, but the text is doubtful.

⁵ Viz the Brahman.

⁶ Cf. *Khândogya*, pp. 295-300. The word sages here, as before, means the various organs. See *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 415.

⁷ Glory=renown; brilliance=Brahmic splendour (*Brahmategas*); perfection=obtaining what is desired; power=not being conquered by others, Arguna Misra. About the sun, see line 3 of text above.

⁸ I. e. contentment. See the second line in the text above.

⁹ I. e. the space in the heart, the sacrifice being that of 'concentration of mind,' *yogayagña*,—*Nilakantha*. A confluence of

sacrifice, whence those who are contented in their own self repair to the divine grandsire himself. Those whose wishes are reduced¹, whose wishes are (fixed) on good vows, whose sins are burnt up by penance, merging the self in the self², devote themselves to Brahman. Those people who understand the forest of knowledge³, praise tranquillity. And aspiring to that forest, they are born so as not to lose courage⁴. Such, indeed, is this holy forest, as understood by Brâhmanas. And understanding it, they act (accordingly), being directed by the Kshetragña.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Brâhmana said :

I do not smell smells; I perceive no tastes, I see no colour, and I do not touch, nor yet do I hear various sounds, nor even do I entertain any fancies⁵. Nature desires objects which are liked; nature hates all (objects) which are hateful⁶. Desire and hatred are born from nature⁷, as the upward and

rivers is very sacred—here the meaning intended seems to be the absorption of all desires by contentment into the heart.

¹ Literally, 'lean.' ² I. e. the body in the soul, Arguna Misra.

³ Knowledge is Brahman, which is described as a forest here, Arguna Misra.

⁴ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 70.

⁵ This is the name for the operations of the mind.

⁶ The sense is similar to that at Gîtâ, p. 55. The self has nothing to do with these feelings; the qualities deal with the qualities.

⁷ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 65. The meaning of nature here, as in the Gîtâ, is in substance the result of all previous action with which the self has been associated, which result, of course, exists connected not with the self, but with the developments of nature, in the form of body,

downward life-winds, after attaining to the bodies of living creatures. Apart from them, and as the constant entity underlying them, I see the individual self in the body. Dwelling in that (self), I am in no wise attached¹ (to anything) through desire or anger, or old age, or death. Not desiring any object of desire, not hating any evil, there is no taint on my natures², as there is no (taint) of a drop of water on lotuses³. They are inconstant things appertaining to this constant (principle) which looks on various natures. Although actions are performed, the net of enjoyments does not attach itself to it, as the net of the sun's rays does not attach itself to the sky⁴. On this⁵, too, they relate an ancient story, (in the shape of) a dialogue between an Adhvaryu priest and an ascetic. Understand that, O glorious one! Seeing an animal being sprinkled⁶ at a sacrificial ceremony, an ascetic who was sitting (there) spoke to the Adhvaryu, censuring (the act) as destruction of life. The Adhvaryu

senses, &c. The comparison appears to mean that the feelings of desire &c. are, like the life-winds, unconnected with the self, though associated with it, and are both alike manifestations of nature.

¹ Nilakantha compares *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 770. Arguna Misra has a different reading, meaning 'liable (to be subjugated).'

² The plural, which is in the original, is unusual. The various aspects of the 'result' stated in p. 288, note 7, being looked at separately, are described as 'natures,' like the leaves of a lotus, which in their ensemble make one lotus.

³ Lalita Vistara, p. 2, and p. 64 supra.

⁴ The figure seems to be somewhat like that at Gîtâ, p. 82, about the atmosphere and space, which latter remains untainted by the former. Looking on various natures, i.e. as distinct from the self.

⁵ Viz. the remaining untainted.

⁶ I.e. with water, preparatory to its being offered up for the sacrifice.

answered him (saying), this goat will not be destroyed. (This) creature will obtain welfare, since the Vedic text is such. For that part of him which is of the earth will go to the earth; whatever in him is produced from water, that will enter water. His eye (will enter) the sun, (his) ear the quarters, and his life-winds likewise the sky¹. There is no offence on my part, adhering (as I do) to the scriptures².

The Ascetic said:

If you perceive (that) good (will) result upon his life being severed (from him), then the sacrifice is for the goat, what benefit (is it) to you? Let the brother, father, mother, and friend (of the goat) give you their consent³; take him (to them) and consult (them), especially as he is dependent. You ought to inquire of those who can give their consent thus. After hearing their consent, (the matter) will be fit for consideration⁴. The life-winds⁵, too, of this goat have gone to their sources, and I think only his unmoving body remains. To those who wish to derive enjoyment from the slaughter (of a living creature), the unconscious body being comparable to fuel, that which is called an animal becomes

¹ Cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, p. 542, and p. 337 below.

² Cf. *Khândogya-upanishad*, p. 627, and also *Sârîraka Bhâshya* on *Sûtra* III, 1, 25, p. 774.

³ I.e. for his slaughter, which is to bring welfare to the goat. Arguna Misra says that this is a sort of *reductio ad absurdum*, as the sacrifice is in truth not in the interests of the goat at all.

⁴ Viz. whether the goat should be killed. Without their consent he ought not to be slaughtered; with their consent, it becomes a matter for consideration, Arguna Misra.

⁵ It may also mean the senses, as in the *Khândogya*, p. 297.

the fuel¹. The teaching of the elders² is, that refraining from slaughter (of living creatures) is (the duty) among all duties. We maintain that that action should be performed which involves no slaughter. (Our) proposition is no slaughter (of living creatures). If I spoke further, it would be possible to find fault with your proceedings in many ways³. Always refraining from the slaughter of all beings is what we approve. We substantiate (this) from what is actually visible⁴, we do not rely on what is not visible.

The Adhvaryu said:

You enjoy the earth's quality of fragrance, you drink watery juices, you see the colours of shining bodies, you touch the qualities of the air, you hear the sound produced in space, you think by the mind (on the objects of) mental operations. And all these entities, you believe, have life. You have not (then) abstained from taking life. You are (engaged) in the slaughter (of living creatures)⁵. There is no movement⁶ without slaughter (of living creatures). Or what do you think, O twice-born one?

¹ This is not very clear, but the meaning seems to be that the slaughter is committed for the enjoyment of the sacrificer; the sacrificer only requires fuel, and the slaughtered animal is then used for that purpose.

² Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 627, and next note; and *Gîtâ*, inter alia, p. 114, and p. 348 infra. ³ See *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudî*, p. 7.

⁴ I.e. a rule expressly laid down. What is not visible means what is not expressly stated, but is to be derived by inference, and so forth (cf. *Āpastamba I*, 1, 4, 8). The express text is the famous one, 'Na himsyātsarvā bhūtāni.' *Himsā*, which is rendered slaughter here, may mean also 'giving pain' generally.

⁵ This is the *tu quoque* argument. The sustentation of life requires some sort of slaughter.

⁶ I.e. the support of the body, says *Arguna Mirra*.

The Ascetic said :

The indestructible and the destructible, such is the double manifestation of the self. Of these the indestructible is the existent¹, the manifestation as an individual² (entity) is called the destructible³. The life-winds, the tongue, the mind, and (the quality of) goodness, together with (the quality of) passion⁴, (these make up) the manifestations as individual entities. And to one who is free from these manifestations, who is free from the pairs of opposites, who is devoid of expectations, who is alike to all beings, who is free from (the thought that this or that is) mine, who has subdued his self, and who is released on all hands⁵, there is no fear anywhere⁶.

The Adhvaryu said :

O best of talented men ! one should in this (world)

¹ Arguna Misra takes it otherwise, 'the true nature of the Sat, the self.' Nîlakantha renders the original by sadrûpam without further explanation. This indestructible seems to correspond to that mentioned at Gîtâ, p. 113, which should be considered in connection with Gîtâ, pp. 73, 74. The note at the former page is, perhaps, not quite accurately expressed, as the word 'material cause' conveys some inadmissible associations. Perhaps 'underlying principle' might be a nearer approach to the correct idea. The existent will thus be that which really exists, as it is indestructible.

² Cf. Gîtâ, p. 77. ³ See Sânti Parvan (Moksha), ch. 240, st. 31.

⁴ Arguna Misra says, 'The life-winds here are indicative of the operations of the organs of action (as to which see p. 290, note 5 supra), the tongue of the perceptive senses, the mind of the internal activities, the quality of goodness of all sources of pleasure, and passion of all sources of pain,' the last two apparently covering the external world, the previous ones the human activities, internal and external.

⁵ Released scil. from piety or impiety, &c.,—Arguna Misra, who says 'self' in the phrase preceding means mind.

⁶ Because, says Arguna Misra, according to the very authority which says there is sin in slaughter, all sin is destroyed by knowledge. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 64.

dwelt in company of good men only¹. For having heard your opinion, my mind is enlightened. O venerable sir! I approach you, in the belief (that you are) the Lord; and I say (to you), O twice-born one! there is no fault (attaching) to me, performing (as I have done) the rites performed by others².

The Brâhmaṇa said:

With this explanation, the ascetic thereafter remained silent, and the Adhvaryu also proceeded with the great sacrifice, freed from delusion. Thus Brâhmaṇas understand the very subtle emancipation to be of this nature, and understanding it, they act (accordingly), being directed by the Kshetragṇā.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Brâhmaṇa said:

On this³, too, they relate an old story, (in the shape of) a dialogue, O you of a pure heart! between Kârtavîrya and the ocean. (There lived once) a king named Arguna⁴, a descendant of Krîtavîrya, possessed of a thousand arms, who with his bow conquered the (whole) earth up to the ocean. Once

¹ Cf. Taittirîya-upanishad, p. 40.

² The readings here in the MSS. are not satisfactory. I adopt as the best that which appears to have been before Arguna Misra. The meaning seems to be this:—I have now understood the truth, but I cannot be blamed for having hitherto done that which I saw every one else do. Now I have had the benefit of conversation with a good man, and have become free from my delusion.

³ Namely, that final emancipation is not to be obtained by action, and that slaughter is sinful.

⁴ He is also called a Yogin at Raghuvamśa VI, 38. See Mallinâth's commentary there.

on a time, as we have heard, he was walking about near the sea, proud of his strength, and showering hundreds of arrows on the sea. The ocean, saluting him, and with joined hands, said, 'O brave man! do not throw arrows (on me). Say, what shall I do for you? The creatures, who take shelter with me, are being destroyed, O tiger-like king! by the great arrows thrown by you. Give them security, O Lord!'

Arguna said:

If there is anywhere any wielder of the bow equal to me in battle, who might stand against me in the field, name him to me.

The ocean said:

If, O king! you have heard of the great sage Gamadagni, his son is (the) proper (person) to show you due hospitality¹.

Then the king, full of great wrath, went away, and arriving at that hermitage approached Râma only. In company with his kinsmen, he did many (acts) disagreeable to Râma, and caused much trouble to the high-souled Râma. Then the power of Râma, whose power was unbounded, blazed forth, burning the hosts of the enemy, O lotus-eyed one! And then Râma, taking up his axe, hacked away that man of the thousand arms in battle, like a tree of many branches. Seeing him killed and fallen, all (his) kinsmen assembled together, and taking swords and lances, surrounded the descendant of Bhṛîgu. Râma also taking up a bow, and hurriedly mounting a chariot, shot away volleys of arrows, and blew away the army of the king. Then some of the

¹ I.e. by giving him what he desired—a 'foeman worthy of his steel' to fight with him.

Kshatriyas, often troubled by fear of the son of Gamadagni, entered mountains and inaccessible places, like antelopes troubled by a lion. And the subjects of those (Kshatriyas) who were not performing their prescribed duties¹ through fear of him, became *Vriśhalas*, owing to the disappearance of Brâhmanas². Thus the *Dravidas*, *Âbhiras*, *Paundras*, together with the *Sâbaras*, became *Vriśhalas*³, owing to the abandonment of their duties by Kshatriyas. Then when the heroic (children) of Kshatriya women were destroyed again and again, the Kshatriyas, who were produced by the Brâhmanas⁴, were also destroyed by the son of Gamadagni. At the end of the twenty-first slaughter, a bodiless voice from heaven, which was heard by all people, spoke sweetly to Râma, 'O Râma! O Râma! desist (from this slaughter). What good, dear friend, do you perceive, in taking away the lives of these kinsmen of Kshatriyas over and over again?' Then, too, his grandfathers⁵, with *Rikika* as their head, likewise said to the high-souled (Râma), 'Desist, O noble one⁶!' But Râma, not forgiving his father's

¹ Viz. the protection of their subjects.

² As the kings failed to protect the people, the Brâhmanas apparently were nowhere forthcoming.

³ Cf. Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. i, pp. 482 seq., 358, 391; vol. ii, p. 423; *Sânti Parvan*, ch. 65, st. 13; ch. 207, st. 42 (*Râgadharma*).

⁴ As Kshatriyas were required for the protection of the people, the Brâhmanas procreated them on Kshatriya women. See Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. i, p. 451 seq. And as they were the offspring of these anomalous connexions they are described as 'kinsmen of Kshatriyas.' Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 317; *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 1037 and comments there. As to heroic, see Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv, p. 302 note.

⁵ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 40, note 1.

⁶ See as to the whole story, Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. i, p. 442.

murder, said to those sages, 'You ought not to keep me back from this.'

The *Pitrīs* said :

O best of victors! you ought not to destroy these kinsmen of Kshatriyas. It is not proper for you, being a Brâhmaṇa, to slaughter these kings.

CHAPTER XV.

The *Pitrīs* said :

On this¹, too, they relate an ancient story; hearing that (story), O best of the twice-born! you should act accordingly. There was (once) a royal sage, named Alarka, whose penance was very great, who understood duty, who was veracious, high-souled, and very firm in his vows. Having with his bow conquered this world as far as the ocean,—having performed very difficult deeds²,—he turned his mind to subtle³ (subjects). While he was sitting at the foot of a tree, O you of great intelligence! his thoughts, abandoning (those) great deeds, turned to subtle (questions).

Alarka said :

My mind is become (too) strong⁴; that conquest is constant in which the mind is conquered. (Though) surrounded by enemies, I shall direct my arrows elsewhere⁵. As by its unsteadiness, it wishes⁶ to

¹ The impropriety or sinfulness of slaughter.

² Such as the subjugation of enemies and so forth.

³ The Brahman, says Nilakantha.

⁴ I.e. too strong to be under control.

⁵ That is to say, elsewhere than towards the external foes with whom he was waging war.

⁶ The text is unsatisfactory here. I adopt Nilakantha's reading.

make all mortals perform action, I will cast very sharp-edged arrows at the mind.

The mind said :

These arrows, O Alarka! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and your vital part being pierced, you will die. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

Hearing that, he then spoke these words after consideration :—

Alarka said :

Smelling very many perfumes, one hankers after them only. Therefore I will cast sharp arrows at the nose.

The nose¹ said :

These arrows, O Alarka! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and your vital part being pierced, you will die. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

Hearing that, he then spoke these words after consideration :—

Alarka said :

Enjoying savory tastes, this (tongue) hankers after

¹ This and the other corresponding words must be understood to refer not to the physical nose and so forth, but the sense seated there. The nose here, for instance, stands for the sense of smell. Nilakantha understands all these words of Alarka as indicating the so-called *Ha/ha-yoga*, which, he adds, invariably occasions death. As to the throwing of arrows at the mind, he says, it means, 'I will subdue the mind by the restraint of the excretive organs by means of the *Ha/ha-yoga*.' And finally he says, 'A man, having restrained all the senses by means of the *Ha/ha-yoga*, merely droops away; becoming deficient in those senses, he does not accomplish his end.'

them only. Therefore I will cast sharp arrows at the tongue.

The tongue said :

These arrows, O Alarka ! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and your vital part being pierced, you will die. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

Hearing that, he then spoke these words after consideration :—

Alarka said :

Touching various (objects of) touch, the skin hankers after them only. Therefore I will tear off the skin by various feathered arrows.

The skin said :

These arrows, O Alarka ! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and your vital part being pierced, you will die. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

Hearing that, he then said after consideration :—

Alarka said :

Hearing various sounds, the (ear) hankers after them only. Therefore I (will) cast sharp arrows at the ear.

The ear said :

These arrows, O Alarka ! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and then you will lose (your) life. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

Hearing that, he then said after consideration :—

Alarka said :

Seeing numerous colours, the eye hankers after them only. Therefore I will destroy the eye with sharp arrows.

The eye said :

These arrows, O Alarka! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and your vital part being pierced, you will die. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

Hearing that, he then said after consideration :—

Alarka said :

This (understanding) forms various determinations by its operation. Therefore I will cast sharp arrows at the understanding.

The understanding said :

These arrows, O Alarka! will not penetrate through me at all. They will only pierce your own vital part, and your vital part being pierced, you will die. Look out for other arrows by which you may destroy me.

The Brâhmaṇa¹ said :

Then Alarka even there employed himself in a fearful penance² difficult to perform; but he did not obtain any arrows for these seven by his devotions. Then that king deliberated with a mind very intent on one (subject), and after deliberating for a long time, O best of the twice-born! Alarka, the best of talented (men), could not arrive at anything better

¹ Sic in our copies. It should be the *Pitrîs*, seeing that they are relating Alarka's story to Parasurâma.

² Meditation, or pondering, according to *Nilakantha*.

than concentration of mind¹. Then directing his mind to one point², he became steady, and applied himself to concentration of mind. And (then) the brave man forthwith destroyed the senses with one arrow; and entering the self by means of concentration of mind, he reached the highest perfection. And the royal sage, amazed, then uttered this verse, 'O! Alas! that we should have engaged in all external (matters); that being possessed of a desire for enjoyments, we should have devoted ourselves before now to sovereignty! I have now subsequently learnt that there is no higher happiness than concentration of mind.' Do you understand this too, O Râma! and do not kill Kshatriyas. Perform a fearful³ penance, thence you will obtain the highest good. Thus spoken to by (his) grandfathers, the noble son of Gamadagni engaged himself in fearful penance, and attained that perfection which is difficult to reach.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Brâhmana said:

There are, verily, three foes in (this) world, and they are stated to be (divided) ninefold, according to qualities. Exultation, pleasure, joy⁴, these three

¹ I.e. the *râga-yoga*, says *Nilakantha*, which consists in mere control of the mind. Cf. *Sâṅkhya-sâra*, p. 39.

² See *Yoga-sûtra*, p. 45.

³ This means difficult, and occasioning many trials to one who performs it.

⁴ *Nilakantha* says exultation is when one is sure of obtaining what is desired, pleasure when it is obtained, and joy when the thing obtained is enjoyed. *Arguna Misra* takes a different distinction; but our copy of his commentary is not quite intelligible in

are qualities appertaining to the quality of goodness. Grief, wrath, persistent hatred, these are stated to be qualities appertaining to the quality of passion. Sleep, sloth, and delusion, these three qualities are qualities appertaining to the quality of darkness. Cutting these off by multitudes of arrows¹, a courageous man, free from sloth, having a tranquil self, and senses controlled, is energetic about subjugating others². On this, people who know about ancient times celebrate verses which were sung of old by the king Ambarisha, who had become tranquil (in mind). When vices³ were in the ascendant, and good (men) were oppressed, Ambarisha, of great glory, forceably possessed him-

the beginning. Pleasure he takes to mean 'pride felt in supposing oneself to possess some merit,' and joy that produced when impending danger is averted. As to the next triad, the text is again unsatisfactory. The text printed in the edition which contains Nilakantha's commentary, is 'desire, anger,' &c. There is nothing about them in the commentary. Arguna Mirra's text is the one we have adopted. He says, 'grief, pain caused by loss of what is desired; anger, the pain caused by the counteraction of one's attempts to injure another; persistent hatred, the pain caused by believing another to be doing harm to oneself.' Persistent hatred is Nilakantha's interpretation. I think his interpretation is preferable. The two triads seem to be based on one principle of gradation. The distinctive marks of the three qualities are pleasure, pain, and delusion respectively, and those characterise the three triads stated in the text. See *Sānti Parvan* (Moksha), chap. 194, st. 27 seq.

¹ Tranquillity and so forth, Nilakantha; practising yoga or concentration of mind, Arguna Mirra.

² I.e. external, says Arguna Mirra; external foes of one's own emancipation is, I presume, what is meant.

³ Arguna Mirra says, 'his own and those of others.' Nilakantha takes good to mean not men, but tranquillity, &c. The next sentence seems rather to militate against this view, which in itself is not a well-founded one.

self of the kingdom¹. He (then) restraining his own vices, and honouring good men, attained high perfection, and sang these verses: 'I have conquered most vices; destroyed all foes; but there is one, the greatest, vice which should be destroyed and which I have not destroyed—that (vice), being impelled by which, a creature does not attain freedom from desire, and being troubled by desire, understands (nothing) while running into ditches²; (that vice), being impelled by which, a man even does what ought not to be done. That avarice—cut (it) off, cut (it) off with sharp swords. For from avarice³ is born desire; then anxiety comes into existence; and he who desires, mostly acquires qualities appertaining to the quality of passion. Obtaining those, he mostly acquires qualities appertaining to the quality of darkness⁴. When the bodily frame is destroyed, he, owing to these qualities, is born again and again, and engages in action. And at the expiration of life, again with his body dismembered and scattered about, he meets death, and again birth. Therefore, properly perceiving this, and restraining avarice by courage, one should wish for sovereignty in the self. This is sovereignty⁵; there is no other sovereignty here. The self properly understood is itself the sovereign.' Such were

¹ For the good of the people, says Arguna Misra.

² I.e. base actions, *Nilakantha*.

³ Avarice, according to Arguna Misra, is the belief that one has not got that which one has, and desire is the wish for more and more. Avarice, seems, however, to be the general frame of mind, always wishing for something, never being contented, and desire is the wish for a specific object.

⁴ Which are sources of delusion. Cf. a similar doctrine at *Āpastamba II*, 5, 140. ⁵ *Nilakantha* compares *Taittiriya*, p. 26.

the verses sung with regard to the great sovereignty, by the glorious Ambarisha, who destroyed the one (chief vice), avarice.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Brâhmaṇa said:

On this¹, too, they relate this ancient story (in the shape of) a dialogue, O you of a pure heart! between a Brâhmaṇa and Ganaka. King Ganaka, by way of punishment, said to a Brâhmaṇa who had fallen into some offence: 'You should not live within my dominions.' Thus spoken to, the Brâhmaṇa then replied to that best of kings: 'Tell me, O king! how far (extend) the dominions which are subject to you. I wish, O Lord! to live in the dominions of another king, and, O master of the earth! I wish to do your bidding according to the Śāstras.' Thus spoken to by that glorious Brâhmaṇa, the king then heaved frequent and warm sighs, and said nothing in reply. While that king of unbounded power was seated, engaged in meditation, a delusion suddenly came upon him, as the planet² upon the sun. Then when the delusion had gone off, the king recovered himself, and after a short while spoke these words to the Brâhmaṇa.

Ganaka said:

Though this country, which is the kingdom of my father and grandfather, is subject (to me), I cannot

¹ On getting rid of the notion that this, that, and the other thing is one's own,—Arguna Misra. Nilakanṭha agrees, and adds also on the subject of cutting off avarice.

² That is to say, Râhu.

find my domain¹, searching through the (whole) earth. When I did not find it on the earth, I looked for Mithilâ; when I did not find it in Mithilâ, I looked for my own offspring. When I did not find it among them, then came the delusion on me. Then on the expiration of the delusion, intelligence again came to me. Now I think that there is no domain (of mine), or that everything is my domain. Even this self is not mine, or the whole earth is mine. And as mine, so (is it) that of others too, I believe, O best of the twice-born! Live (here, therefore) while you desire, and enjoy while you live².

The Brâhmana said :

Tell me, what belief you have resorted to, by which, though this country, which is the kingdom of your father and grandfather, is subject to you, you have got rid of (the notion that this or that is) mine. What conviction have you adopted, by which verily you consider your whole domain as not (your) domain, or all as your domain?

Ganaka said :

I understand (all) conditions here, in all affairs, to be terminable³, hence I could not find anything that should be (called) mine⁴. (Considering) whose this

¹ Meaning, apparently, that over which he and no one else has power. He contracts his vision gradually, and finds nothing at all which he can call his own to the exclusion of others. He explains, further on, how he arrives at the alternative conviction stated towards the close of this speech. In the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka* (p. 916) he is said to have offered his kingdom to Yâgñavalkya and himself as his slave, after learning the Brahma-vidyâ. See too Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. iv, p. 426 seq.

² See *Sânti Parvan* (Moksha) I, 13.

³ Conditions of indigence or affluence, *Nilakantha*. Arguna Misra's reading is different.

⁴ There is a familiar verse, ascribed to Ganaka, which says, 'If

was, (I thought of) the Vedic text about anybody's property, (hence) I could not find by my intelligence anything that should be (called) mine¹. Resorting to this conviction, I have got rid of (the notion that this or that is) mine. Now hear the conviction, holding which, my domain (appears to me to be) everywhere². I do not desire for myself even smells existing in the nose³. Therefore the earth⁴ being conquered is always subject to me. I do not desire for myself tastes even dwelling in the mouth. Therefore water being conquered is always subject to me. I do not desire for myself the colour (or) light appertaining to the eye. Therefore light being conquered is always subject to me. I do not desire for myself the (feelings of touch) which exist in the skin. Therefore air being conquered is always

Mithilâ is on fire, nothing of mine is burnt (in it).’ The verse occurs in the Mahâbhârata, Sânti Parvan (Moksha Dharma), chap. 178, st. 2, and also chap. 276, st. 4. See too Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. i, p. 429.

¹ This is not clear. I have followed Nilakantha's text. Arguna Misra's is in the earlier part more intelligible, ‘Whose is this to-day, whose to-morrow?’ But I cannot find that there is any Vedic text to this effect. Nilakantha cites on his text Îsopanishad, p. 5. The meaning here seems to be, ‘When I considered as to whom the things I saw in my thoughts belonged to, I remembered the Vedic text that one should not wish to obtain another's property, and so, thinking about the matter with that caution, I could not make out that there was anything which I could call my own.’

² This is the alternative conclusion he has come to.

³ The sense of smell enjoys the smell, my self has nothing to do with it. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 55, also Maitrî, pp. 112, 113.

⁴ Whenever there is any smell, it is supposed that particles of earth are there; so the meaning here is ‘all things having the quality of smell are subject to me,’ and so throughout. The objects of sense are all used for the purposes of the prescribed actions, the benefits of which accrue to gods, &c. Cf. Gîtâ, pp. 53, 54, and see also pp. 84, 85.

subject to me. I do not desire for myself sounds even though existing in the ear. Therefore sounds being conquered are always subject to me. I do not desire for myself the mind always within me. Therefore the mind being conquered is always subject to me. All these actions of mine are, verily, for this purpose, (namely) for the gods, the *Pitṛis*, the *Bhūtas*, together with guests. Then the *Brāhmaṇa*, smiling, again said to *Ganaka*: 'Know me to be *Dharma*, come here to-day to learn (something) about you¹. You are the one person to turn this wheel, the nave of which is the *Brahman*², the spoke the understanding, and which does not turn back³, and which is checked by the quality of goodness as its circumference⁴.'

CHAPTER XVIII.

The *Brāhmaṇa* said :

O modest one ! I do not move about in this world in the way which, according to your own understanding, you have guessed. I⁵ am a *Brāhmaṇa*, I am

¹ I. e. to put him to the test. Such examinations are often referred to in our later literature.

² I. e. *Veda*, says *Arguna Mīśra*.

³ I. e. says *Arguna Mīśra*, which leads to the seat from which there is no return. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 112.

⁴ The wheel is the *yoga*, says *Arguna Mīśra*. The expression is noteworthy, as being that used of Buddha's teaching. See on that *Dauids' Buddhism*, p. 45.

⁵ The man who has achieved final emancipation has got that, in which the benefits to be derived from the course of life of a *Brāhmaṇa*, &c., are included (see p. 191 *supra*). Hence, says he, the

emancipated, I am a forester, and I likewise perform the duties of a householder, observing vows. I am not such, O beautiful one! as you see me with the eye. I pervade every single thing that is in this world. Whatever creatures there are in the world, movable or not moving, know me to be the destroyer of them as fire is of wood¹. Sovereignty over the whole world, and even over heaven; that, or else this knowledge; (of these two) knowledge is my only wealth². This³ is the path of the Brâhmaṇas, by which those who understand that⁴ proceed, to households, or residence in forests, or, dwelling with preceptors, or among mendicants⁵. With numerous unconfused symbols only one knowledge is approached. And those who, adhering to various symbols and Âsramas, have their understanding full of tranquillity⁶, go to the single entity as rivers to the ocean. This path is traversed by the understanding, not by the body⁷. Actions have a beginning and an end, and the body is tied down by action. Hence, O beautiful one! you

doubt, on which your question is based as to what world you will go to by being joined to me, is wrong. See p. 256 supra.

¹ He is speaking here on the footing of the essential identity of everything. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 62.

² The expression here is clumsy; the meaning is that he prefers knowledge to sovereignty, if the alternative is offered him.

³ Viz. knowledge.

⁴ I.e. the Brahman.

⁵ These are the four orders or Âsramas.

⁶ The knowledge to be acquired, by whatever symbols the attempt to acquire it is made, is but this, that all is one; and that is acquired certainly when tranquillity has been achieved.

⁷ I.e. by realising the identity of everything, not by the actions performed with the body, which, as he goes on to show, are perishable, and cannot lead to any lasting result.

(need) have no fear occasioned by the other world. With your heart intent upon the real entity, you will certainly come into my self.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Brāhmaṇa's wife said :

This is not possible to be understood by one whose self¹ is frivolous, or by one whose self is not refined ; and my intelligence is very frivolous, and narrow, and confused. Tell me the means by which this knowledge is acquired. I (wish to) learn from you the source from which that knowledge proceeds.

The Brāhmaṇa said :

Know that he who devotes himself to the Brahman is the (lower) *Arani*, the instructor is the upper *Arani*. Penance and sacred learning cause the attrition², and from that the fire of knowledge is produced.

The Brāhmaṇa's wife said :

As to this symbol of the Brahman which is denominated the *Kshetragñā*, where, indeed, is (to be found) a description of it, by which it³ is capable of being comprehended ?

¹ I. e. mind, Arguna Mīśra.

² Scil. of the *Arani*s (i.e. the wood used for kindling fire) ; the sense is, that the pupil who has penance and Vedic learning goes to a teacher for knowledge. See *Svetâsvatara*, pp. 307, 308.

³ I. e. the Brahman, says Arguna Mīśra, of which the *Kshetragñā* is only a symbol. For a definition of *Kshetragñā*, see *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha*), chap. 187, st. 23.

The Brāhmaṇa said :

He is without symbols¹, and also without qualities ; nothing exists that is a cause of him. I will only state the means by which he can be comprehended or not. A good means is found, namely, action² and knowledge, by which that³ (entity), which has the symbols (useful) for knowledge⁴ attributed to it through ignorance, is perceived as by bees⁵. In the (rules for) final emancipation, it is not laid down, that a certain thing should be done, and a certain thing should not⁶. But the knowledge of the things beneficial to the self is produced in one who sees and hears⁷. One should adopt as many of these things, (which are) means of direct perception, as may here be practicable—unperceived, and those whose form is perceived⁸, in hundreds and in thousands, all of various descriptions. Then one comes near to that beyond which nothing exists.

The Deity said :

Then the mind of the Brāhmaṇa's wife, after the

¹ See Sanatsugātiya, p. 160.

² Viz. that which is required as a preliminary to the acquisition of knowledge, and hence is necessary for final emancipation.

³ The Brahman.

⁴ I. e. symbols which are to convey a knowledge of the Brahman.

⁵ I. e. in a way not perfect ; as bees hovering above a flower get the fragrance of it without grasping the flower itself, so these means give one an imperfect knowledge of the Brahman to be afterwards perfected by constant meditation upon it (nididhyāsa).

⁶ As it is in the prior portion of the Vedas, as to sacrifices, &c.

⁷ Sees, i. e. by contemplation ; hears, i. e. from a teacher, Arguna Misra.

⁸ This seems to mean such things as hearing, reading, &c., which would be 'perceived' scil. by the senses ; and all intellectual operations which would be 'unperceived.'

destruction of the Kshetragñā¹, turned to that which is beyond (all) Kshetragñās by means of a knowledge of the Kshetra².

Arguna said :

Where, indeed, O *Kṛishna* ! is that Brāhmaṇa's wife, and where is that chief of Brāhmaṇas, by both of whom this perfection was attained ? Tell me about them both, O undegraded one !

The Deity said :

Know my mind to be the Brāhmaṇa, and know my understanding to be the Brāhmaṇa's wife. And he, O Dhanañgaya ! who has been spoken of as the Kshetragñā, is I myself³.

CHAPTER XX.

Arguna said :

Be pleased to explain to me the Brahman which is the highest object of knowledge ; for by your favour my mind is much interested in (these) subtle⁴ (subjects).

Vāsudeva said :

On this, too, they relate an ancient story (in the shape of) a dialogue, connected with final emancipation, between a preceptor and a pupil. A talented

¹ I.e. after the identification of the individual self with the universal self, when the individual ceases to be perceived as such. Cf. *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha*), chap. 187, st. 23.

² That beyond Kshetragñās = the absolute supreme self. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 106.

³ The substance of this speech, says *Arguna Misra*, is that the mind and understanding devoted to the supreme lead to final emancipation.

⁴ See p. 296 supra. The last chapter closes what in some of the MSS. is called the *Brahma Gītā*, or *Brāhmaṇa Gītā* contained in the *Anugītā Parvan*. See further as to this our Introduction, where the point is further dwelt on.

pupil, O terror of your foes! asked a Brâhmaṇa preceptor of rigid vows, (when he was) seated, something about the highest good. 'I' (he said), 'whose goal is the highest good, am come to you (who are) venerable; I pray of you with (bowed) head, O Brâhmaṇa! that you should explain to me what I ask.' The preceptor, O son of Prithâ! said to the pupil who spoke thus: 'I will explain to you everything, O twice-born one! on which you verily have any doubt.' Thus addressed by the preceptor, O best of the Kauravas! he who was devoted to the preceptor, put (his) questions with joined hands. Listen to that, O you of great intelligence!

The pupil said:

Whence am I¹, and whence are you? Explain that which is the highest truth. From what were the movable and immovable entities born? By what do entities live, and what is the limit of their life? What is truth, what penance, O Brâhmaṇa? What are called the qualities by the good? And what paths are happy? What is pleasure, and what sin? These questions of mine, O venerable Brâhmaṇa sage! O you of excellent vows! do you be pleased to explain² correctly, truly, and accurately. There is none else here who can explain these questions. Speak, O best of those who understand piety! I feel the highest curiosity (in this matter). You are celebrated in the worlds as skilled in topics connected with the piety (required for) final emancipation. And there exists none else but you who can destroy all

¹ Compare the questions at the beginning of the Svetâsvatara-upanishad.

² A similar expression to that in the Sanatsugâtîya, p. 149, and elsewhere.

doubts. And we¹, likewise, are afraid of worldly life, and also desirous of final emancipation.

Vâsudeva said:

That talented preceptor, who preserved (all) vows, O son of *Prithâ*! O chief of the family of the *Kauravas*! O restrainer of foes! duly explained all those questions to that pupil, who had approached him (for instruction), who put (his) questions properly, who was possessed of (the necessary) qualifications, who was tranquil, who conducted himself in an agreeable manner, who was like (his) shadow², and who was a self-restrained ascetic and a *Brahmakârin*.

The preceptor said:

All this, which is connected with the knowledge of the *Vedas*³ and involves a consideration of the real entity, and which is cultivated by the chief sages, was declared by Brahman. We consider knowledge only as the highest thing; and renunciation⁴ as the best penance. And he who understands determinately the true object of knowledge which is impregnable⁵—the self abiding in all entities—and who can move about anywhere⁶, is esteemed highest. The learned man who perceives the abiding together⁷,

¹ It is not easy to account for the change here from the singular to the plural.

² I. e. always attended on the preceptor. Cf. generally, *Mundaka*, p. 283.

³ The question was not quite from his own imagination, says *Nilakantha*. *Arguna Misra* has a different reading, which he interprets to mean 'that on which the *Vedas* are all at one.'

⁴ Of the fruit of action, *Arguna Misra*.

⁵ I. e. not such as to require modification by any other knowledge, as knowledge of the world does.

⁶ *Nilakantha* compares *Khândogya*, pp. 523-553.

⁷ I. e. of *Kî*t and *Gadâ*, says *Nilakantha*; of Brahman and its manifestations, as alluded to, inter alia, at pp. 105, 106, 191 supra.

and the severance also, and likewise unity and variety¹, is released from misery. He who does not desire anything, and has no egoism about anything, becomes eligible for assimilation with the Brahman, even while dwelling in this world². He who knows the truth about the qualities of nature, who understands the creation of all entities, who is devoid of (the thought that this or that is) mine, and who is devoid of egoism, is emancipated; there is no doubt of that. Accurately understanding the great (tree) of which the unperceived³ is the sprout from the seed, which consists of the understanding as its trunk, the branches of which are the great egoism, in the holes of which are the sprouts, namely, the senses, of which the great elements are the flower-bunches⁴, the gross elements the smaller boughs, which is always possessed of leaves, always possessed of flowers, and from which pleasant fruits are always produced, on which all entities subsist, which is eternal, and the seed of which is the Brahman; and cutting it with that excellent sword—knowledge—one attains immortality, and casts off birth and death⁵. I will state to you to-day, O highly

¹ I.e. that variety is only in this world, but that the unity of everything is the true proposition. Cf. *inter alia* Gîtâ, p. 104.

² Cf. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 858, and Gîtâ, p. 65.

³ I.e. the *Prakṛiti* of the Sāṅkhyas.

⁴ The great elements are the five *tanmâtras* of earth, water, fire, air, and space, which afterwards produce what we have called the gross elements in the text, namely, the earth &c. which we perceive.

⁵ The tree typifies worldly life. Cf. pp. 111-189 *supra*. The leaves and flowers, *Arguna Misra* says, stand for volition and action; and *Nilakantha* seems to agree. The tree is called eternal, as worldly life is supposed to have had no beginning. Cf. *Sârîraka Bhâshya*, p. 494, 'sprout from the seed,' this rendering is necessitated by Brahman being described as the seed. Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 288; *Svetâsvatara*, p. 362; *Kaṭha*, pp. 143, 144.

talented one! the true conclusion¹ about the past, the present, the future, and so forth, and piety, desire, and wealth², which is understood by the multitudes of Siddhas, which belongs to olden times, and is eternal, which ought to be apprehended, and understanding which talented men have here attained perfection. Formerly³, the sages, *Bṛihaspati*, *Bhadravâga*, *Gautama*, and likewise *Bhârgava*, *Vasishtha*, and also *Kâsyapa*, and *Visvâmitra*, and *Atri* also, desiring knowledge, met each other, after having travelled over all paths⁴, and becoming wearied of their own actions. And those twice-born (sages), giving the lead to the old sage *Âṅgirasa*, saw *Brahman*, from whom (all) sin has departed, in *Brahman's* mansion. Having saluted that high-souled one who was sitting at ease, the great sages, full of humility, asked him this momentous (question) concerning the highest good: 'How should one perform good action? how is one released from sin? what paths are happy for us? what is truth and what vice? By what action are the two paths southern and northern obtained⁵? (and what is) destruction⁶ and emancipation, the birth and death of entities?' What the grandsire said conformably to the scriptures⁷,

¹ I. e. the means of arriving at it, *Arguna Misra*.

² The triad, the acquisition of which worldly men aspire to.

³ He explains how the doctrine belongs to olden times.

⁴ I. e. paths of action, *Nilakantha*. See *Sanatsugâtîya*, p. 165.

⁵ Namely, the *Pitriyâna* and *Dêvayâna* (*Arguna Misra*), as to which see *Khândogya*, p. 341, *Kaushîtaki*, p. 13, and *Bṛihadâra-nyaka*, p. 1034.

⁶ *Nilakantha* seems to interpret this to mean the temporary and final dissolutions of the worlds, on which see, inter alia, *Vedânta Paribhâshâ*, p. 48.

⁷ So *Nilakantha*. May it not be 'according to the received tradition?'

when thus spoken to by the sages, I will state to you. Listen (to that) O pupil!

Brahman said:

From the truth were the entities movable and immovable produced. They live by penance¹. Understand that, O you of excellent vows! By their own action they remain transcending their own source². For the truth joined with the qualities is invariably of five varieties. The Brahman³ is the truth; penance is the truth; Pragâpati also is truth; the entities are born from the truth; the universe consisting of (all) creatures is the truth. Therefore Brâhmanas whose final goal is always concentration of mind, from whom anger and vexation have departed, and who are invariably devoting themselves to piety, are full of the truth. I will speak about those (Brâhmanas) who are restrained by one another⁴, who are possessed of knowledge, who are the establishers of the bridge of piety, and who are the constant creators of the people⁵. I will speak of the four (branches of) knowledge, and likewise of the castes, and of the four orders, distinctly. The wise always speak of piety as one, (but) having

¹ I.e. by action, *Nilakantha*. Cf. *Mundaka*, p. 280, and see p. 166 supra, note 1.

² I.e. they remain apart from the Brahman, being engaged in action. This answers some of the questions put by the pupil to the preceptor. As to 'the truth,' see p. 162, note 2 supra.

³ I.e. *Īśvara*, or god; penance=piety; Pragâpati=the individual soul, *Nilakantha*. Brahman='that' (but how is 'that' joined with qualities?); Pragâpati=Brahman, *Arguna Misra*. They agree about penance and entities (which they take to mean the gross elements) and creatures. Brahman and Pragâpati=Virâg and Hiraṇyagarbha(?), p. 186 supra. Cf. *Sānti Parvan (Moksha)*, chap. 190, st. 1.

⁴ I.e. who commit no breach of piety through fear of one another, *Nilakantha*.

⁵ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 86.

four quarters. I will speak to you, O twice-born ones! of the happy path, which is productive of pleasure, and which has been invariably travelled over by talented men in old days for (obtaining) assimilation with the Brahman. Learn, O noble ones! from me, now speaking exhaustively, of that highest path which is difficult to understand, and of the highest seat. The first step is said to be the order of Brahmakârins; the second is that of householders; next after that is that of foresters; and next after that too, the highest step must be understood to be that relating to the Adhyâtma¹. Light², space, sun, air, Indra, Pragâpati, one sees not these, while one does not attain to the Adhyâtma³. I will subsequently state the means to that, which you should understand. The order of foresters, (the order) of the sages who dwell in forests and live on fruits, roots and air, is prescribed for the three twice-born (castes). The order of householders is prescribed for all castes. The talented ones speak of piety as having faith for its characteristic. Thus have I described to you the paths leading to the gods⁴, which are occupied by good and talented men by means of their actions, and which are bridges of piety. He who, rigid in his vows, takes up any one of these modes of piety separately, always comes in time to perceive the production and dissolution of

¹ That is to say, that of the ascetic, who specially devotes himself to the acquisition of knowledge about the relation of the supreme and individual self (Adhyâtma).

² The deity presiding over the bright fortnight, says Arguna Misra. The words space and sun and air must be similarly interpreted.

³ Nilakantha says 'one sees these only while one has not had a perception of the self.' He takes light &c. to mean the 'universe.'

⁴ I.e. the means of reaching the Devayâna path (mentioned at p. 314, note 5), Nilakantha. Cf. also Mundaka, p. 312.

(all) entities¹. Now I shall state with accuracy and with reasons, all the elements which abide in parts in all objects. The great self², the unperceived³ likewise, and likewise also egoism, the ten senses and the one⁴ (sense), and the five great elements, and the specific characteristics of the five elements⁵, such is the eternal creation. The number of the elements is celebrated as being twenty-four plus one. And the talented man who understands the production and dissolution of (all) elements, he, of all beings, never comes by delusion. He who accurately understands the elements, the whole of the qualities⁶, and also all the deities⁷, casting aside sin, and getting rid of (all) bonds, attains to all the spotless worlds.

CHAPTER XXI.

Brahman said :

That unperceived (principle), all-pervading, everlasting, and immutable, which is in a state of equilibrium⁸, should be understood (to become) the city of nine portals, consisting of three qualities, and five

¹ Namely, how they are all manifestations of the Brahman, and are all dissolved in it. Cf. *inter alia* Gîtâ, pp. 74, 92.

² See the *Kaṭhōpanishad*, p. 149. See also p. 332 *infra*.

³ See p. 313, note 3 *supra*.

⁴ I. e. the mind. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 102. ⁵ Viz. smell, sound, &c.

⁶ Tranquillity, self-restraint, &c., *Arguna Misra*. Are they not rather the three qualities? As to 'twenty-four plus one' above, see p. 368.

⁷ Does this mean the senses, as at Gîtâ, p. 123? An accurate understanding of the things noted requires a knowledge of their relation to the supreme, which is the means of final emancipation. And see p. 337 *infra*.

⁸ See Gîtâ, p. 107, and *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 11, and note 2, p. 331 *infra*.

constituent principles¹, encircled by the eleven², consisting of mind³ as the distinguishing power, and of the understanding as ruler, this is (an aggregate made up of) eleven⁴. The three currents⁵ which are within this (city) support (it)⁶ again and again, and those three channels run on, being constituted by the three qualities. Darkness, passion, and goodness, these are called the three qualities, which are all coupled with one another, and likewise serve one another, which depend on one another, and attend on one another, and are joined to one another⁷. And the five constituent principles

¹ The five gross elements of which the body is composed (cf. *Mahābhārata*, *Sānti Parvan*, *Moksha Dharma*, chap. 183, st. 1 seq.) are developments of the unperceived principle, the *Prakṛiti*. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 112, where the words 'which remain (absorbed) in nature' have been inadvertently omitted after 'with the mind as the sixth.' As to the nine portals cf. *Gītā*, p. 65.

² The five active organs, the five perceptive senses, and the mind.

³ This *Arguna Misra* takes to mean 'egoism.' *Nilakantha* takes the usual meaning, and adds, objects are produced from mental operations; 'distinguishing,' that is, manifesting as distinct entities.

⁴ The eleven are, according to *Arguna Misra*, the three qualities, the five gross elements, the group of organs and senses as one, egoism, and understanding.

⁵ Viz. the *nāḍīs*, *Idā*, *Piṅgalā*, and *Sushumnā*, *Arguna Misra*, who adds that they are respectively of the quality of darkness, passion, and goodness.

⁶ The three *nāḍīs*, says *Arguna Misra*, support the life-winds. *Nilakantha* takes the three currents to be the threefold inclination of the mind, viz. towards a pure piety, towards injuring other living creatures, and towards that mixed piety which requires the destruction of life for its performance. *Nilakantha* also has a different reading from *Arguna Misra*, which means 'are replenished' instead of 'support.' And the three channels are, according to *Nilakantha*, the *Samskāras*, or effects of previous actions of piety or impiety.

⁷ Coupled=always existing in association with one another; serving=being necessary to the operations of one another; depending=supporting one another like three staves, says *Nilakantha*;

(are made up of) the three qualities. Goodness is the match of darkness, and passion is the match of goodness; and goodness is also the match of passion, and darkness the match of goodness. Where darkness is restrained, passion there prevails. Where passion is restrained, goodness there prevails¹. Darkness should be understood to consist in obscurity. It has three qualities², and is called delusion. Its characteristic is also impiety, and it is constant in sinful actions. This is the nature of darkness; it also appears combined (with others). Passion is said to consist in activity, and is the cause of successive³ (acts). When it prevails, its characteristic, among all beings, appears to be production⁴. Light, lightness⁵, faith, such is stated to be the nature of goodness (prevailing) among all beings, as accepted by good men. The true nature of their characteristics, in aggregation and separation, will now be stated together with the reasons; learn those accurately. Delusion, ignorance,

upholding, says Arguna Misra, as the total absence of one would lead to the absence of the others also; attending=becoming subordinate to whichever of them is dominant for the time being; joined=so as to become one organic whole. Cf. as to all this, Yoga-sûtra II, 18, and commentary, p. 101; Sāṅkhya-kārikā, Kārikā 12, with Vākaspati Misra's comments on it.

¹ Cf. Gitā, p. 108, and the quotation in the Sāṅkhyatattvakau-mudī, p. 64.

² I. e. characteristics, viz. obscurity (which seems to stand for ignorance), delusion (which is false knowledge), and impiety (doing that which is known to be sinful and wrong).

³ The original means, according to Nilakantha, wrong, unlawful conduct. As to all this cf. Sānti Parvan (Moksha), chap. 194, st. 29.

⁴ I. e. apparently perpetually doing something. Cf. Gitā, p. 108.

⁵ Cf. as to this, and generally also, Sāṅkhya-kārikā 13, and commentary of Vākaspati Misra (p. 64). The blazing upwards of fire is said to illustrate the lightness of the quality of goodness which belongs to fire.

want of liberality, indecision about actions¹, sleep, haughtiness², fear, avarice, grief, finding fault with good acts, want of memory³, immaturity (of intellect), nihilism⁴, violation of (the rules of) conduct, want of discrimination⁵, blindness, behaviour of the lowest⁶ quality, pride of performance without (actual) performance, pride of knowledge without (actual) knowledge, unfriendliness, evil disposition, want of faith, deluded convictions, want of straightforwardness, want of knowledge⁷, sinful action, want of knowledge (of the subtle principle), stolidity⁸, lassitude, want of self-restraint, going into inferior ways; all these qualities, O Brâhmanas! are celebrated as being dark. And whatever other states of mind, connected with delusion, are found in various places in this world, all these are dark qualities. Constant talk in disparagement of gods, Brâhmanas and Vedas, want of liberality, vanity, delusion⁹, anger, want of forgiveness likewise, and also animosity

¹ According to Gîtâ, p. 108, doing nothing—stolid laziness—is a mark of darkness. Cf. generally on this passage Gîtâ, pp. 107, 118, 124 seq.; Maitrî, p. 49.

² The same word as at Gîtâ, pp. 116, 125 (headstrong in the latter passage should have been haughty). Cf. as to the word, *Khândogya*, p. 383.

³ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 51.

⁴ The opposite of the belief mentioned at Gîtâ, p. 126.

⁵ The same word as at Gîtâ, p. 109. But the commentators render it here by *himsra*, i. e. destructive.

I am not sure about the original word here, and the word next but one after this. The latter Arguna Misra renders by *sûkshmatattvâvedanam*, which I have translated above in the text. The former seems to mean general unintelligence.

⁷ Heaviness and dullness, induced by indolence, &c., *Nilakantha*. Lassitude is drooping from despondency. Going into inferior ways, Arguna Misra says, means falling into the inferior castes; *Nilakantha* says it means love for base actions.

⁸ Not being cognisant of one's own shortcomings, Arguna Misra,

towards people, this is considered to be dark conduct. Whatever vain¹ actions (there are), and whatever vain gifts, and vain eating, that is considered to be dark conduct. Reviling, and want of forgiveness, animosity, vanity, want of faith also, this is considered to be dark conduct. And whatever such people there are in this world, doers of sinful acts, who break through (all) regulations, they are all held to be dark. I will state the wombs appointed for these (men) of sinful actions. They go to the hell, (namely) the brute (species), to be born in the lower hell²; (or become) the immovable entities³, animals, beasts of burden, demons, and serpents, and worms, insects, birds, and also creatures born from eggs, and all quadrupeds, and idiots, deaf and dumb men, and whatever others are attacked by diseases generated by sin⁴. These dark, evil-conducted men, who are sunk in darkness, who bear the marks of their own actions, the current of whose (thoughts) is downwards⁵, sink into darkness. I will now proceed to state their improvement and ascent; how, becoming men of meritorious actions, they attain to the worlds of those who perform good acts⁶. Resorting to a contrary⁷ (course of life), and growing old in (good) actions⁸, they exert

¹ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 83.

² Cf. *Gītā*, p. 116.

³ Such as trees and so forth, which are also forms of life.

⁴ This is alluded to in some *Smṛitis* too. And cf. *Khândogya*, p. 358, and the quotation in the commentary on *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* V, 122.

⁵ Such, says *Nilakantha*, as to fit them for the nether world. See *Tattvakaumudī*, p. 113. As to marks, cf. p. 239 *supra*.

⁶ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 130.

⁷ I.e. contrary to that already described as dark.

⁸ *Nilakantha* renders this to mean 'destroyed for Agnihotra and such ceremonies,' like the goat referred to above at p. 290.

themselves, and through the ceremonies (performed for them) by benevolent Brāhmaṇas devoted to their own duties, they go upwards to the same world (as the Brāhmaṇas)—the heaven of the gods. Such is the Vedic text. Resorting to a contrary¹ (course of life), and growing old in their own duties, they become men in this world whose nature is to return². Coming to a sinful womb, as *Kāṇḍālas*³, or deaf, or lisping men, they attain to higher and higher castes in order; going beyond the *Sūdra* womb, and (beyond) whatever other dark qualities there are which abide in the quality of darkness⁴ in the current (of this world). Attachment to objects of desire is laid down to be the great delusion. There, sages and saints and gods become deluded, wishing for pleasure. Darkness⁵, delusion, the great delusion, the great obscurity called anger, and death the blinding obscurity; anger is called the great obscurity. I have now duly described to you, O Brāhmaṇas! this quality of darkness, in full and accurately with reference to

¹ See note 7 on last page. The sequence of ideas seems not to be properly brought out here. In the course of transmigration after their course of conduct is altered they become men, and then proceed to heaven. This seems the real sense here.

² To return to life and death, and so on, until they fit themselves for final emancipation. Cf. *Āpastamba* II, 5, 11, 10-11.

³ Cf. *Kāṇḍogya*, p. 359.

⁴ This is not very clear, and the commentators give but little help. The meaning probably is, that they gradually, in course of improvement, cross beyond the *Sūdra* caste, and all those qualities or tempers of mind, and so forth, which have been stated to appertain to the quality of darkness.

⁵ Cf. *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, pp. 47, 48, and *Vākaspati's* comment. There these are identified with the 'afflictions' of the *Yoga-sāstra*—ignorance, self-consciousness, affection, aversion, persistent attachment, and they are five divisions of false knowledge, or the quality of darkness, as it is here called. See, too, *Svetāśvatara* (comm.), p. 284.

its nature, and also its qualities, and also its source. Who, indeed, understands this properly; who, indeed, perceives this properly? The definition of the essence of darkness is, that one sees the real in what is unreal. The qualities of darkness have been described to you in many ways. And darkness in its higher and lower¹ (forms) has been accurately stated. The man who always understands these qualities gets rid of all dark qualities.

CHAPTER XXII.

Brahman said:

O best (of men)! I will explain to you accurately the quality of passion. Learn, O noble ones! the action of the quality of passion. Injuring (others), beauty², toil, pleasure and pain, cold and heat, power², war, peace, argument, repining³, endurance, strength, valour, frenzy, wrath, exercise and quarrel too, vindictiveness, desire, backbiting, battle, the thought (that this or that is) mine, preservation⁴, slaughter, bonds, affliction, buying and selling, touching⁵ other people's weak points, by cutting, breaking, piercing; fierceness and cruelty, vilifying, pointing out others' weaknesses, thinking of (this) world, harbouring evil thoughts, animosity, abuse,

¹ Generally and specifically, says Arguna Misra.

² Arguna Misra says these mean pride of beauty and pride of power respectively. Cf. as to this list generally, Maitrî, pp. 50, 51.

³ Cf. Sanatsugâtîya, p. 168.

⁴ I presume this means solicitude for preserving what one has got. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 48.

⁵ Literally, piercing. 'Cutting, breaking, piercing,' further on, seems to indicate the greater or less offensiveness of the operation of 'touching others' weak points.'

uttering falsehoods, bad¹ gifts, doubt, boasting, censure, praise, laudation², prowess, defiance, attendance (on another), obedience³, service, harbouring desire, management⁴, policy, heedlessness, contumely, belongings⁵, and the various decorations which prevail in this world, for men, for women, for living creatures, for articles, and for houses, vexation, and also want of faith, vows and regulations⁶, and actions with expectations, and the various acts of public charity⁷, the ceremony of Svâhâ, the ceremony of Svadhâ, the ceremony of Vashat⁸, salutation, both officiating at sacrifices and imparting instruction, and also sacrificing and study, gifts and acceptance of gifts, expiations, auspicious rites, the wish 'this may be mine and that may be mine,' affection generated by the qualities⁹, treachery and likewise deception, disrespect and respect, theft, slaughter, disgust, vexing (oneself), wakefulness, ostentation, haughtiness, and attachment also, devotion, pleasure and delight, gambling, common scandal, association with women,

¹ I.e. to undeserving persons, Arguna Misra. Probably it includes the other defects also pointed out at Gîtâ, p. 120. As to doubt, see Gîtâ, p. 63.

² The one is attributing merits which do not exist, the other is merely parading merits which do exist.

³ Arguna Misra takes this literally to mean 'wish to hear.'

⁴ Cleverness in worldly affairs, *Nîlakantha*.

⁵ Cf. Gîtâ, *passim*, and see also Yoga-sûtras II, 30, and commentary (pp. 127-129, Calc. ed.)

⁶ Fasts and other observances for special benefits.

⁷ E.g. digging tanks and wells, &c.

⁸ Vashat and Svâhâ indicate offerings to gods, Svadhâ to the manes. See *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 982, and *Māṇḍūkya* (*Gauḍapāda Kârikâ*), p. 443, and commentaries there.

⁹ I presume this means attachment to the operations of the qualities. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 48. As to the wish just before, see Gîtâ, pp. 115, 116.

devotion to dancing, and instrumental or vocal music, all these qualities, O Brāhmanas! are described as passionate. The men who meditate on past, present, and future entities in this world¹, who are always devoted to the triad—piety, wealth, and lust also²—who acting under (the impulse of) desires exult on the success of all their desires, these men, who are enveloped by passion, have (their) currents downwards³. Born again and again in this world, they rejoice⁴, and wish for the fruit appertaining to the life after death⁵ and that appertaining to this world also. They give and receive, and make *Tarpaṇa*⁶, and also sacrifice. The qualities of passion have been described to you in many ways, and the action of the quality has also been stated accurately. The man who always understands these qualities, gets rid of all passionate qualities.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Brahman said :

Now I shall proceed to describe the third—the best—quality, beneficial to all creatures, and unblamable, the duty of the good. Joy⁷, pleasure, nobility, enlightenment and happiness also, absence of stinginess, absence of fear, contentment, faith, forgiveness, courage, harmlessness, equability, truth, straightforwardness, absence of wrath, absence of calumnia-

¹ I. e. who are always thinking of what they have done and what they have to do, and so forth. Cf. *Gītā*, pp. 115, 116.

² And not that which is higher than these, viz. final emancipation.

³ See p. 321 and note 5 there. ⁴ Cf. *inter alia*, *Gītā*, p. 48.

⁵ Viz. heaven. Cf. *Gītā*, p. 48. ⁶ I. e. offerings to the manes.

⁷ Cf. p. 300 *supra*, and *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha*), chap. 194, st. 34; chap. 219, st. 36. For nobility, *Arguna Misra* has manifestation of joy.

tion, purity, dexterity, valour. He who possesses the piety of concentration of mind, (holding) knowledge to be vain¹, (good) conduct vain, service vain, and labour vain, he attains the highest in the next world. Devoid of (the notion that this or that is) mine, devoid of egoism, devoid of expectations, equable everywhere, not full of desires, (to be) such is the eternal duty of the good. Confidence, modesty², forgiveness, liberality, purity, freedom from laziness, absence of cruelty, freedom from delusion, compassion to (all) creatures, absence of backbiting, joy, contentment, joviality, humility, good behaviour, purity in all action for (acquiring) tranquillity³, righteous feelings, emancipation⁴, indifference⁵, life as a Brahmacârin, abandonment on all hands, freedom from (the notion that this or that is) mine, freedom from expectations⁶, unbroken piety⁷, (holding that) gifts (are) vain, sacrifices vain, learning vain, vows vain, receipt of gifts vain, piety vain, penance vain. Those talented Brâhmanas in this world, whose conduct is of this description, who adhere to the quality of goodness, abiding in the seat of the Brahman⁸, perceive (everything) aright. Getting rid of all

¹ Such is Nîlakantha's reading, and he takes knowledge to mean mere knowledge derived from books, &c. Arguna Misra has a different reading for vain, which he interprets to mean 'wish for fruit.'

² See Sanatsugâtîya, p. 162.

³ I.e. pure and straightforward conduct in the performance of whatever is done for attaining final emancipation.

⁴ Of other people from sorrow, Arguna Misra.

⁵ The state of being unconcerned, udâsîna, Nîlakantha.

⁶ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 60, inter alia.

⁷ Arguna Misra understands the original here to mean 'not being under the control of another.'

⁸ I.e. the source of the Vedas, according to Nîlakantha. The supreme is called Brahmayoni, the original word here, at Svetâ-

sins, and free from grief, those talented men reach heaven, and create (various) bodies¹. The power of governing, self-restraint, minuteness², these those high-souled ones make (for themselves) by (the operations of their own) minds like the gods dwelling in heaven. They are said to have their currents upwards³, and to be gods, and of the quality of goodness⁴; and having gone to heaven they verily change in various ways, by means of nature⁵. They obtain and divide⁶ whatever they desire. Thus, O chiefs of the twice-born! have I described to you the conduct of the quality of goodness. Understanding this according to rule, one obtains whatever one desires. The qualities

svatara, p. 354, where Brahman is rendered to mean *Prakṛiti* by Śaṅkara. See *Sanatsugāṭīya*, p. 186, note 6, and *Taittirīya-āraṇyaka*, p. 894. As to the probable sense here, see p. 339, note 2 *infra*.

¹ I. e. for themselves. Cf. p. 345 *infra*; *Yoga-sūtras*, p. 227; and *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 849.

² These include, according to *Nilakantha*, the other qualities of the same class unnamed here, for which see *Yoga-sūtra* III, 44 (p. 207). The power of governing, i. e. producing, destroying, or combining worldly objects as one pleases; self-restraint, i. e. in the presence of tempting objects; minuteness = power of becoming as minute as one pleases. The other qualities are lightness, largeness, and heaviness; power of attracting everything so as to be near oneself (e. g. touching the moon with the finger), power of obtaining one's wish.

³ Cf. p. 321 *supra* and note 5. Arguna Misra, and *Nilakantha* also, here render it by 'those who go upwards.' As to which, see *Gītā*, p. 109.

⁴ Cf. for this sense, which is given by Arguna Misra, *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 19.

⁵ *Nilakantha* says this means that they change their minds for purposes of enjoyment by means of the impression of previous enjoyments. The changes, however, seem to be those above referred to—minuteness, &c., and the acquisition of other bodies. As to nature, cf. *Gītā*, pp. 58 and 112, with the correction made at p. 318 *supra*.

⁶ This is not quite clear. Does it mean distribute among themselves or others?

of goodness have been specifically described, and the operation of the qualities has been accurately stated. The man who always understands these qualities, enjoys the qualities¹, but is not attached to the qualities.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Brahman said :

The qualities cannot be explained altogether distinctly (from one another). Passion, goodness, and darkness likewise are seen mixed up (with one another). They are attached to one another, they feed on one another. They all depend on one another, and likewise follow one another². There is no doubt of this, that as long³ as there is goodness so long darkness exists. And as long as goodness and darkness, so long is passion said (to exist) here. They perform their journey together, in union, and moving about collectively. For they act with cause or without cause⁴, moving in a body. Of all these acting with one another, but differing in development, the increase and diminution will now be stated. Where darkness is increased, abiding⁵ in the lower entities, there passion should be understood to be little, and goodness likewise to be less. Where

¹ Cf. *Gîtâ* inter alia, p. 104.

² Cf. p. 318 supra.

³ So *Arguna Misra*. *Nilakantha* says on this, 'However much goodness may be increased, it is still held in check by darkness, and thus there is the continual relation of that which checks and that which is checked between the three qualities; hence they are alike. So also passion being increased, holds goodness and darkness in check. The sense seems to be that the qualities dominate all in this world and exist together though varying in strength' (*Gîtâ*, p. 73).

⁴ I. e. spontaneously, *Arguna Misra*. Cf. *Sânti Parvan* (*Moksha*), chap. 194, st. 35.

⁵ It is in the lower species that darkness is predominant.

passion is developed, abiding in those of the middle current¹, there darkness should be understood to be little, and goodness likewise to be less. And where goodness is developed, abiding in those of the upward current², there darkness should be understood to be little, and passion likewise to be less³. Goodness is the cause of the modifications in the senses, and the enlightener⁴. For there is no other higher duty laid down than goodness. Those who adhere to (the ways of) goodness go up; the passionate remain in the middle; the men of the quality of darkness, being connected with the lowest quality, go down⁵. The three qualities abide in the three castes thus: darkness in the Sûdra, passion in the Kshatriya, and the highest, goodness, in the Brâhmaṇa⁶. Even from afar⁷, darkness, goodness, and passion also, are seen to have been together and moving about collectively. We have never heard of them (as existing) separately. Seeing the sun rising, evil-doers are alarmed, and travellers, suffering trouble from the heat, feel the warmth. The sun is goodness developed, evil-doers likewise are darkness, and the heat to the travellers is said to be a property of

¹ I. e. the human species, Arguna Misra. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 109.

² See Gîtâ, p. 109, also p. 327 supra. In his Sâṅkhyatattva-kaumudî, Vâkaspati Misra applies the epithet to Yogins (see p. 13 of Târânâth's edition, and the editor's note there).

³ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 108.

⁴ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 108. The modifications of the senses constituting perception by them is an operation of the quality of goodness. This seems to be the meaning of the text; as to this, cf. Tattva-kaumudî, p. 14 (Târânâth's edition).

⁵ See Gîtâ, p. 109; the words are nearly identical.

⁶ Cf. Sânti Parvan (Moksha), chap. 188, st. 15. The Vaisya is omitted here.

⁷ I. e. Arguna Misra says, even after much observation.

passion¹. The light in the sun is goodness ; the heat is the quality of passion ; and its eclipse on the Parvan² days must be understood to be of the quality of darkness. So in all shining bodies, there exist three qualities. And they act by turns in the several places in several ways. Among immovable entities, darkness is in the form of their belonging to the lower species ; the qualities of passion are variable ; and the oleaginous property is of the quality of goodness³. The day should be understood to be threefold, the night is stated to be threefold, and likewise months, half-months, years, seasons, and the conjunctions⁴. Threefold are the gifts given⁵, threefold the sacrifices performed, threefold are the

¹ This illustrates the existence of the qualities as one body. Even the enlightening sun, which embodies the quality of goodness, produces effects which belong to the other qualities. The fear and sorrow which evil-doers, that is thieves, feel, is an effect of the rising of the sun, which appertains to the quality of darkness, and the heat as being the cause of vexation and consequent delusion to travellers, appertains to the quality of passion.

² I. e. the days of the moon's conjunction or opposition.

³ I understand this to mean that in the 'immovable entities' the three qualities co-exist ; the birth in the lower species is an effect of darkness ; the variable qualities, viz. the heat, &c., as Arguna Misra says, are the properties of passion ; and the oleaginous properties among them appertain to goodness, as, says Arguna Misra, they are sources of pleasure (cf. *Gītā*, p. 118). *Nilakantha* says, 'Immovable entities being very unintelligent, darkness is very much developed among them,' but this last, as an interpretation of *tiryagbhāvagata*, appears to me to be alike unwarranted and inappropriate here.

⁴ Does this mean the period about the close of one and beginning of another yuga or age ? That is the only sense *ejusdem generis* with the words preceding it that I can think of ; yet the jump from years to yuga-sandhis is a long one.

⁵ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 120. With reference to some, at least, of the things enumerated here, the division would be rather fanciful.

worlds, threefold the gods, threefold the (departments of) knowledge, and threefold the path¹. The past, the present, and the future; piety, wealth, and lust; the *Prâna*, the *Apâna*, and the *Udâna*; these are the three qualities. And whatever there is in this world, all that is (made of) these three qualities². The three qualities—goodness, passion, and darkness also—are always acting unperceived. The creation of the qualities is eternal. Darkness, unperceived, holy³, constant, unborn, womb, eternal, nature, change⁴, destruction, *Pradhâna*, production and absorption, not developed, not small, unshaking, immovable, immutable, existent and also non-existent⁵—all these, the unperceived, (consisting) of the three qualities, is said to be. These names should be learnt by men who ponder on matters relating to the self. He who understands correctly all the names of the unperceived, and the qualities, and its pure operations, he, freed from the body, understanding the truth about (all) distinctions, and being free from all misery, is released from all qualities.

¹ See these three mentioned at *Khândogya*, pp. 340–359. As to departments of knowledge, cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 84; *Arguna Misra* reads, 'threefold the Vedas.'

² The universe is all developed from the *Prakṛiti*, which is merely the three 'qualities in equilibrium.' Cf. *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* I, 61.

³ Because it gives final emancipation to one who discriminates it from *Purusha*, *Arguna Misra*. Cf. *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* II, 1 seq., and *Sāṅkhya-kārikâ*, p. 56 seq., and commentary. For another list of names of *Prakṛiti*, see *Svetâsvatara* (comm.), p. 283.

⁴ Nature is not a development from anything, and hence is called *avikṛiti* in *Sāṅkhya-kārikâ* 3; but 'change' here probably means the whole aggregate of *Vikṛitis*, 'changes' or developments, which make up *Prakṛiti*; or by a different derivation it may, perhaps, also mean that from which all development or change takes place.

⁵ See *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* V, 52–56; and also I, 26, and commentary here. The *Vedântins* speak of *Mâyâ*—which answers to what the

CHAPTER XXV.

Brahman said :

From the unperceived was first produced the great self¹, of great intelligence, the source of all qualities²; it is said to be the first creation. That great self is signified by these synonymous terms—the great self, intelligence, Vishnu³, *Gishnu*, Sambhu, the valiant, the understanding, means of knowledge, means of perception, and likewise cognition, courage, memory. Knowing that (great self), a learned Brâhmaṇa comes not by delusion. It has hands and feet on all sides⁴, it has eyes, heads, and faces on all sides; it stands pervading everything in the world⁵. The being of great power is stationed in the heart of all. Minuteness⁶, lightness, (the power of) obtaining (everything) (are his); he is the governor, the light, inexhaustible. Now people who comprehend the understanding, and who are always possessed of a good heart, who practise meditation, who are constant at concentration of mind, who are true to their promises, and whose senses are subdued, who are possessed of knowledge, who are not avaricious, who have subdued wrath, whose minds are clear, who are talented, who are devoid of (the thought that this or that is) mine, who are devoid of egoism,

Sânkhya call *Prakṛti* (see *Svetâsvatara*, p. 340, and *Sânkhya-sûtra* I, 69, and commentary there)—as ‘*sattvâsattvâbhyâmanirvâkya*.’

¹ I.e. the understanding, on which see *Sânkhya-sûtra* I, 61–64. It is called being (*Purusha*) further on, as it dwells in the body (*Puri*).

² I.e. of the effects of all qualities (namely, the universe; cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 48), *Nilakantha*.

³ I.e. all-pervading, *Arguna Misra*. On the whole passage, see *Sânkhya-sâra*, pp. 15, 16, and note 3 on page 333 *infra*.

⁴ As, says *Arguna Misra*, it is the source of all activity.

⁵ The words are identical with those at *Gîtâ*, p. 103.

⁶ See p. 327 *supra*.

these being emancipated, attain greatness¹. And the talented man who understands that high and holy goal, the great self², he among all people comes not by delusion. The self-existent Vishnu is the Lord in the primary creations³. And he who thus knows the lord lying in the cave⁴, the transcendent, ancient being, of universal form, and golden⁵, the highest goal of those possessed of understanding, that talented man, abides transcending the understanding⁶.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Brahman said :

That Mahat which was first produced, is (afterwards) called egoism ; when it is born as (the feeling itself) 'I', that is said to be the second creation. That egoism is stated to be the source of all entities⁸,

¹ I. e., says Arguna Misra, the world of the understanding. Does this mean the world of Hiraṇyagarbha? The understanding is said to be the 'subtle body' of Hiraṇyagarbha (Vedānta Paribhāṣā, p. 46). Probably the reference spiritually interpreted is to the state in which egoism and all its products are non-existent.

² Literally, 'the high and holy passage to the great self.'

³ The Mahat first manifests itself as Vishnu before it manifests itself as Brahman or Śiva (Sāṅkhya-sāra, p. 16), hence he is said to be the Lord in the primary creation. It may be added, that in the Sāṅkhya-sāra where this passage is quoted the original word rendered 'cognition' above (khyāti) does not occur, but in lieu of it occurs Brahman. The sentence 'And the talented man' &c. is also wanting there.

⁴ I. e. the understanding. See Śaṅkara on Svetāśvatara, p. 329 ; Kaṭha, p. 100.

⁵ Source of enlightenment, Arguna Misra. Cf. *Mundaka*, pp. 303-308 (gloss).

⁶ I. e. attaching himself to the Purusha, as the never-changing reality, and rising above Prakṛti and its manifestations.

⁷ I. e. when the Mahat develops into the feeling of self-consciousness—I—then it assumes the name of egoism.

⁸ See on this Sāṅkhya-sāra, Hall's Introd. p. 31, note.

that from which the changes take place¹; it is full of light, the supporter of consciousness; it is that from which the people are produced, the Pragâpati. It is a deity, the producer of the deities, and of the mind; it is the creator of the three worlds. That which feels² thus—'I am all this'—is called (by) that (name). That eternal world is for those sages who are contented with knowledge relating to the self, who have pondered on the self, and who are perfected by sacred study and sacrifice. By³ consciousness of self one enjoys the qualities; and thus that source of all entities, the producer of the entities, creates (them); and as that from which the changes take place, it causes all this to move; and by its own light, it likewise charms the world.

¹ So Arguna Misra. *Nilakantha* says it means 'born from the change, or development, viz. Mahat.' The *Sâṅkhya-sâra*, p. 17, however, shows it means 'appertaining to the quality of goodness.' See also *Sâṅkhya-kârikâ* 25, and commentary there, which is of great help here. The sense is this: Egoism is of three descriptions; it appertains to the quality of goodness, and as such is the creator of the deities and mind, the deities being those presiding over the ten senses (cf. *Sâṅkhya-sâra*, p. 17); it is full of light, or appertains to the quality of passion (cf. *ibid.*), and as such imparts to the other two qualities their virtue of activity (cf. *Sâṅkhya-kârikâ* commentary, p. 91, *Târânâth's* ed.); it is also of the quality of darkness, and as such the producer of the triple world (see *ibid.*). See *Sâṅkhya-sûtra* II, 17, 18, and comment, where a view somewhat different in one or two details is stated.

² *Sâṅkhya-sâra*, p. 16; *Sâṅkhya-kârikâ* 24, p. 89 (*Târânâth's* ed.).

³ Arguna Misra says that the words *Ahaṅkāra* &c. are here explained; qualities here means objects, as at *Gîtâ*, p. 55. The meaning of the first clause is, that the feeling that the objects are for oneself, and therefore enjoying them, gives the name of *Ahaṅkāra* to the principle in question; its creation of all the elements gives it the name of *Bhūtâdi*. It is called *Vaikârîka*, as the cause of the various activities and developments going on. The last clause seems to be an explanation of the epithet *Taigasa*, also applied to egoism.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Brahman said :

From egoism, verily, were the five great elements born—earth, air, space, water, and light as the fifth. In these five great elements, in the operations of (perceiving) sound, touch, colour, taste, and smell, creatures are deluded¹. When, at the termination of the destruction of the great elements, the final dissolution approaches, O talented one! a great danger for all living beings arises². Every entity is dissolved into that from which it is produced. They are born one from the other, and are dissolved in the reverse order³. Then when every entity, movable or immovable, has been dissolved, the talented men who possess a (good) memory⁴ are not dissolved at all. Sound, touch, and likewise colour, taste, and smell as the fifth; the operations (connected with these) have causes⁵, and are inconstant, and their name is delusion. Caused by the production of avarice⁶, not different from one another⁷, and insignificant⁸, connected with flesh and blood, and depending upon one another,

¹ The contact of the objects of sense with the senses is the source of delusion.

² Cf. *Gītā*, p. 107, and note 1 there.

³ Cf. *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* I, 121, and p. 387 *infra*.

⁴ I.e. knowledge of the truth, *Arguna Misra*.

⁵ Hence, as they have a beginning, they also must have an end, and hence they are inconstant.

⁶ This and following epithets expand the idea of inconstancy.

⁷ Being all in substance connected with the *Prakṛiti*, the material world, so to say.

⁸ Containing no reality, *Nilakantha*.

excluded from the self¹, these are helpless and powerless. The Prâna and the Apâna, the Udâna, the Samâna, and the Vyâna, these five winds also are joined to the inner self², and together with speech, mind, and understanding make the eight constituents of the universe³. He whose skin, nose, ear, eye, tongue, and speech are restrained, and whose mind is pure, and understanding unswerving⁴, and whose mind is never burnt by these eight fires⁵, he attains to that holy Brahman than which nothing greater exists. And the eleven organs, which are stated as having been produced from egoism—these, O twice-born ones! I will describe specifically. The ear, the skin, the two eyes, the tongue, the nose also as the fifth, the two feet, the organ of excretion, and the organ of generation, the two hands, and speech as the tenth; such is the group of organs, the mind is the eleventh. This group one should subdue first, then the Brahman shines (before him). Five (of these) are called the organs of perception, and five the

¹ Nîlakantha apparently takes the original here to mean of gross nature, not subtle, such as anything connected with the self would be. They are helpless and powerless without support from other principles, and mainly the self.

² He here states what is more closely connected with the self, and, as Nîlakantha puts it, accompanies the self till final emancipation. The inner self Nîlakantha takes to mean the self associated with egoism or self-consciousness.

³ Nîlakantha cites certain texts to show that the perceptive senses work only through the mind, and that the objects of the senses are produced from the senses, and hence the universe, he says, is constituted of the eight enumerated above.

⁴ I. e. from the truth.

⁵ I. e. vexed by the operations of any of these.

organs of action. The five beginning with the ear are truly said to be connected with knowledge. And all the rest are without distinction connected with action. The mind should be understood to be among both¹, and the understanding is the twelfth. Thus have been stated the eleven organs in order. Understanding these², learned men think they have accomplished (everything). I will now proceed to state all the various organs. Space³ is the first entity; as connected with the self it is called the ear; likewise as connected with objects (it is) sound; and the presiding deity there is the quarters. The second entity is air; it is known as the skin as connected with the self; as connected with objects (it is) the object of touch; and the presiding deity there is lightning. The third (entity) is said to be light; as connected with the self it is called the eye; next as connected with objects (it is) colour; and the presiding deity there is the sun. The fourth (entity) should be understood to be water; as connected with the self it is called the tongue; as connected with objects it is taste; and the presiding deity there is Soma. The fifth entity is earth; as connected with the self it is the nose; as connected with objects likewise it is smell; and the presiding deity there is the wind. Thus are the five entities stated to be divided among the three⁴. I will now proceed to state all the various organs.

¹ Cf. Sāṅkhya-kārikā 27; Sāṅkhya-sāra, p. 17.

² Cf. Kaṭha, p. 148.

³ Cf. Lalita Vistara (translated by Dr. R. Mitra), p. 11.

⁴ The above sentences show the entities in the three different aspects mentioned, which correspond to each other; the ear is the sense, that which is connected with the self; sound is the object of that sense, as connected with the external world; and the

As connected with the self, the feet are mentioned by Brâhmanas, who perceive the truth; as connected with objects it is motion; the presiding deity there is Vishnu. The Apâna wind, the motion of which is downward, as connected with the self, is called the organ of excretion; as connected with objects it is excretion¹; and the presiding deity there is Mitra. As connected with the self the generative organ is mentioned, the producer of all beings; as connected with objects it is the semen; and the presiding deity there is Pragâpati. Men who understand the Adhyâtma speak of the two hands as connected with the self; as connected with objects it is actions; and the presiding deity there is Indra. Then first, as connected with the self, is speech which relates to all the gods; as connected with objects it is what is spoken; and the presiding deity there is fire. As connected with the self they mention the mind, which follows after the five entities²; as connected with objects it is the mental operation; the presiding deity there is the moon. Likewise (there is) egoism, the cause of the whole course of worldly life, as connected with the self; as connected with objects, self-consciousness; the presiding deity there is Rudra. As connected with the self, they mention the understanding impelling the six senses³;

quarters, Dik, are the deities presiding over the senses; as to this cf. Sâṅkhya-sâra, p. 17, and Vedânta Paribhâṣhâ, p. 45, which show some discrepancies. The distinctions of Adhyâtma &c. are to be found in the Upanishads; cf. inter alia, Kṛhândogya, p. 227, and cf. Gîtâ, p. 77.

¹ As to the original word, cf. inter alia, Svetâsvatara, pp. 197-202.

² This probably means the five senses which can perceive only when associated with the mind. See p. 268 supra.

³ The understanding is called the charioteer at Kaṭha, p. III.

as connected with objects that which is to be understood; and the presiding deity there is Brahman. There are three seats for all entities—a fourth is not possible—land, water, and space. And the (mode of) birth is fourfold. Those born from eggs, those born from germs, those born from perspiration, and those born from wombs—such is the fourfold (mode of) birth of the group of living beings¹. Now there are the inferior beings and likewise those moving in the air. Those should be understood to be born from eggs, as also all reptiles. Insects are said to be born from perspiration; and worms of the like description. This is said to be the second (mode of) birth, and inferior. Those beings, however, which are born after the lapse of some time, bursting through the earth, are said to be born from germs, O best of the twice-born! Beings of two feet or more than two feet, and those which move crookedly, are the beings born from wombs. Understand about them also, O best of men! The eternal seat (where) the Brahman² (is to be attained) should be understood to be twofold—penance³ and meritorious action. Such is the doctrine of the learned. Action should be understood to be of various⁴

¹ Cf. *Khândogya*, pp. 404–406, and glosses; Aitareya, p. 243; Vedānta Paribhāṣā, p. 47; Sāṅkhya-sūtra V, 111; Manu I, 43; Max Müller's note at p. 94 of his *Khândogya* in this series.

² So Nilakantha, but he also adds that this means birth as a Brāhmaṇa, which seems to be quite wrong. Arguna Misra's 'means of acquiring Brahman' is right. See p. 369 *infra*.

³ I. e., I presume, 'knowledge.' Saṅkara has so interpreted the word at *Mundāka*, p. 270, and *Kaṭha*, p. 127, and elsewhere; and see *Sanatsugātīya*, p. 166 *supra*.

⁴ Another reading is 'of two kinds.' But I prefer this, as three kinds are mentioned further on.

descriptions, (namely) sacrifice, gift at a sacrifice, and sacred study¹, for (every one) who is born². Such is the teaching of the ancients. He who duly understands this, becomes possessed of concentration of mind, O chief of the twice-born! and know, too, that he is released from all sins. Space³ is the first entity; as connected with the (individual) self it is called the ear; as connected with objects likewise it is called sound; and the presiding deity there is the quarters. The second entity is air; as connected with the (individual) self it is called the skin; as connected with objects it is the object of touch; and the presiding deity there is the lightning. The third is called light; as connected with the (individual) self it is laid down to be the eye; next as connected with objects it is colour; the presiding deity there is the sun. The fourth should be understood to be water; as connected with the (individual) self it is stated to be the tongue; as connected with objects it should be understood to be taste; the presiding deity there is Soma. The fifth element is earth; as connected with the (individual) self it is called the nose; as connected with objects likewise it is called smell; the presiding deity there is Vāyu. Thus have I

¹ Cf. as to this *Khândogya*, p. 136, which justifies our rendering, though the commentator Arguna Misra seems to understand the passage differently.

² Arguna Misra seems to understand this to mean 'twice-born.'

³ This is a repetition of what occurs at p. 337, and apparently is spurious. But two of the MSS., both those containing commentaries, contain the passage twice. One of the other MSS. omits the passage where it occurs before, and has it here. I think that the passage is in its place before, and probably interpolated here.

accurately described to you the creation¹ as connected with the (individual) self. A knowledge of this, O ye who understand piety! is here obtained by those who possess knowledge. One should place all these together, (viz.) the senses, the objects of the senses, and the five great elements, and hold them by the mind². When everything is absorbed into the mind, the pleasures of (worldly) life³ are not esteemed. The learned (men) whose understandings are possessed of knowledge esteem the pleasure derived from that⁴. Now⁵ I shall proceed to describe that discarding of all entities by (means) gentle and hard⁶, which produces attachment to subtle⁷ (topics), and is sanctifying. The (mode of) conduct in which qualities are not (treated as) qualities⁸, which is free from attachment, in which one lives alone⁹, which is uninterrupted¹⁰, and which is full of the Brahman¹¹, is called happiness (dwelling) in one aggregate¹².

¹ I am not quite sure that this is a correct rendering. But I can think of none better, and the commentators afford no help.

² *Nilakantha* says, 'Thinking that the great elements are not distinct from the senses, one should hold them absorbed in the mind.' *Arguna Misra* says, 'In the mind as their seat they should be placed,' as being not distinct from the mind, I presume. Cf. *Kaṭha*, p. 148.

³ Literally, 'birth.'

⁴ From knowledge, I presume. The commentators afford no help.

⁵ *Arguna Misra*'s text appears to commence a new chapter here.

⁶ Such as meditation or *upāsana*, and *prāṇāyama* or restraint of life-winds respectively, *Arguna Misra*.

⁷ Cf. p. 310 *supra*.

⁸ I. e. bravery, learning, &c. are treated as not being merits, as they cause pride, &c., *Nilakantha*.

⁹ I. e. in solitude, *Nilakantha*; devoting oneself to the self only, *Arguna Misra*. Cf. also p. 284 *supra*, note 4.

¹⁰ Or, says *Nilakantha*, free from any belief in distinctions.

¹¹ Another reading would mean 'which exists among *Brāhmanas*.'

¹² I. e. all collected together, I presume.

The learned man who absorbs objects of desire from all sides, as a tortoise (draws in) his limbs¹, and who is devoid of passion, and released from everything², is ever happy. Restraining objects of desire within the self³, he becomes fit for assimilation with the Brahman⁴, having his cravings destroyed, and being concentrated in mind, and friendly and affectionate⁵ to all beings. The fire of the Adhyâtma⁶ is kindled in a sage by his abandoning the country⁷, and by the restraint of all the senses which hanker after objects of sense. As fire kindled with fuel shines forth with a great blaze, so the great self⁸ shines forth through the restraint of the senses. When one with a tranquil self perceives all entities in one's own heart, then being self-illuminated⁹, one attains to that which is subtler than (the most) subtle (thing)¹⁰, and than which there is nothing higher. It is settled, that the body in which the colour¹¹ is fire, the flowing¹²

¹ Cf. Gîtâ, pp. 50, 51, and Sânti Parvan (Moksha Dharma) I, 51, where the phrase is precisely the same as here.

² I. e. from all bonds, I suppose. See p. 292 supra.

³ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 51. ⁴ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 110. ⁵ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 68.

⁶ I. e. experience, Nîlakantha. It means direct perception of the relations between the supreme and individual self. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 111.

⁷ As opposed to forests. See Sanatsugâtîya, p. 159, note 9.

⁸ This must mean here the supreme self, apparently.

⁹ I. e. being devoted to the self only, Arguna Misra. The ordinary meaning of the word, however, is one who has direct experience or perception without the aid of senses, &c. Cf. Brihadâranyaka, p. 765, and Sârîraka Bhâshya, pp. 648, 784, &c.

¹⁰ Nîlakantha says, 'The supreme Brahman which is subtler than the Brahman within the lotus-like heart.'

¹¹ I. e. that which perceives colour, viz. the sense, Arguna Misra. This applies to the analogous words coming further on.

¹² I. e. taste, says Arguna Misra, which seems to be more correct than Nîlakantha's blood and such other liquid elements of the body.

(element) water, and the feeling of touch is air, the hideous holder of the mud¹ is earth, and likewise the sound is space; which is pervaded by disease and sorrow; which is surrounded by the five currents²; which is made up of the five elements; which has nine passages³ and two deities⁴; which is full of passion; unfit to be seen⁵; made up of three qualities and of three constituent elements⁶; pleased with contacts⁷; and full of delusion⁸;—this same (body), which is difficult to move in this mortal world, and which rests on the real (entity)⁹, is the very wheel of time which rotates in this world¹⁰. It is a great ocean, fearful and unfathomable, and is named¹¹ delusion. The world, together with the immortals, should cast it aside, curtail it,

¹ I. e. the flesh, bone, and so forth, *Nilakantha*; the mucus in the nose, *Arguna Misra*.

² I. e. the senses. Cf. p. 238 supra, note 7.

³ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 65.

⁴ See *Sanatsugâtîya*, p. 187 supra.

⁵ As being unholy, *Nilakantha*; as the bodies of *Kândâlas* &c. when seen are productive of sin, *Arguna Misra*. See p. 155 supra.

⁶ Viz. *vâta*, *piitta*, *sleshma*, or wind, bile, and phlegm. The *dhâtus* are sometimes spoken of as seven. See *Yoga-sûtras*, p. 192; *Taitt. Âr.* p. 874, commentary, and p. 246 supra. See, too, however, *Svetâsvatara*, commentary, p. 287.

⁷ Which is delighted only by contact with food and so forth, not otherwise, *Nilakantha*.

⁸ I. e. cause of delusion. The original word for 'it is settled' at the beginning of this sentence is otherwise rendered by *Arguna Misra*. He takes it to mean 'in this light (namely, as above stated) should one contemplate the body.' The other rendering is *Nilakantha*'s.

⁹ I. e. the self, *Arguna Misra*; the understanding, *Nilakantha*; difficult to move = difficult to adjust if attacked by disease, &c., *Nilakantha*.

¹⁰ It is owing to this body that the self becomes limited by time, *Arguna Misra*. *Nilakantha*'s gloss I do not follow. Cf. p. 187 supra, and p. 355 infra.

¹¹ I. e. characterised by delusion, *Arguna Misra*.

and restrain it¹. Desire, wrath, fear, avarice, treachery, and falsehood also, (all these), which are difficult to get rid of, the good do get rid of by restraint of the senses². And he who in this world has vanquished the three qualities and the five constituent elements³, obtains the highest⁴—the infinite—seat in heaven. Crossing the river of which the five senses are the lofty banks, the agitation of mind⁵ the mighty waters, and delusion the reservoir⁶, one should vanquish both desire and wrath. Freed from all sins, he then perceives that highest (principle), concentrating the mind within the mind⁷, and seeing the self within the self⁸. Understanding everything, he sees the self with the self in all entities as one⁹, and also as various,

¹ I am not sure about the meaning here. Arguna Misra says, (reading visriget, 'send forth,' for vikshipet, 'cast aside,') 'send forth at the creation, curtail at the dissolution, and restrain at the final emancipation.' The commentary reads rodhayet, which we have adopted above. The text in the same copy, however, is bodhayet. Arguna Misra adds, as far as I can make out from an incorrect copy: 'as in this life everything is accomplished by these actions' (namely, I suppose, the casting aside, &c.). Nīlakantha says, 'This same thing is the cause of creation, destruction, and knowledge,' reading bodhayet.

² Cf. Gītā, p. 57.

³ I. e. the five great elements, as stated in Williams' Dictionary, citing Yāgyavalkya III, 145. See Sānti Parvan (Moksha), chap. 182, st. 16; chap. 184, st. 1.

⁴ I. e. the seat of the Brahman, Nīlakantha.

⁵ See Gītā, p. 66, where the word is the same, viz. vega.

⁶ From which, namely, the river issues. Cf. for the whole figure, Sānti Parvan (Moksha), chap. 251, st. 12.

⁷ The mind=the lotus-like heart, Nīlakantha. Cf. Gītā, p. 79. Concentrating=withdrawing from external objects, &c.

⁸ I. e. in the body, Nīlakantha. See p. 248.

⁹ Cf. Gītā, p. 83, and note 4 there. Nīlakantha says, 'as one, i. e.

changing from time to time¹. He can always perceive (numerous) bodies like a hundred lights from one light. He verily is Vishnu, and Mitra, and Varuna, Agni, and Pragâpati. He is the supporter, and the creator. He is the lord whose faces are in all directions². (In him) the great self—the heart of all beings—is resplendent. Him, all companies of Brâhmanas, and also gods, and demons, and Yakshas, and Pisâkas, and Pitris, and birds, and the bands of Rakshases, and the bands of Bhûtas³, and also all the great sages, ever extol.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Brahman said :

Among men the royal Kshatriya is the middle⁴ quality; among vehicles the elephant⁵, and among denizens of the forest the lion; among all sacrificial animals the sheep, and among the dwellers in holes the snake; among cattle also the bull, and among

by direct perception of the unity of the individual and supreme, and as various, i. e. in the all-comprehending form.'

¹ I. e. creating or acting, Arguna Misra. I think it probable that it was meant to go with the preceding words. See Gîtâ, p. 83 note; but, for this, 'changing' must be in the accusative. It is in the nominative. As the original stands, and on Arguna Misra's interpretation, the sense seems to be that when he is about to engage in the work of creation, he can obtain as many bodies as he likes. Nilakantha compares *Khândogya*, p. 526. And see pp. 249, 327 supra. Can always perceive=invariably obtains when he wishes.

² Cf. Gîtâ, pp. 83, 93, and note 1 there.

³ Cf. Gîtâ, pp. 85, 118.

⁴ I. e. passion—that quality is dominant in the Kshatriya, Nilakantha. See p. 329 supra.

⁵ Commenting on Gîtâ V, 18 (p. 65) Saṅkara calls the elephant *atyantatâmasa*, belonging entirely to the quality of darkness.

females a male¹. The Nyagrodha, the Gambu, the Pippala, and likewise the Sâlmali, the Sinsapâ, and the Meshasringa, and likewise the bamboo and willow²; these are the princes among trees in this world, there is no doubt of that. The Himavat, the Pâriyâtra, the Sahya, the Vindhya, the Trikûtavat, the Sveta, the Nila, the Bhâsa, and the Koshthavat mountain, the Mahendra, the Guruskandha, and likewise the Mâlyavat mountain, these are the princes among mountains³. Likewise the Maruts are (the princes) among the *Ganas*; the sun is the prince among the planets, and the moon⁴ among the Nakshatras; Yama is the prince among the *Pitris*, and the ocean among rivers; Varuna is the king of the waters, and Indra is said to be (the king) of the Maruts. Arka is the king of hot (bodies), and Indu is said to be (the king) of shining bodies. Fire is ever the lord of the elements⁵, and *Bṛihaspati* of *Brâhmanas*; Soma is the lord of herbs, Vishnu is the chief among the strong; *Tvashtri* is the prince

¹ As to the constructions here, cf. generally Gîtâ, p. 88, and see the remarks of Râmânuga and Sridhara on Gîtâ X, 21. The meaning here is, of course, the male is ruler over females.

² I do not know what distinction is intended between these two. Generally *kiṭaka* is used for the hollow bamboo, which whistles when the wind blows through it.

³ Some of these mountains are mentioned in *Patañjali*. See Introduction.

⁴ This list may be compared with that at Gîtâ, chapter X. Sometimes the same object occurs more than once with reference to more than one class; thus the moon occurs as lord of Nakshatras, of shining bodies, and of herbs—unless Soma there stands for the Soma plant. See Gîtâ, p. 113. Arguna Misra says expressly that the moon occurs more than once as the correlatives, the classes with reference to which she is mentioned, are different. In such cases I have kept the original names untranslated; Arka=sun; Indu=moon.

⁵ Cf. *Katha*, p. 83.

of the Rudras, and Śiva is the ruler of (all) creatures; likewise, sacrifice of (all) initiatory ceremonies¹, and Maghavat² likewise of the gods; the north among the quarters, and among all vipras the powerful king Soma³; Kubera (is lord) of all jewels, Purandara of (all) deities. Such is the highest creation among all entities. Pragâpati (is lord) of all peoples; and of all entities whatever I, who am full of the Brahman, and great, (am lord). There is no higher being than myself or Viṣṇu. The great Viṣṇu full of the Brahman is the king of kings over all. Understand him to be the ruler, the creator, the uncreated Hari. For he is the ruler of men, Kinnaras, and Yakshas; of Gandharvas, snakes, and Rakshases; of gods, demons, and Nāgas. Among all those who are followed by (men) full of desires, (the chief) is⁴ the great goddess Mâheshvarî, who has beautiful eyes. She is called Pârvatî. Know the goddess Umâ⁵ to be the best and (most) holy of (all) females. Among women who are (a source⁶ of) happiness, likewise, the brilliant⁷ Apsarases (are chief). Kings desire

¹ This must mean, I presume, that the sacrifice is higher than the initiation, as male than female, see p. 346, note 1.

² This is another repetition. Indra has been mentioned before, and Purandara is mentioned further on.

³ As to king Soma, see inter alia *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, p. 237; *Khândogya*, p. 342, where Saṅkara explains 'king' by adding 'of Brâhmanas.' Vipras = Brâhmanas.

⁴ I. e. Mâheshvarî is the most beautiful of womankind.

⁵ It is well known that Umâ, Pârvatî, Mâheshvarî are names of the consort of the third member of the Hindu Trinity; see Kena, p. 13, and Saṅkara's comment there. See, too, Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. iv, p. 421, and *Taittirîya-âraṇyaka*, p. 839.

⁶ The idea of 'source' is supplied by Arguna Misra.

⁷ Literally, 'rich.' Arguna Misra paraphrases it by 'Gyotishmatî.' Nilakantha's explanation here is not quite clear.

piety; and Brāhmaṇas are the bridges¹ of piety. Therefore a king should always endeavour to protect the twice-born². Those kings in whose dominions good men lie low, lose all their qualifications³, and go into wrong paths after death. But those high-souled kings in whose dominions good men are protected, rejoice in this world, and attain the infinite (seat) after death. Understand this, O chiefs of the twice-born! I shall now proceed to state the invariable characteristics of piety. Non-destruction is the highest piety⁴, and destruction is of the nature of impiety. Enlightenment⁵ is the characteristic of gods; action⁶ the characteristic of men; sound is the characteristic of space; (the sensation of) touch is the characteristic of air; colour is the characteristic of light; taste is the characteristic of water; the characteristic of earth, the supporter of all beings, is smell; words are the characteristic of speech⁷ refined into vowels and consonants; the characteristic of mind is thought. Likewise as to what is described here as understanding, a deter-

¹ I. e. instrumental in piety, or guides to piety. Cf. *Svetāsvatara*, p. 370; *Mundaka*, p. 297.

² So literally, doubtless Brāhmaṇas only are intended here.

³ I. e., I presume, they lose all their merits, their good points are destroyed by this dereliction of duty.

⁴ Cf. p. 291 supra. Arguna Misra begins a fresh chapter with 'I shall now,' &c.

⁵ Knowledge of the truth, Arguna Misra.

⁶ I. e. action performed for the purpose of obtaining the fruit of it. The next five items refer to the five elements and their characteristic properties. Nīlakantha's explanation, that all these are merely parallels not stated for their own relevancy here, but as illustrations, seems to be the only available one.

⁷ I. e. the learning of other people, Nīlakantha. The meaning seems to be that we know speech only in its manifestation in the form of words.

mination is here formed by (that) understanding about objects which have been thought over by the mind¹. And there is no doubt of this that determination is the characteristic of the understanding. The characteristic of mind is meditation²; and the characteristic of a good man is (living) unperceived³. The characteristic of devotion is action⁴; and knowledge the characteristic of renunciation. Therefore a man of understanding should practise renunciation, giving prominence to knowledge⁵. The renouncer possessed of knowledge attains the highest goal. And crossing beyond darkness, and transcending death and old age, he repairs to that which has no second⁶. Thus have I duly spoken to you concerning the characteristic of piety. I will now proceed to explain properly the comprehension⁷ of the qualities. As to the smell of the earth, verily, that is comprehended by the nose; and the wind⁸ likewise residing in the nose is appointed⁹ to the knowledge of smell. Taste¹⁰,

¹ The text here is rather unsatisfactory; I have adopted that which I find in the copy containing Arguna Misra's commentary.

² Frequent pondering on matters learnt from Sâstras or common life, *Nilakantha*. Why mind comes twice the commentators do not explain.

³ Does this refer to what is said at Sanatsugâtîya, p. 159?

⁴ Devotion means here, as in the Gîtâ, action without desire of fruits. For action the word here is the same as at Gîtâ, p. 115, note 2.

⁵ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 52, note 7.

⁶ This is Arguna Misra's interpretation, and appears to me to be correct. *Nilakantha*'s is different, but seems to omit all account of abhyeti, 'repairs.'

⁷ Arguna Misra's interpretation seems to be different, but our copy is not quite intelligible.

⁸ See p. 337 supra. The wind is the presiding deity of the nasal organ.

⁹ I.e. that is its function. Arguna Misra says, 'it is pondered on,' which is not clear. ¹⁰ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 74, as to taste and water.

the essence of water, is always comprehended by the tongue. And the moon likewise, who resides in the tongue, is appointed to the knowledge of taste. The quality of light is colour, and that is comprehended by the eye; and the sun residing in the eye is appointed always to the knowledge of colour. The (sensation of) touch, belonging to the air, is perceived by the skin, and the wind¹ residing in the skin is always appointed to the knowledge of (the objects) of touch. The quality of space is sound, and that is comprehended by the ear. And all the quarters residing in the ear are celebrated as (being appointed) to the knowledge of sound. Thought is the quality of mind, and that is comprehended by the understanding. The supporter of consciousness² residing in the heart is appointed to the knowledge of mind³. The understanding (is comprehended in the form of) determination, and the Mahat⁴ of knowledge. To (this) positive comprehension, the unperceived⁵ (is appointed), there is no doubt of that. The Kshe-tragñā, which is in its essence devoid of qualities and eternal, is not to be comprehended by any

¹ This cannot be the presiding deity here, though one expects such deity to be mentioned; see p. 337 supra.

² The text of more than one of the lines here is rather doubtful; we follow *Nilakantha*, who takes this to mean the *gīva*, the individual soul. Cf. p. 239, note 2 supra.

³ I. e. thought, as *Nilakantha* points out.

⁴ Mahat is properly the same as *buddhi*, understanding, but as it is here mentioned separately, I suppose, it signifies *Ahaṅkāra*. *Nilakantha* takes its operation, here called knowledge, to mean 'the feeling I am,' which agrees with our interpretation, for which some support is also to be derived from p. 333 supra.

⁵ I here follow *Arguna Misra*, though somewhat diffidently. The knowledge 'this is I,' and the knowledge 'this is so and so and nothing else' is presided over by the unperceived—the *Prakṛiti*.

symbols. Therefore the characteristic of the Kshetragñā, which is void of symbols¹, is purely knowledge. The unperceived is stated to be the Kshetra² in which the qualities are produced and absorbed. And I always see, know, and hear it, (though) concealed. The Purusha knows it, therefore is he called Kshetragñā³. And the Kshetragñā likewise perceives all the operations of the qualities⁴. The qualities created again and again, do not know themselves⁵, being non-intelligent, to be created and tied down to a beginning, middle, and end⁶. Only the Kshetragñā attains, no one (else) attains, to the truth, which is great, transcendent, and beyond the qualities and the entities (produced)⁷ from the qualities. Hence a man who understands piety, abandoning qualities, and the creation⁸, in this world, and transcending the qualities, and having his sins destroyed, then enters into the Kshetragñā. One who is free from the pairs of opposites, free from the ceremony of salutations, and

¹ See Sanatsugātīya, p. 146. See also p. 309 supra.

² See Gītā, p. 102 seq.

³ I. e. he who knows the Kshetra.

⁴ Enlightenment, activity, and delusion, *Nilakantha*.

⁵ I. e. do not know the self, *Nilakantha*; better, I think, 'the qualities do not know themselves, only the Kshetragñā knows them.' Cf. *Sānti Parvan* (Moksha Dharma), chap. 194, st. 41.

⁶ I. e. production, existence, and destruction, *Nilakantha*. This must, however, mean their manifestation, continuance, and dissolution in any particular form. For the *prakṛti*, which is made up of the three qualities, is beginningless. Cf. Gītā, p. 104.

⁷ I. e. the actual physical manifestations, as we may say, of the qualities.

⁸ The original, *sattva*, *Nilakantha* renders by *buddhi*, and qualities by visible objects. In the familiar *Sāṅkhya* phrase *sattvapuruṣhānyatāpratyaya* *sattva* means creation, or what is other than *purusha* (cf. *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī*, pp. 9-144). That is the meaning here. See too p. 371 infra, and *Sānti Parvan* (Moksha Dharma), chap. 194, st. 38 seq. and comments there.

from the svâhâ ceremony¹, who is unmoving, and homeless², is the Kshetragnâ, he is the Supreme Lord.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Brahman said :

I will state truly all about that which has a beginning, middle, and end³, and about the means for its comprehension, together with names and characteristics⁴. It is stated that day was first and then night; that months have the bright⁵ first, the Nakshatras Sravana⁶ as the first (among them), and the seasons the winter as the first (among them). The earth is the source⁷ of smells, water of tastes, the light (of) the sun is the source of colours, the wind is stated to be the source of (the feelings of) touch; likewise space is the source of sound. These are the qualities of the elements. Now I shall proceed to state the highest and first of all entities. The sun is

¹ See p. 324 supra.

² See Gîtâ, p. 101. Unmoving probably means 'not perturbed by the qualities' (Gîtâ, p. 110), or perhaps the same thing as 'of steady mind' at Gîtâ, p. 101. The sense is pretty much the same in both places.

³ Which has birth &c., *Nilakantha*, i. e. all the creation, I presume.

⁴ The names, that is to say, of the various elements, and their qualities.

⁵ This must mean fortnights.

⁶ This is specified, says Arguna Misra, as the six months of the northern solstice are caused by the sun being at this Nakshatra. As to those six months, cf. Gîtâ, p. 81. For the same reason, Arguna Misra adds, the winter season is mentioned as the best.

⁷ The word âdi, literally beginning, is used in the whole of this passage in different senses; it means the source, it means the best, and it means the first in order.

the first among shining bodies¹; fire is said to be the first of the elements²; Sāvitrī³ of all branches of learning; Pragâpati of deities; the syllable Om of all the Vedas; and the Prâna life-wind, of all words⁴; whatever is prescribed in this world, all that is called Sāvitrī⁵. The Gâyatrī is the first among metres; among (sacrificial) animals, the goat⁶ is mentioned (as the first). Cows are the first among quadrupeds, and the twice-born among men⁷. The Syena is first among birds; among sacrifices, the offering (into the fire) is the best; and among all reptiles, O best of the twice-born! the snake⁸ is the highest. Of all ages the Krīta is the first, there is no doubt of that. Among all precious things, gold (is the first), and among vegetable (products) likewise the barley seed⁹. Among all things to be eaten or swallowed food is the highest; and of

¹ This should be compared with the enumeration at p. 345 supra, and that in the Gītâ there referred to.

² Cf. p. 346 supra. Nilakantha takes fire to mean the gastric fire, and bhūta, rendered by us elements, to mean the species of beings born from eggs and wombs.

³ The famous verse 'Tat savitur,' &c. See inter alia Brīhadâraṇyaka, p. 999; Âpastamba I, 1, 1, 9; Manu II, 77 seq., 104-170.

⁴ See pp. 264, 265 supra.

⁵ Here he turns back to the Sāvitrī, 'looking back in the manner of the lion,' says Nilakantha, and for purposes of upâsanâ. He does not give up the thread of his discourse entirely, but simply interjects this little clause. Nilakantha adds, Sāvitrī here includes every mode of worship prescribed for Brâhmanas, &c., and even for Mlekkhas. Cf. note 3, and Gautama (Bühler's ed.), p. 174 note.

⁶ Cf. Khândogya, p. 109, and Saṅkara's commentary. Arguna Misra compares this text, Tasmâdesha eteshâm pasunâm sreshthatamogah. Where it occurs I know not.

⁷ Cf. Sânti Parvan (Râgadharmâ), chap. 11, st. 11.

⁸ I.e. Vāsuki, Nilakantha. More probably it refers to the species.

⁹ As it is used in various ceremonies.

all liquid substances which are to be drunk, water is the best. And among all immovable entities, without distinction, the Plaksha, the ever holy field of Brahman¹, is stated to be the first. I, too, (am the first) among all the patriarchs², there is no doubt of that. And the unthinkable, self-existent Vishnu is stated to be my own self. Of all mountains, the great Meru is stated to be the first-born. And among all quarters and sub-quarters, likewise, the eastern quarter³ is the first. Likewise the Gaṅgā going in three paths is stated to be the first-born among rivers. And likewise of all wells and reservoirs of water, the ocean is the first-born. And of all gods, Dānavas, Bhūtas, Pisākas, snakes, and Rakshases, and of men, Kinnaras, and Yakshas, Īśvara⁴ is the lord. The great Vishnu, who is full of the Brahman, and than whom there is no higher being in these three worlds, is the source of all the universe. Of all orders⁵, that of householders (is the first), there is no doubt of that. The unperceived is the source of the worlds; and the same is also the end of everything. Days end with (the sun's) setting⁶; the night ends with (the sun's) rising; the end of pleasure is ever grief;

¹ I.e. the Creator; his field means, I presume, his special seat.

² Beings from whom all creatures were born. See inter alia Sānti Parvan (Moksha Dharma), chap. 208, st. 5; Manu I, 34.

³ At p. 347 the north is mentioned. Arguna Misra has 'ūrdhva,' or upward here, and yet 'north' before. Is the north the best as the seat of the higher world mentioned at Sānti Parvan (Moksha Dharma), chap. 192, st. 8 seq.?

⁴ I.e. Rudra, says Nilakantha.

⁵ Viz. Brahmaçārin, householder, forester, and Samnyâsin. Cf. Sānti Parvan (Moksha), ch. 191, st. 10; Manu VI, 89; Gautama, p. 190.

⁶ These stanzas also occur in the Sānti Parvan, chap. 27, st. 31 seq. (Râgadharma). A part of them appears to be quoted in Sāṅkhya-sūtra V, 80. And the commentator Vigñāna Bhikṣu introduces it with the expression 'iti srūyate.' But it is not a Vedic text.

the end of grief ever pleasure. All accumulations end in exhaustion; all ascents end in falls; all associations end in dissociations; and life ends in death. All action ends in destruction; death is certain for whatever is born¹; (everything) movable or immovable in this world is ever transient. Sacrifice, gift, penance, study, observances, and regulations, all this ends in destruction². There is no end for knowledge. Therefore one whose self is tranquil, whose senses are subjugated, who is devoid of (the idea that this or that is) mine, who is devoid of egoism, is released from all sins by pure knowledge.

CHAPTER XXX.

Brahman said :

The wheel of life³ moves on; a wheel of which the spoke is the understanding, of which the pole⁴ is the mind, of which the bonds are the group of the senses, of which the outer rim⁵ is the five great elements, of which the environment is home⁶; which

¹ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 45.

² All this is action, the fruit of which is perishable; the fruit of knowledge, on the other hand, is everlasting.

³ Literally, time; it seems, however, to stand for the vicissitudes of worldly life. Cf. Svetâsvatara, p. 283. The body is called 'wheel of time' at p. 53 supra, but Arguna Misra there says 'it is the wheel which causes the rotation of the wheel of time.'

⁴ The cause of its being large in dimensions, Arguna Misra; the supporting pillar, *Nîlakantha*. I prefer the former, and take the sense to be that worldly life is co-extensive with the operations or 'fancies' of the mind.

⁵ What is outside the elements, the physical manifestations of *Prakṛti*, is beyond the domain of worldly life.

⁶ The possession of 'home' is equivalent to a dwelling in the midst of worldly life. Hence the idea of homelessness at *inter alia* Gîtâ, pp. 101-103.

abounds in old age and grief, which moves in the midst of disease and misfortune, which rotates in¹ space and time; the noise of which is trouble and toil, the rotations² of which (constitute) day and night; which is encircled with cold and heat; of which pleasure and pain are the joints, and hunger and thirst the nails fixed into it, of which sunshine and shade are the ruts; which staggers in the opening or closing of an eyelid, which is enveloped in the fearful waters of delusion, which is ever revolving and void of consciousness³, which is measured by months and half months, is ever-changing⁴, which moves through (all) the worlds⁵; the mud⁶ for which is penance and regulations, the mover of which is the force of the quality of passion⁷; which is lit up⁸ by the great egoism, which is sustained by the qualities; the fastenings in which are vexations⁹;

¹ This means, I presume, that worldly life is conditioned, so to say, by space and time. See p. 343 supra.

² I.e. the cause of the rotation, *Nīlakantha*.

³ I.e. unintelligent.

⁴ Now takes the form of a man, now of an animal, and then of some other thing, *Nīlakantha*. I think, however, that the meaning is, that it is not alike to all; different persons are in different states in this world.

⁵ Arguna Misra says this means that it is the cause of the movements in all the worlds. That is the sense I extract from his words, which are not quite clear, *lokânâm samkaraṇe hetus*. The rendering in the text follows *Nīlakantha*.

⁶ I.e., I presume, that which retards the revolutions of the 'wheel.' Instead of 'penance,' *Nīlakantha*'s reading is 'the quality of darkness.'

⁷ Cf. *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, p. 13, and *Vākaspati's* commentary thereon.

⁸ 'Animated,' *Nīlakantha*. Egoism is the cause of the world, and of all knowledge of it. Cf. *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, p. 24.

⁹ The text here is unsatisfactory. I follow *Nīlakantha*, who says 'vexations=those arising from not obtaining what is desired.'

which revolves in the midst of grief and destruction¹, which is full of actions and instruments of action², which is large, and which is extended by means of attachments³, which is rendered unsteady by avarice and desire⁴, which is produced by ignorance of various (matters)⁵, which is attended upon by fear and delusion, and which is the cause of the delusion of all beings, which moves towards joy and pleasure⁶, which has desire and wrath as its appurtenances, which is made up of (the entities) beginning with the Mahat and ending with the gross elements⁷, which is unchecked, the imperishable source (of all)⁸, the speed of which is like that of the mind, and which is (never) fatigued. This wheel of life, which is associated with the pairs of opposites, and which is devoid of consciousness, all the world, together with the immortals, should cast away, abridge, and check⁹. That man, among all creatures, who always

¹ Revolves in the midst of, = lives upon, is fed by, *Nilakantha*.

² I.e. the organs of action, I presume.

³ The more attachments one has, the more one is tied down to worldly life, and the more comprehensive such life becomes.

⁴ Avarice is coveting another's wealth when one has one's own; desire is the wish for that which one has not.

⁵ *Nilakantha* reads 'vikitra,' which he renders to mean diversified, as being made up of the three qualities, ignorance there being the same thing as *Prakṛiti*, which is probably a better sense altogether than that obtainable from *Arguna Misra's* reading.

⁶ Which moves by attachment to external pleasures, &c., *Nilakantha*. See p. 300 *supra*.

⁷ I.e. all the world developed from *Prakṛiti*—a common phrase.

⁸ This is *Nilakantha's* forced meaning. But the text here is doubtful. Perhaps the sense is 'in which production and dissolution are going on unchecked.'

⁹ See p. 344 note. For the last word, the variant here is *sthāpayet*, make steady or stop.

accurately understands the movement and stoppage¹ of the wheel of life is never deluded. (That) sage, released from all impressions², transcending all pairs of opposites, and released from all sins, attains the highest goal. The householder, and the Brahmakârin, the forester, and also the beggar³, all these four orders are stated to have the order of householder for their basis. Whatever system of rules⁴ is prescribed in this world, to follow it is good; this has been celebrated from ancient times⁵. He who has been first refined by ceremonies⁶, and who has duly observed vows, being (born) in a caste of (high) qualifications⁷, and who understands the Vedas, should return⁸ (from his preceptor's house). Always devoted to his own wife, behaving like⁹ good men, with his senses restrained, and full of faith, one should perform the five sacrifices¹⁰ in this world. The sage who eats what remains after (offerings) to deities¹¹ and guests, who is devoted to Vedic rites, who duly performs sacrifices and

¹ I.e. the causes of the revolution and stoppage, *Nīlakantha*.

² Impressions of previous actions, delusions, &c. And see p. 247 *supra*.

³ I.e. the Samnyâsin.

⁴ Sâstra. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 117.

⁵ 'Such is the eternal fame,' literally.

⁶ I.e. on whom the Vedic rites or *Samskâras* are duly performed. And see *Gîtâ*, p. 122.

⁷ I.e. one of the three higher castes.

⁸ The original is the technical word for the return of a Brahmakârin after finishing his studies. He is describing the 'householder.'

⁹ I.e. following the rule of conduct sanctioned by the good.

¹⁰ Vide *Williams' Dictionary*, s.v. *mahâyagña*; *Āśvalâyana Gr̥hya* III, 1, 3; *Manu* II, 69; IV, 21.

¹¹ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 62; a guest must always be fed, and unless he is satisfied the host must not eat. Cf. *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha*), chap. 192, st. 15; *Manu* III, 106; *Āpastamba* II, 3, 7, 3.

gifts according to his means, who is not thoughtlessly active¹ with the hand or foot, who is not thoughtlessly active with the eye, and who is not thoughtlessly active with his speech or any of his limbs, to such a one the (word) good applies. One should always have the sacred thread and a clean cloth, and be of pure vows, and self-restrained, and should always associate with good men, making gifts, and with one's external organs restrained; one should restrain one's lust and hunger², should be kind, should behave like the good, and keep a bamboo stick and a water-pot filled with water³. One should learn and teach, should likewise perform sacrifices and officiate at others' sacrifices, and should give and receive gifts,—(thus) one should adopt the sixfold mode of life⁴. Know that three (of these) duties are the means of livelihood for Brâhmaṇas, the two teaching and officiating at sacrifices, and also receiving untainted gifts⁵. And as to the other remaining three duties, gift, study, and sacrifice, they are pious⁶ duties. With regard to those three duties, the sage who understands piety, who is self-restrained, kind, possessed of forgiveness, and equable to all creatures, should avoid heedlessness⁷. The

¹ The same word as at Gîtâ, p. 114, there rendered 'vain activity.'

² Cf. Âpastamba II, 1, 1, 2 seq.

³ Cf. Manu IV, 36; Âpastamba II, 1, 1, 15.

⁴ These are the well-known six duties of Brâhmaṇas as specified by Manu and others. See the discussion of this point in the Introduction.

⁵ Another reading is 'gifts from an untainted (source).'

⁶ What is the exact meaning of this here? I suppose the meaning is that the performance of them is a pure performance of duty; the others are duties the performance of which supplies one's own wants, and is therefore interested. Cf. Gautama X, 1 and 2.

⁷ I.e. omission or mistake in performance.

Brāhmaṇa householder, who is of rigid vows, who is thus devoted, discharging all these duties as much as is in his power, conquers heaven.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Brahman said :

Thus ¹ duly studying to the best of his power, in the way above ² stated, and likewise living as a Brahmakārin, one who is devoted to his own duty and learned, who is a sage with all his senses restrained, who applies himself to what is agreeable and beneficial to the preceptor, who is pure ³, and constant in veracity and piety, should, with the permission of the preceptor, take food without decrying it ⁴, should eat (the leavings) of sacrificial offerings, and alms, and should stand, sit, and take exercise ⁵ (duly), should sacrifice twice to the fire after becoming clean and with a concentrated (mind), and should always bear a staff of the Bilva or Palāśa ⁶ (wood). The clothing of the twice-born (man) should be of linen, or of cotton, or also a deerskin, or a cloth entirely (dyed with) reddish colour. There should also be a girdle of muñga; he should have matted hair, and likewise always (carry) water (with him), and have his sacred thread, be engaged in sacred

¹ Arguna Misra says, 'Having described first the order of householder, as that is the chief, he now describes that of Brahmakārin.' Cf. Āpastamba II, 9, 21, 1, and note.

² Where? This is obscure.

³ Both internally and externally, I presume.

⁴ Cf. Taittirīya, p. 129; Sānti Parvan (Moksha), chap. 192, st. 6.

⁵ Cf. Gītā, p. 69. Arguna Misra says, 'Having exercise by means of standing and sitting; the meaning is not sleeping except at the proper time.'

⁶ Cf. Manu II, 41 seq.

study, and free from avarice, and of rigid observances. (Such) a Brahma-kârin, always making offerings likewise of pure water to satisfy the deities, being restrained in mind¹, is esteemed. One who is thus devoted², who is concentrated in mind, and continent³, conquers heaven, and reaching the highest seat, does not return to birth. Refined by means of all ceremonies, and likewise living as a Brahma-kârin⁴, a sage who has renounced⁵ (all) should go out of towns and dwell in forests⁶. Wearing a skin or the bark of a tree, he should bathe (every) morning and evening, and always living within the forest, should not enter a town again. He should honour guests, and should also give them shelter at (the proper) time, living on fruits and leaves, and roots and Syâmâka grain. He should without sloth feed on water, air, and all forest-products down to grass as they come, in order⁷, in accordance with the (regulations⁸ at his) initiation. He should honour a guest who comes, by (giving him) water accompanied with roots, fruits, and leaves. And he should always without sloth give alms out of whatever he has for food. He should also eat always after the deities and guests⁹

¹ Or it may be, 'being self-restrained and with (all his) heart.' The constructions in the original vary greatly, and so they do in the translation.

² Applying himself to his duties.

³ Cf. Maitrî, p. 18, and comment there.

⁴ Cf. Manu VI, 1 seq.

⁵ I.e. who is a mendicant ascetic.

⁶ Cf. p. 173 supra, note 9. Here he gives a description of the third order of forester, as to which compare generally Manu VI.

⁷ First the jungle-products, then air, &c., Arguna Misra. The sense seems to be that the restrictions should become gradually harder. Cf. Manu VI, 24-31; Âpastamba II, 9, 22, 2 seq.; II, 9, 23, 2.

⁸ I.e. whatever restriction he put on himself when entering upon the particular mode of life.

⁹ Supra, p. 358, and cf. Taittirîya, p. 38.

(are satisfied) and with his speech restrained, having a mind free from envy¹, eating little, and depending on the deities. Restraining the external senses, kind, full of forgiveness, preserving his hair and moustache, performing sacrifices, addicted to sacred study, and devoted to veracity and piety, pure in body², always dexterous³, always in forests, and concentrated in mind,—a forester whose senses are subdued and who is thus devoted⁴ conquers the worlds.

A householder, or a Brahmakârin, or again a forester, who wishes to apply himself to final emancipation should adopt the best (line of) conduct⁵. Offering safety to all beings, the sage should become free from all action⁶, and be agreeable to all beings, kind, and restrained in all his senses. He should make a fire⁷ and feed on the alms (obtained) without asking⁸ and without trouble⁹, and which have come spontaneously¹⁰, in a place free from smoke and where people have already¹¹ eaten. One who

¹ I.e. of others for obtaining more, and so forth. Arguna Misra's reading is different, and he renders it to mean, 'one by whom the rule of life as a Brahmakârin has not been violated.'

² Arguna Misra's reading, 'one who has cast away (all attachment to) the body.' Compare as to hair and moustache, Manu VI, 6 seq.

³ See Gîtâ, p. 127. Here the meaning is probably assiduous in the performance of duties, vows, and so forth.

⁴ I.e. applies himself to his duties.

⁵ Arguna Misra says this means ânandâsramam, but there must be some bad copying here. I take the word as it stands to mean something like the 'godlike endowments' at Gîtâ, p. 114.

⁶ See Gîtâ, pp. 54, 127. The meaning here is probably that of action without egoism. See Gîtâ, p. 55.

⁷ I.e. Arguna Misra says, 'not at night.' The readings are unsatisfactory. I read *krîtvâ vahnim*, but diffidently. Is the allusion to the rule at Âpastamba II, 9, 21, 10? Cf. Gautama III, 27.

⁸ Cf. Kaushîtaki, p. 32. ⁹ I.e. to the giver. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 120.

¹⁰ See Gîtâ, p. 10. ¹¹ Cf. Manu VI, 56; Gautama III, 15.

understands final emancipation should seek to obtain alms after the cleaning¹ of the vessels (used for cooking), and should not rejoice if he obtains, and should not be dejected if he does not obtain (alms). Nor should he beg for too much alms², seeking merely to sustain life. Eating only a little, he should go about for alms with a concentrated mind, looking out for the (proper) time. He should not wish for earnings in common with another, nor should he eat when honoured; for an ascetic should be averse from all earnings (accompanied) with honour³. When eating, he should not taste any articles of food which have been eaten by others⁴, or which are pungent, astringent, or bitter, and likewise no sweet juices. He should eat just enough for his livelihood—for the support of life. One who understands final emancipation should seek for a livelihood without obstructing (other) creatures; and when he goes about for alms, he should not go following after another⁵. He should not parade (his) piety, he should move about in a secluded place, free from passion. He should resort for shelter to an empty house, or a forest, or the foot of a tree, or a river likewise, or the cavern of a mountain. In summer, (he should pass) but a single night⁶ in a town; and in the rains, he may dwell in one place. He should move about the

¹ I.e., I presume, in order to avoid interfering with others' comforts. And see last note.

² See Manu VI, 55. As to proper time further on, see last note.

³ Cf. Sanatsugâtîya, pp. 145-147; 'without respect' at Gîtâ, p. 120, means probably with disrespect, otherwise that passage and this would be somewhat inconsistent. See too Manu II, 162.

⁴ Cf. Manu II, 56; Gîtâ, p. 118; and p. 269 supra.

⁵ As that other may get nothing if they go together, Arguna Misra. Cf. Manu VI, 51. ⁶ Cf. Gautama III, 21.

world like a worm¹, his path being pointed out by the sun, and he should walk with circumspection over the earth out of compassion to all beings². He should not make any accumulations; and should eschew dwelling with friends³. And the man who understands final emancipation should verily do all acts which he has to do, always with clean water. A man should always bathe in clean water. And with his senses restrained, he should devote himself to these eight observances⁴,—harmlessness, life as a Brahmaçârin, veracity, and also straightforwardness, freedom from anger, freedom from (the habit of) carping, restraint of the external organs, and habitual freedom from (the habit of) backbiting. He should always practise a sinless (mode of) conduct, not deceptive and not crooked; and free from attachment should always make one who comes (as a guest) take a morsel of food. He should eat just enough for livelihood—for the support of life. And he should eat (only) what has been obtained with piety⁵, and should not follow his own (mere) desire⁶. He should not accept anything at all other than food and clothing. And he should accept as much as he eats and no more. He should not receive from others, nor should he ever give to others⁷.

¹ I. e. not very fast, Arguna Misra; 'the path being pointed out by the sun'=not at night, for fear of destroying worms, &c.

² This seems to be very like the practice of the Gainas of the present day. And cf. Manu VI, 69. ³ Cf. Gîtâ, pp. 68-103.

⁴ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 114, and cf. also Sanatsugâtîya, p. 153.

⁵ That is to say, obtained without violation of any binding obligation, or rule of the Sâstras. ⁶ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 117.

⁷ This is not very clear, and Arguna Misra's comments are not intelligible. The sense seems to be this, 'He should not take more than is wanted, nor should he keep any accumulations from which to give to others, but should at once share with others all that is earned.'

But owing to the helplessness of people, a wise man should always share (with others). He should not appropriate another's riches, and should not take (anything) unasked. Nor, verily, after enjoying any object should one become afterwards attached to it. One who has anything to do¹ should take earth, water, pebbles likewise, and leaves, flowers, and fruits which are not secured² (by anybody), as they come³. One should not live by the occupation of an artisan⁴, nor should one wish for gold. One should not hate, should not teach⁵, and should be void of (all) belongings⁶. One should eat what is consecrated by faith⁷, and should avoid (all) controversies, should act without a purpose⁸, should be free from attachment, and without fixed appointments with people⁹. One should not perform, or cause to be performed, any action involving expectation of fruit, or involving any destruction of life, or the assemblage of people¹⁰. Rejecting all things,

¹ Arguna Misra says that this means if he wants them for any particular purpose he should take the earth, &c.

² I.e. apparently, taken possession of and preserved as one's own by anybody.

³ Arguna Misra renders this by 'which lead to action.' Is it not rather the 'spontaneous earnings' at Gîtâ, p. 60?

⁴ Cf. Manu III, 64; Âpastamba I, 6, 18, 18; Gautama XVII, 7.

⁵ I.e. teach one who does not ask to be instructed. Cf. Manu II, 110.

⁶ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 60; the original word, however, is not the same.

⁷ See p. 360, note 3 supra; Manu II, 54-55; Gautama IX, 59. 'Controversies;' the original is *nimitta*, and the interpretation is what appears to be Arguna Misra's. It may also mean 'omens.' That this is the true sense appears from Manu VI, 50.

⁸ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 48.

⁹ Arguna Misra says, 'e.g. I shall come to you to-morrow for alms,' &c. Cf. Âpastamba I, 6, 19, 12.

¹⁰ The words are the same as at Gîtâ, p. 54, 'keeping people (to

and being equable to all beings, moving and un-moving, one should become an ascetic with small belongings. One should not perturb any other (person), nor should one be perturbed by any other (person¹). He who is trusted by all beings is said to be the foremost among those who understand final emancipation. One should not think of what is not come², nor reflect on that which is past; one should disregard the present, being concentrated (in mind) and indifferent to time³. He should not de-file⁴ anything by the eye, or the mind, or by speech, nor should he do anything wrong openly or in secret. One who draws in the senses from all sides as a tortoise (draws in) his limbs⁵, and in whom the senses, mind, and understanding are absorbed⁶, who is free from desires, who understands all truth, who is free from the pairs of opposites, and from the ceremony of svâhâ, and who is free from salutations⁷, and who is free from (the thought that this or that is) mine, who is free from egoism, who is free from anxiety for new acquisitions or protection of old acquisitions, and self-controlled⁸, who is free from

their duties), but the sense seems to be different. The commentators say nothing on this.

¹ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 101.

² I.e. one should not look to the future with any aspirations or expectations, and should not look back on the past with grief, *Arguna Misra*. See too p. 170, note 9 supra.

³ I am not sure if this is a correct interpretation. But it does not seem likely that the other possible sense—literally ‘expecting time’—can be intended here.

⁴ This is obscure. Is the sense this, that one should not observe, or think, or speak badly of the bad side of things?

⁵ Cf. p. 342 supra, note 1.

⁶ Cf. *Kathâ*, p. 151.

⁷ See p. 352 supra, note 1.

⁸ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 48, where the original words are the same.

expectations, who is free from attachments to any entity, and who is dependent on none¹, who is attached to the self, and who understands the truth, is emancipated, there is no doubt of that. Those who perceive the self, which is without hands, foot, or back, without a head, without a stomach, which is free from the operations of the qualities², absolute, untainted, and stable, devoid of smell, devoid of taste or touch, devoid of colour, and also devoid of sound, which is to be understood³, which is unattached, and which is also devoid of flesh, which is free from anxiety⁴, imperishable, divine, and though dwelling in a house⁵, always dwelling in all entities, they never die⁶. There the understanding reaches not, nor the senses, nor the deities, nor Vedas, sacrifices, nor worlds⁷, nor penance, nor valour⁸; the attainment to it of those who are possessed of knowledge is stated to be without comprehension of symbols⁹. Therefore the learned man who knows (the) property of being void of symbols¹⁰, being devoted to pious conduct, and

¹ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 60.

² These are effects of *Prakṛiti* by which the *Purusha* is unaffected.

³ Literally, 'pursued.'

⁴ This is obscure. *Arguna Misra's* text is *niskṛityam*. Does that mean 'which should be accurately understood?' The rendering in the text of *Nilakantha's* reading may mean that the *Brahman* has no such thoughts (*kintâ*) as are referred to at *Gîtâ*, p. 115.

⁵ Does this mean the body?

⁶ I.e. are free from birth and death. Cf. *Âpastamba* I, 8, 22, 4.

⁷ This, again, is not quite clear. Probably the explanation is to be found in the passage at *Gîtâ*, p. 79.

⁸ *Nilakantha's* reading is 'observances or vows.'

⁹ I.e. 'not to be acquired by inference,' *Arguna Misra*, p. 351 *supra*.

¹⁰ See p. 309 *supra*; 'who is without symbols, and knows piety,' according to *Arguna Misra's* reading.

resorting to concealed¹ piety should adopt the mode of life (necessary) for experience². Though undeluded, he should act in the manner of the deluded³, not finding fault with piety⁴. He should perform piety, behaving so that others would always disrespect him⁵, and should not find fault with the ways of the good⁶. That sage is said to be the best who has adopted this (line of) conduct. The senses, and the objects of the senses, and the five great elements, and mind, understanding, egoism, the unperceived, and the Purusha likewise⁷, by an accurate determination about the truth, after understanding all these, one attains heaven⁸, being released from all bonds. One who knows the truth, understanding these same (entities) at the time of the termination (of his life), should meditate, exclusively pondering on one point⁹; and then, depending on none¹⁰, he gets emancipation. Freed from all attachments, like the atmosphere dwelling in space¹¹, with his accumulations¹² exhausted, and free from distress¹³, he attains to the highest seat.

¹ See p. 159 supra, note 7, and cf. Manu III, 109, which is the text referred to in note 5 there.

² I.e. direct perception of the Brahman. See Gītā, p. 57, note 5.

³ See p. 160 supra, note 8, and cf. also Manu II, 110.

⁴ Arguna Misra compares Gītā, p. 55, about 'shaking convictions.'

⁵ Cf. pp. 159-161 supra.

⁶ This means, I presume, the good devoted to action and not to knowledge only.

⁷ These are the famous elements of the Sāṅkhyas; see Sūtra I, 61.

⁸ Cf. p. 159 and note 2.

⁹ Cf. p. 300 supra.

¹⁰ Cf. Gītā, p. 60.

¹¹ Cf. Gītā, p. 82, note 3.

¹² Of actions previously performed. See p. 246 supra.

¹³ Cf. Gītā, p. 101, where, however, the original word is different.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Brahman said :

The ancients who perceived the established (truth) call renunciation¹ penance; and the Brāhmaṇas dwelling in the seat of the Brahman² understand knowledge to be concerned with the Brahman³. The highest Brahman is very far off⁴, and (the attainment of it) depends on Vedic knowledge⁵; it is free from the pairs of opposites, devoid of qualities⁶, everlasting, of unthinkable qualities, and supreme. The men of talent, who are pure⁶, and whose minds are refined, transcending passion, and being untainted, perceive that supreme (principle) by means of knowledge and penance. Those who are constantly devoted to renunciation⁷, and understand the Brahman and wish for the supreme, go to the happy path by penance. Penance⁸ is said to be a light; (correct) conduct is the means to piety; knowledge verily should be understood to be the highest, and renunciation the best penance. He who understands determinately the self which is unperturbed, which abides in all entities, and which is the essential

¹ Abandoning of fruit, Arguna Misra. Cf. Gītā, p. 121.

² Cf. p. 339 supra, note 4, dwelling in=adhering to.

³ See Gītā, p. 104.

⁴ Cf. Sanātsugātīya, p. 158 seq. ⁵ Viz. the three famous ones.

⁶ Pure, refined, and untainted are not easily distinguished. Probably 'pure' refers to external cleanliness; 'untainted' to freedom from sin and such taints; and 'refined' to freedom from error.

⁷ I.e. who have no 'belongings,' Arguna Misra.

⁸ Action without desire, Arguna Misra, who adds that it is called a light, as it leads to knowledge. See too p. 166, and p. 247, note 11, and p. 340 supra.

element in knowledge, he is laid down¹ (as being able) to move everywhere. The learned man who perceives, association and dissociation, and likewise unity and diversity², is released from misery. He who desires nothing, and despises nothing³, becomes eligible, even dwelling in this world, for assimilation with the Brahman⁴. He who knows the truth about the qualities of Pradhâna⁵, and understands the Pradhâna of all entities⁶, who is free from (the thought that this or that is) mine, and free from egoism⁷, is emancipated, there is no doubt of that. One who is free from the pairs of opposites, free from the (ceremonies of) salutation, free from (the ceremony of) svadhâ⁸, attains to that everlasting (principle) which is free from the pairs of opposites, and devoid of qualities, by tranquillity only. Abandoning all action, whether agreeable or disagreeable, developed from the qualities⁹, and abandoning both truth and falsehood¹⁰, a creature is emancipated, there is no doubt of that. The great tree of Brahman¹¹ is

¹ 'Laid down' is literally 'wished.'

² I presume this means the real fact underlying the appearances of association and so forth, namely, that there is but one reality, and all appearances of difference &c. are unreal. Cf. Gîtâ, p. 124. See also p. 313 supra, note 1, and p. 374 infra.

³ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 65, and see *Ka/ha*, p. 155. ⁴ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 65.

⁵ The qualities, viz. the three, of Pradhâna, i.e. constituting Prakṛti, or nature. ⁶ See Gîtâ, p. 106, and note 3 there.

⁷ For this whole expression, which occurs so frequently, cf. *Maitrî*, p. 44, and comment there.

⁸ See p. 324 supra, note 8. ⁹ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 48; *Svetâsvatara*, p. 360.

¹⁰ I.e., I presume, what is real and unreal in a worldly view,—the great truth is not to be 'abandoned.' Cf. *Taittirîya*, pp. 97-99; p. 191 supra; *Sânti Parvan* (*Moksha*), chap. 174, st. 53; *Âpastamba* II, 9, 21, 13.

¹¹ I.e., says *Arguna Misra*, the tree of worldly life produced from the Brahman. Compare chapter XII supra.

eternal; a tree which is produced from the unperceived as the seed, which consists of the understanding as its trunk, whose collection of boughs is the great egoism, the sprouts within which are the senses, the great branches of which are the great elements, and the side branches the objects of sense, which is always possessed of leaves, always possessed of flowers, in which agreeable and disagreeable fruits are always produced, and which is fed upon by all creatures. Cutting and piercing this (tree)¹ with the sword of knowledge of the truth, and abandoning the bonds in the shape of attachment, which cause birth, death, and old age², a wise man who is free from (the thought that this or that is) mine, and who is devoid of egoism, is emancipated, there is no doubt of that. There are these two birds³, (which are) unchanging, and which should also be known to be unintelligent⁴. But as to that other who is above them, he is called intelligent. (When) the inner self, devoid of knowledge of nature⁵, and (as it were) non-intelligent⁶, understands that which is

¹ Cf. *Gitā*, p. 111; and *Mundāka*, p. 307, and commentary there.

² So I render the original, though the sense at first sight appears to be 'which are caused by birth,' &c.

³ Viz. the understanding and egoism, which dwell in the 'tree,' Arguna Misra. *Nilakantha* says, 'the great and the individual self.'

⁴ Cf. *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* 11, and comment of Vātsapati Misra. The self is not unintelligent; and as the birds are so described, they must stand for some manifestation of *Prakṛiti*, which understanding and egoism are. Otherwise 'bird' does stand for 'self.' See p. 189 supra.

⁵ The original word here is *sattva*, on which see p. 351 supra. Arguna Misra renders it here by *Prakṛiti*.

⁶ So *Nilakantha*; 'the only intelligent principle,'—Arguna Misra. On *Nilakantha*'s interpretation 'inner self' must be the same thing as *Bhūtātman* at *Maitrī*, p. 41.

beyond nature, then understanding the Kshetra¹, and with an understanding comprehending all, and transcending the qualities² he is released from all sins.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Brahman said :

Some (think of) the Brahman as a tree ; some (think of) the Brahman as a great forest ; and some (think of) the Brahman as unperceived ; and some as transcendent and without misery³ ; and they⁴ think all this to be produced from and absorbed into the unperceived. He who even for (the space of) a (single) exhalation, at the time of the termination (of life⁵) becomes equable⁶, attaining to the self, becomes fit for immortality. Restraining the self in the self⁷, even for (the space of) a wink, he repairs to the inexhaustible acquisition⁸ of those who have knowledge, through the tranquillity of the self⁹. And restraining the life-winds again and

¹ See p. 351 supra.

² See Gītā, p. 109.

³ As to the first two clauses comp. pp. 284-371 supra ; the last two are said by Arguna Misra to represent the Sāṅkhya and Yoga doctrines respectively.

⁴ I presume this means all teachers. But Nilakanṭha takes it to mean the Sāṅkhyas, and he takes the preceding words as indicating two views based on Śruti texts, viz. the first, that the world is a development of the Brahman, and the other that the Brahman does not undergo any development or change. Anāmaya he takes to mean changeless, and Brahmanmaya he takes to mean developed from the Brahman.

⁵ Cf. Gītā, pp. 77, 78.

⁶ One who sees the supreme as the only real entity, Arguna Misra. Nilakanṭha takes it to mean one who identifies himself with everything. See Gītā, p. 65, and note 4 there.

⁷ See p. 344 supra.

⁸ I.e. the goal to be acquired.

⁹ 'Tranquillity'—the original may also be rendered by 'favour,'

again by control of the life-winds¹, of ten or twelve² (modes), (he repairs to) that which is beyond the twenty-four³. Thus having first a tranquil self, he obtains whatever he desires. When the quality of goodness predominates in the unperceived⁴, that fits one for immortality. The men of knowledge extol nothing else beyond goodness. By inference⁵ we understand the (attainment of the) being to depend on goodness. It is not possible otherwise⁶ to attain that being, O best of the twice-born! Forgiveness, courage, harmlessness, equability, truth, straightforwardness, knowledge, abandonment⁷, and also renunciation are laid down as (constituting) con-

as to which cf. p. 234 supra, but further on the phrase 'having a tranquil self' occurs, where the latter sense is not quite suitable. See *Gîtâ*, p. 51, and *Yoga-sûtra* I, 33.

¹ I.e. the specific modes which are mentioned of control of life-winds, e.g. at *Gîtâ*, p. 61, or *Yoga-sûtra* II, 49 seq.

² *Nîlakantha* proposes two interpretations of this. He says the ten are the eight mentioned in *Yoga-sûtra* II, 29, and in addition *tarka* and *vairâgya* (as to which see *Yoga-sûtra* I, 15 and 17). To make up the twelve he substitutes for the last two the four named at *Yoga-sûtra* I, 33. He also suggests that 'ten or twelve' may mean twenty-two, which he makes up thus. The five modes of *yama* (*Yoga-sûtra* II, 30), five of *niyama* (*ibid.* 32), the remaining six in *Yoga-sûtra* II, 29, the four in *Yoga-sûtra* I, 33, and *tarka* and *vairâgya* as before.

³ The twenty-four are the elements according to the *Sâṅkhya* system. See *Sâṅkhya-sâra*, p. 11, and p. 368 supra. That which is beyond them is *Purusha*.

⁴ The unperceived, it should be noted, is made up of the three qualities; the predominance of goodness indicates enlightenment or knowledge. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 108.

⁵ The middle term in the inference being, says *Arguna Misra*, the enlightening effect of the quality in question.

⁶ Cf. p. 167 supra.

⁷ The original is *tyâga*, which *Arguna Misra* renders by 'abandonment of all belongings;' renunciation, scil. of fruit. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 121, and p. 114.

duct of the quality of goodness. By this very inference the wise verily believe in the Being and nature as one, there is no doubt of that. Some learned men, who are devoted to knowledge, assert the unity of the Kshetragñā and nature¹. But that is not correct. That they are always distinct (from one another) is also (said) without (due) consideration². Distinction and also association³ should be accurately understood. Unity and diversity⁴ are likewise laid down. Such is the doctrine of the learned. Between the gnat and the udumbara⁵ there is observed unity and diversity also. As a fish is in water distinct (from it), such is their relation; (such is) the relation of the drops of water with the leaf of the lotus.

The preceptor said :

Then those Brāhmaṇas, who were the best of sages, having again felt doubts, interrogated the grandsire of the people who spoke to them thus.

¹ Here, says Nīlakanṭha, the author indicates an objection to the proposition stated just before. But the passage is not clear.

² This, says Nīlakanṭha, is a reply to the Sāṅkhyas, who hold the two to be distinct. Nīlakanṭha adds, that if the two are distinct, nature will, conceivably, adhere even to an emancipated creature; and if they are one, then the being or self would be really engaging in action and so forth, and that activity being really a property of the self, could not be destroyed save by the destruction of the self. Hence that view is also wrong.

³ Like that of sea and wave, Nīlakanṭha.

⁴ Unity of Brahman and diversity of manifestation of nature, Arguna Misra, who adds—by reason of the association they are spoken of as one, by reason of the unity and diversity they are distinct. The next sentence contains three parallel cases.

⁵ Cf. as to all this, Sānti Parvan, chap. 194, st. 38 seq. (Moksha Dharma); chap. 249, st. 20 seq.; chap. 285, st. 33 seq.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The sages said :

Which (form of) piety is deemed to be the most worthy of being performed ? We observe the various modes of piety to be as it were contradictory. Some say (it¹ remains) after the body (is destroyed) ; some say that is not so. Some (say) everything² is doubtful ; and others that there is no doubt. Some say the permanent (principle) is impermanent, and others, too, that it exists, and (others) that it exists not³. Some (say it is) of one form or twofold, and others (that it is) mixed⁴. Some Brâhmanas, too, who know the Brahman and perceive the truth, believe it to be one ; others distinct ; and others again (that it is) manifold⁵. Some say both time and space (exist)⁶, and others that that is not so. Some have matted hair and skins ; and some (are) clean-shaven and without covering. Some people are for bathing ; some for the omission⁷ of bathing. Some are for taking food ; others are intent on fasting. Some people extol action, and

¹ I.e. the piety, Arguna Misra ; the self, Nilakantha.

² I.e. such as piety, &c., Arguna Misra.

³ I follow Arguna Misra, who says 'permanent' means soul, &c. The correct expression would seem to be 'that which is called permanent by others is impermanent.'

⁴ This is the view of those who hold the theory of Parinâma, or development, says Arguna Misra.

⁵ 'To be one'=knowledge to be all of one description, 'distinct'=knowledge having various entities for its distinct objects (this is the view of the holders of the Vigñânâvâda, says Arguna Misra) ; manifold=that the selfs are numberless. The words here are nearly identical with those at Gîtâ, p. 83, see note 4 there.

⁶ I.e. help in action, Arguna Misra.

⁷ See Âpastamba I, 1, 1, 2 (comment).

others tranquillity. Some extol final emancipation; some various kinds of enjoyments; some wish for riches, and others indigence. Some (say) means¹ should be resorted to; others that that is not so. Some are devoted to harmlessness, and some given up to destruction; some are for merit and glory; and others say that is not so. Some are devoted to goodness; some are in the midst of doubts; some are for pleasure, and some for pain². Some people (say) meditation³, other Brâhmanas (say) sacrifice, and others, gifts; but others extol penance, and other persons sacred study; some knowledge, and renunciation⁴; and those who ponder on the elements⁵, nature⁶. Some extol everything, and others nothing⁷.

¹ I.e. for the acquisition of anything desirable, Arguna Misra, who adds, 'by those who wish for piety.' Nilakantha says means = 'meditation and so forth;' as to 'that is not so' he cites what he calls a Sruti, which is however one of the Kârikâs of Gaudapâda on the Mândukya; see p. 432.

² This, too, is not quite clear, but Nilakantha says, 'meditation should be practised for release from pain, and for acquisition of pleasure;' 'and others say not so, it should be done without desire.'

³ That is to say, they hold that meditation should be practised.

⁴ Arguna Misra seems to take this to mean 'renunciation of knowledge,' i.e. a blank, and says this was the view of the Mâdhya-mikas,—I suppose the Mâdhyamika Bauddhas.

⁵ I.e. the Kârvâkas, Arguna Misra.

⁶ Svetâsvatara, p. 276, and Saṅkara's commentary there.

⁷ Were there optimists and pessimists at the time of the Anu-gîtâ in India? This verse, however, does not occur in some MSS. Nilakantha's note on this passage may be of some interest. He says, 'Some hold that the self exists after the body is lost; others, that is the Lokâyatas or Kârvâkas, hold the contrary. Everything doubtful is the view of the Syâdvâdins; nothing doubtful that of the Tairthikas, the great teachers (I presume, about their own respective doctrines). Everything impermanent, Târkikas; permanent, Mîmâmsakas; nothing exists, the Sūnyavâdins; something exists, but only momentarily,

And, O best of the gods! piety being thus confused and abounding in contradictions, we are deluded, and come to no determination. People are acting, (saying) this is good, this is good. And he who is attached to a certain (form of) piety, always esteems that. Here (therefore) our understanding breaks down, and our mind is distracted. We wish, O best (of beings)! to be informed of what is good. Be pleased now to proceed to state what is (so) mysterious, and what is the cause of the connexion between the Kshetragña and nature. Thus addressed by those Brāhmaṇas, the venerable, holy, and talented creator of worlds told them accurately (what they asked).

Saugatas; knowledge is one, but the ego and non-ego are two different principles, the Yogâtâras; mixed, Uḍulomas; one, is the view of the worshippers of the Brahman as possessed of qualities; distinct, other Mīmāṃsakas, who hold that the special actions are the cause (of everything, is meant, I presume); manifold=the atomists; time and space=astrologers. Those who "say that is not so," that is to say, that what we see has no real existence at all, are the Vriddhas, ancient philosophers; omission to bathe=the condition of Naishhika Brahmaṭārins; bathing=householder's condition; "means should be resorted to, that is not so," those who are against all meditation, &c., according to the Sruti text, which Nīlakaṇṭha quotes; "merit and glory, that is not so," some say there is no merit as the Lokāyatas or Kārvākas; "knowledge, renunciation," the former is to be gained only by means of the latter; "ponder on elements"=who are intent on the investigation of the true nature of things; nature=abundance of resources, by which alone knowledge is produced, not by mere renunciation.' It will be understood, that this commentary assumes a different syntactical construction of the original in some places from that adopted in our translation.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Brahman said :

Well then, I will declare to you what you ask of me, O best (of men)! Learn what a preceptor told a pupil who went to him. Hearing it all, deliberate on it properly. Non-destruction of all creatures, that is deemed to be the greatest duty¹. This is the highest seat², free from vexation and holy in character. The ancients who perceived the established (truth) call knowledge the highest happiness. Therefore by pure knowledge one is released from all sins. And those who are constantly engaged in destruction, and who are infidels³ in their conduct, and who entertain avarice and delusion, go verily to hell. Those who without sloth perform actions with expectations, rejoice in this world, being born again and again. But those wise and talented men, who perform actions with faith, free from any connexion with expectations, perceive correctly⁴. Now I will proceed to state how the association and dissociation of Kshetragña and nature (take place). Learn that, O best (of men)! The relation here is said to be that between the object and subject⁵. The subject

¹ See p. 291 supra, and note 3 there.

² So literally; the sense is—that which one is to aim at.

³ The original is *nâstika*, the contrary of that '*âstikya*,' which at Gîtâ, p. 126, we have rendered by 'belief (in a future world),' following Sridhara. Râmânuga, whose commentary came to hand too late for any other than a very occasional use in the translation of the Gîtâ, renders it by 'belief in the truth of the teaching of the Vedas.'

⁴ I. e. learn the truth.

⁵ I use the terms subject and object here in the philosophical sense explained by Sir W. Hamilton, viz. the thinking agent and the object of thought respectively. And cf. also the passage referred to in note 3 on p. 379 infra.

is always the being, and nature is stated to be the object. It has been explained in the above mode, as (having the relation) of the gnat and the udumbara¹. Nature which is non-intelligent knows nothing, though it is the object of enjoyment². Who enjoys and what is enjoyed³ is learnt from the Sâstras. Nature is said always to abound in the pairs of opposites, and to be constituted of the qualities; the Kshetragñā is free from the pairs of opposites, devoid of parts, and in essence free from the qualities. He abides in everything alike⁴, and is connected with (all) knowledge⁵; and he always enjoys nature as a lotus-leaf (enjoys) water. Even brought into contact with all qualities, a learned man remains untainted⁶. There is no doubt that the being is unattached just like the unsteady drop of water placed upon a lotus-leaf⁷. It is established that nature is the property⁸ of the being. And the relation of the two is like that of matter and the maker⁹. As one goes into (a) dark (place) taking a light (with him), so those who wish for the supreme go with the light of nature¹⁰. While there is oil

¹ P. 374 supra. The relation is one of close connexion, coupled with some identity of nature (because, says *Nilakantha*, an entirely extraneous thing could not get into the inside of the fruit, and the gnat's body therefore must have come from the fruit itself), but still the elements are distinct.

² See p. 371 supra, note 4.

³ Cf. *Maitrī*, p. 108.

⁴ Cf. *Gītā*, pp. 105, 106.

⁵ Knowledge of the Kshetragñā forms part of all real knowledge. Arguna Misra's reading and interpretation are different. He says, 'As he is seen coming to light everywhere alike, so,' &c.

⁶ Cf. *Gītā*, pp. 55-110.

⁷ Again the common simile.

⁸ The original is *dravya*, rendered 'matter' in the next sentence. Arguna Misra paraphrases it by 'upakarana,' paraphernalia.

⁹ So the original, the sense is not clear. But see *Svetâsvatara*, p. 368.

¹⁰ Knowledge, which, says *Nilakantha*, is a manifestation of nature. Arguna Misra says the knowledge of the truth which the

and wick¹, the light shines; but the flame is extinguished when the oil and wick are exhausted. Thus nature is perceived²; the being is laid down (as being) unperceived. Understand this, O Brâhmanas! Well now, I will tell you something more. One who has a bad understanding does not acquire knowledge even with a thousand (admonitions). And one who is possessed of knowledge enhances (his) happiness even with a fourth share³. Thus should one understand the accomplishment of piety by (apt) means. For the talented man who knows (these) means, attains supreme happiness⁴. As a man travelling along some way without provisions for the journey, travels with great discomfort, and may even be destroyed on the way, so should one understand, that by action⁵ the fruit is or is not produced. For a man to see within (his) self⁶ what is agreeable and what is disagreeable to him is good. And as one who is devoid of a perception of the truth rashly travels on foot by a long way unseen before⁷, while (another) goes by the same self acquires is by means of nature. Cf. Sâṅkhya-kārikā 56, and comment.

¹ So Nilakantha. Arguna Mîsra does not take *guṇa* here to mean 'wick.'

² I. e., I presume, in its manifestations; it is perceived for some time and then vanishes. Cf. Sâṅkhya-kārikā 59-61; the Purusha is not 'perceived' in this sense. ³ Viz. of admonition, Arguna Mîsra.

⁴ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 70, where the same phrase occurs.

⁵ The fruit of this is uncertain; knowledge which is in one's self is the thing to be worked for.

⁶ I. e. the mind, Nilakantha. The meaning is, he should not care for external pleasure and pain. Cf. Gîtâ, *inter alia*, p. 50.

⁷ This seems to be so left imperfect in the original. The construction seems to be this: the progress of the latter is as great as that of one who drives in a chariot as compared with that of one who goes on foot with much suffering. Cf. the construction on next page.

way in a carriage¹ drawn by horses, and going swiftly, such is the progress of the men of understanding. Having climbed up a mountain one should not look at the surface of the earth². One sees a man travelling in a chariot, and void of intelligence, afflicted by reason of the chariot. As far as there is a carriage-path, he goes in the carriage; where the carriage-path stops, a learned man goes on abandoning the carriage. So travels the talented man, who understands the procedure respecting (knowledge of the) truth and devotion³, and who knows about the qualities, comprehending the gradations⁴ one above the other. As one who without a boat dives into the ocean with his arms only, through delusion, undoubtedly wishes for destruction; while a wise man likewise knowing distinctions⁵, and having a boat with good oars, goes in the water without fatigue, and soon crosses the reservoir, and having crossed (it) goes to the other shore, throwing

¹ I.e. the Sâstras, says *Nilakantha*. Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 117.

² When one has arrived at knowledge,—the highest seat, says *Nilakantha*,—one need not perform the dictates of the Sâstras, which are only preliminary to the acquisition of knowledge. Cf. *Gîtâ*, pp. 48, 73. Cf. as to this figure of the chariot and the next one about the boat, *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 695.

³ I adopt *Arguna's* rendering of the original here, viz. Yoga. The meaning, on that rendering, is the same as it is in the *Gîtâ*.

⁴ According to *Arguna Misra*, action with desire, action without desire, and lastly, knowledge. According to *Nilakantha*, action laid down in the Sâstras, then Yoga, and then the condition of *Hamsa*, *Paramahamsa*, &c.

⁵ Literally, one knowing divisions. I presume the meaning is distinctions between various things as to which suits which, and so forth. The boat, says *Nilakantha*, is a preceptor, and even a preceptor is not to be sought for after a man has achieved Yoga; hence the text proceeds to speak further on of casting aside the boat. Wishes for destruction= is sure to meet destruction.

aside the boat, and devoid of (the thought that this or that is) mine. This has been already explained by the parallel of the carriage and pedestrian. One who has come by delusion through affection, adheres to that like a fisherman to his boat, being overcome by (the thought that this or that is) mine. It is not possible to move on land after embarking in a boat. And likewise one cannot move in water after entering a carriage. Thus there are various actions in regard to different objects¹. And as action is performed in this world, so does it result to them². That which sages by their understanding meditate upon, which is void of any smell whatever, void of taste, and void of colour, touch, or sound, that is called the Pradhâna³. Now that Pradhâna is unperceived; a development of the unperceived is the Mahat; and a development of the Pradhâna (when it is) become Mahat is egoism. From egoism is produced the development, namely, the great elements; and of the elements respectively, objects of sense are verily stated to be the development⁴. The unperceived is of the nature of seed⁵, and also productive in its essence. And we have heard

¹ I. e. appertaining to the various orders of householders, &c., *Nilakantha*. But I am not aware of any authority for this sense of *vishaya*.

² I. e. those who perform them.

³ *Nilakantha* says, 'Having stated above the means of knowledge, he now states the proper object of knowledge.'

⁴ See p. 332 *supra*. The original for development is *guna*, literally quality.

⁵ The meaning of this passage seems to be identical with that of *Sâṅkhya-kârikâ* 3. Productive (*Prasavâtmakam*) is probably to be explained as *Prasavadharmi* is at *Sâṅkhya-kârikâ* 11 (see commentary of *Vâkaspati*, pp. 59, 60), viz. always undergoing development. The great elements are of course the *tanmâtras*.

that the great self is of the nature of seed and a product. Egoism is of the nature of seed and a product also again and again. And the five great elements are verily of the nature of seed and products. The objects of the five elements are of the nature of seed¹, but they do not yield products. Learn about their properties. Now space has one quality, air is said to have two qualities; it is said that light has three qualities; and water, too, is of four qualities; and earth, abounding with movables and immovables, the divine source of all entities, full of examples of agreeable and disagreeable (things), should be understood to be of five qualities². Sound, touch, colour likewise, taste, and smell as the fifth—these, O best of the twice-born! should be understood to be the five qualities of earth. Smell always belongs to the earth³; and smell is stated to be (of) numerous descriptions. I will state at length the numerous qualities of smell⁴. Smell is agreeable or disagreeable, sweet, sour, and bitter likewise, diffusive and compact also, soft, and rough, and clear also⁵—thus should

¹ This is not clear, unless 'product' above means productive, and seed means a product, it being a product of the *aṅkura* or sprout. *Nilakantha* says, 'seed=cause; product=effect. The unperceived is an effect, and so the contrary doctrine of the *Sāṅkhya* is here shown to be wrong. The objects are causes, as their enjoyment causes an impression.'

² See pp. 285, 286 *supra*.

³ That is to say, smell is the special property of the earth only, the other qualities are common to it with the other elements. The word in the original is *guṇa* or quality everywhere.

⁴ See *Sānti Parvan* (*Moksha Dharma*), chap. 184, st. 27.

⁵ Bitter, *Nilakantha* exemplifies by the smell of the chili, apparently interpreting *ka/vi*, as it may be interpreted, to mean sharp; diffusive=overcoming all other smells, like *Asafoetida*; compact=made up of many smells. *Nilakantha* adds, that soft is like that of

smell, which belongs to the earth, be understood to be of ten descriptions. Sound, touch, and colour likewise, and taste, are stated to be the qualities of water. I will now give (some) information about taste. Taste is stated to be of numerous descriptions. Sweet¹, sour, bitter, sharp, astringent, and saltish likewise—thus are the forms of taste, which is a development of water, said to be of six descriptions. Sound, touch, and likewise colour; thus is light said to have three qualities. The quality of light is colour, and colour is stated to be of numerous descriptions. White, black, red likewise, green, yellow, and grey likewise, short, long, narrow², broad, square, and circular—thus is the colour of light said to be of twelve forms. It should be understood³ by aged Brâhmaṇas, who speak the truth, and are conversant with piety. Sound and touch also should be understood; air is said to have (these) two qualities. And touch is the quality of air, and touch is stated to be of numerous descriptions. Rough, cold and hot likewise, tender and clear also, hard, glutinous, smooth, slippery, hurtful, and soft⁴—thus the quality of air is properly said by Brâhmaṇas who have reached perfection, who are conversant with piety and perceive the truth, to be of twelve descriptions. Now space has one quality,

liquid ghee, rough of the oil of mustard, and clear as of cooked rice. The Sânti Parvan passage omits 'sour.' ¹ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 118.

² Literally, lean and fat. These are rather unusual qualities to attribute to colour. The Sânti Parvan passage gives more.

³ Sic. Does it mean 'it is understood?' Cf. Pânini III, 3, 113.

⁴ Tender=like the touch of a son, &c.; clear=like that of an excellent cloth, Nilakanta; glutinous=like that of oil; smooth=like that of a gem; slippery=not really smooth, but appearing to be such, like that of saliva (?), Arguna Misra. The enumeration of these in the Sânti Parvan loc. cit. is again different.

and that is stated to be sound only. I will speak at length of the numerous qualities of sound. *Shadga*, *Rishabha*, together with *Gândhâra*, *Madhyama*, and likewise *Pañkama*, and beyond these should be understood to be *Nishâda* and *Dhaivata* likewise¹; agreeable and disagreeable sound also, compact, and of (many) ingredients². Thus sound, which is produced in space, should be understood to be of ten descriptions. Space is the highest element³, egoism is above that; above egoism is understanding, and above that understanding is the self⁴; above that is the unperceived, and above the unperceived is the being. One who knows which is superior and inferior among entities, and who knows the proper procedure in all actions, and who identifies himself with every being⁵, repairs to the imperishable self.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Brahman said:

Since the mind is ruler of these five elements, in (the matter of) absorbing or bringing (them) forth⁶,

¹ This is the Hindu Gamut.

² These are not in the *Sânti Parvan*; of many ingredients = collection of sounds, *Arguna Misra*.

³ Being all-pervading, *Arguna Misra*. Cf. its position at *Taittirîya*, p. 67.

⁴ Cf. *Kaṭha*, pp. 114, 115, 149, and *Saṅkarâkârya's* commentary there, for an explanation of the whole passage. And see *Saṅkhyasâra*, p. 16, as to what are here called self and understanding.

⁵ Cf. *Gitâ*, p. 64, where the words are identical.

⁶ The elements are perceived or are not perceived by the senses under the direction of the mind; absorbing = destroying; bringing forth = producing, *Nilakanṭha*. See p. 268 *supra*, and *Sânti Parvan* (*Moksha*), chap. 240, st. 12.

the mind itself is the individual self¹. The mind always presides over the great elements. The understanding proclaims its power², and it is called the Kshetragñā. The mind yokes the senses as a charioteer (yokes) good horses. The senses, the mind, and the understanding are always joined to the Kshetragñā³. That individual self, mounting the chariot to which big horses⁴ are yoked, and in which the understanding is the drag⁵, drives about on all sides. The great chariot which is pervaded by the Brahman⁶, has the group of the senses yoked (to it), has the mind for a charioteer, and the understanding for a drag. That learned and talented person verily, who always understands thus the chariot pervaded by the Brahman, comes not by delusion in the midst of all entities⁷. This forest of the Brahman⁸ begins with the unperceived, and ends with the gross objects⁹;

¹ The word is the same as at Maitrī, p. 41, the comment on which should be seen.

² I.e. the mind's power is to be perceived by itself, *Nilakantha*. The meaning seems to be that the understanding can only operate on what the mind places before it.

³ The passage at *Kaṭha*, p. 111 seq., and Sāṅkara's commentary there, throw light on this, though the figure is not drawn out in the same way in both places. For a definition of Kshetragñā, see *Sānti Parvan* (Moksha), chap. 187, st. 23.

⁴ I.e. the senses.

⁵ I.e. that which holds the horses in check. *Nilakantha* seems to render it by 'whip,' but that is not correct, I think.

⁶ So Arguna Misra. *Nilakantha* says, 'The senses, &c., when they turn towards the outer world make the self drive about, as an individual self; when turned inwards they show him that he is the Brahman.' *Nilakantha* thus likens this to the *Kaṭha* passage. See also p. 187 and notes there.

⁷ Or it may mean, among all men.

⁸ See p. 164 supra, note 2; and p. 285, note 4.

⁹ That is to say, it includes all *Samsāra*, all the elements recognised by the Sāṅkhya philosophy, save the Being or Purusha.

and includes movables and immovables, receives light from the radiance of the sun and moon, is adorned with planets and nakshatras, and is decked on all sides with nets of rivers and mountains, and always beautified likewise by various (descriptions of) waters; it is (the means of) subsistence for all entities¹, and it is the goal of all living creatures. In this the Kshetragña always moves about. Whatever entities (there are) in this world, movable or immovable, they are the very first² to be dissolved; and next the developments produced from the elements³; and (after) these developments, all the elements. Such is the upward gradation⁴ among entities. Gods, men, Gandharvas, Pisâkas, Asuras, Râkshasas, all have been created by nature⁵, not by actions, nor by a cause. These Brâhmaṇas⁶, the creators of the world, are born here again and again. And what-

¹ Cf. p. 371 supra.

² Another reading means 'they are dissolved in the waters.' As to the order, cf. Vedânta Paribhâṣâ, p. 48, and p. 335 supra.

³ I take these to mean the gross elements of which things movable and immovable may be said to be made, if one may use a non-idealist phrase in the Sâṅkhya philosophy. Then the elements next spoken of are the subtle ones or tanmâtras. Cf. the references in note 2. As to developments, see p. 382, note 4.

⁴ Viz. gross object, gross element, subtle element.

⁵ The original is svabhâva, which Arguna Misra renders by Prakṛti. 'Actions' both Nîlakantha and Arguna Misra take to mean sacrifices, &c., and 'cause' the former interprets by Brahman; the latter by tanmâtras or subtle elements, and adds, 'the sense is—not by sacrifice or tanmâtras only.' Nîlakantha says, 'The gods, &c., are produced by nature, as the gods, &c., seen in a dream.' The meaning seems to be that there are energies in nature which evolve these forms of being. Cf. also Gîtâ, p. 65.

⁶ I presume this means that the patriarchs (Marîki and others, says Nîlakantha) are also born again and again—that is to say, in different kalpas, I suppose—by nature only.

ever is produced from them¹ is dissolved in due time in those very five great elements, like billows in the ocean. The great elements are in every way (beyond) the elements that make up the world². And he who is released, even from those five elements, goes to the highest goal. The Lord Pragāpati created all this by the mind³ only. And in the same manner⁴ the sages attained the godhead⁵ by means of penance⁶. And in like manner, those who have achieved perfection, who have acquired concentration by a course of penance, and who likewise feed on fruits and roots, perceive the triple world⁷ here by penance. Medicines, and herbs, and the various sciences are all acquired⁸ by means of penance alone. For all acquisition⁹ has penance for its root. Whatever is difficult to obtain¹⁰, difficult to

¹ I think this must mean the elements, though it might at first sight be referred to the Brāhmanas.

² I.e. the gross elements, I take it; the others are the tanmātras.

³ I.e. the meditation which constitutes true knowledge, Arguna Misra. But see Gītā, p. 87, note 1, and Sāṅkhya-sūtra.

⁴ I.e. by the mind, as to which cf. Taittirīya, p. 89; Kaṭha, p. 164. Arguna Misra says, 'This apparent deviation from the ordinary modes of cause and effect is not altogether without parallel, so he adds this to show that.'

⁵ Literally, 'the gods,' but the meaning seems to be that given in the text, as Arguna Misra says.

⁶ This is only the concentration of mind and senses on one object, Nilakanta. See p. 166, note 1 supra.

⁷ See p. 174 supra.

⁸ Literally, 'are accomplished,' which seems to mean that they are acquired so as to be practically at one's command when required.

⁹ The original word is derived from the same root as the subject of the last note.

¹⁰ Difficult to obtain=the seat of Indra, &c.; to learn=Vedas, &c.; to vanquish=fire, &c.; to pass through=a great deluge, &c.,

learn, difficult to vanquish, and difficult to pass through; all that can be accomplished by penance, for penance is difficult to overcome. One who drinks spirituous liquors, one who kills a Brâhmana, one who steals, one who destroys an embryo, one who violates the bed of his preceptor¹, is released from that sin only by penance well performed. (Those) men, Pitṛ's, gods, (sacrificial) animals,² beasts and birds, and all other creatures movable or immovable, (who are) constantly devoted to penance, always reach perfection by penance. And in like manner the noble(-minded) gods went to heaven³. Those who without sloth perform actions with expectations, and being full of egoism, they go near Pragâpati⁴. Those high-souled ones who are devoid of (the thought that this or that is) mine, and devoid of egoism, by means of a pure concentration (of mind) on contemplation, obtain the great and highest world. Those who best understand the self, attaining concentration (of mind) on contemplation⁵, and having their minds always tranquil, enter into the unperceived accumulation of happiness⁶. Those

Nilakantha. Arguna Misra seems to interpret the last word, where his reading is doubtful, to mean 'difficult to do.'

¹ Cf. *Khândogya*, p. 361. Except the destruction of the embryo (see *Taitt. Âran.* p. 870, but at *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 795, Kaushîtaki, p. 77, and *Âpastamba I*, 6, 19, 16, the commentators render *Bhrûna* by 'learned Brâhmana'), the rest are the great sins. But note that stealing gold, not theft generally, is mentioned as a great sin.

² Or, perhaps, cattle. The original is *pasu*.

³ See p. 160 *supra*, and cf. p. 178.

⁴ I. e. Kasyapa, as gods, &c. This seems to be Arguna Misra's interpretation. This condition is inferior to that described in the following sentence.

⁵ See p. 162, note 1.

⁶ Nilakantha's rendering is 'that by which (worldly) happiness is

who are free from (all thought that this or that is) mine, and who are free from egoism, attaining concentration (of mind) on contemplation¹, enter the highest world of the great, which is the unperceived. Born from that same unperceived² (principle), again acquiring knowledge, and getting rid of the (qualities of) passion and darkness, and resorting to the pure (quality of) goodness, a man gets rid of all sins, and abandons everything as fruitless. He should be understood to be the Kshetragña. He who understands him understands the Vedas³. Withdrawing from the mind the objects⁴ of mental operations, a sage should sit down self-restrained. (He) necessarily (becomes) that on which his mind⁵ (is fixed). This is the eternal mystery. That which begins with the unperceived and ends with the gross objects⁶ is stated to be of the nature of ignorance⁷. But (you should) learn that whose nature is devoid

heightened.¹ He compares *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, p. 816. See also *Taittirīya*, p. 112.

¹ See *Gîtâ*, p. 128, note 1, where *dhyâna* and *yoga* are taken separately. Here the compound is in the singular. *Nīlakantha's* reading is different.

² The sense here is not quite clear. It seems, however, to be this. The acquisitions mentioned in the preceding sentence take the acquirers to some temporary world from which they afterwards return; but when they get rid of the qualities, they get final emancipation. As to the unperceived, cf. *inter alia* *Gîtâ*, p. 112, note 2.

³ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 111, and note 2 there. That seems to approach the question from the opposite point of view.

⁴ So *Arguna Misra*. At *Gîtâ* XVI, 16, *kitta* means the operation itself. That also will do here.

⁵ Cf. *Gîtâ*, p. 78; *Maitrī*, p. 178; *Prasna*, p. 194; and the quotations at *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 3.

⁶ This phrase has occurred before; it means all the developments which make up worldly life. See *Sāṅkhya-sāra*, p. 5.

⁷ See p. 371 *supra*.

of qualities. Two syllables¹ are death; three syllables the eternal Brahman. Mine is death, and not mine is the eternal². Some men of dull understandings extol action. But as to the high-souled ancients they do not extol action³. By action a creature is born with a body and made up of the sixteen⁴. Knowledge brings forth⁵ the being, and that is acceptable and constitutes immortality. Therefore those who are far-sighted have no attachment to actions. This being is stated to be full of knowledge, not full of action⁶. The self-restrained man who thus understands the immortal, changeless, incomprehensible, and ever indestructible and unattached (principle), he dies not⁷. He who thus understands the self to which there is nothing prior, which is uncreated, changeless, unmoving⁸, which is incomprehensible (even) to those who feed on nectar, he certainly becomes immortal⁷ and not to be restrained⁹, in consequence of these means¹⁰.

¹ See *Sānti Parvan* (*Rāgadharma*) XIII, 4. Cf. *Maitrī*, p. 180. This means the two and three syllables of 'mama' and 'na mama,' mine and not mine. Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 970, and *Khândogya*, p. 118, and p. 548, for a similar conceit.

² Final emancipation follows on abandoning the idea of 'mine;' bondage on harbouring it. ³ See *Mundaka*, p. 279.

⁴ The eleven organs and the five great elements which go to form the body. See *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* 3, and comment thereon; *Sānti Parvan*, chap. 210, st. 32 seq.; chap. 242, st. 7 seq.; *Prasna*, p. 230.

⁵ I. e. shows. ⁶ Cf. *Gītā*, p. 118; *Sānti Parvan*, ch. 242, st. 15.

⁷ See p. 367 supra, note 6; and cf. *Kaṭha*, pp. 155, 156.

⁸ I. e. which remains unconcerned, cf. *Īśa*, p. 10. *Apūrvam* (to which there is nothing prior), *Arguna Misra* renders by 'not familiarly known,' and *Nilakanṭha* by 'not understood by any other means of knowledge.' See also *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, p. 502, and *Saṅkara* on that.

⁹ This is not very clear, but I suppose the meaning to be the same as that of 'unconquerable' at p. 161, and see p. 231.

¹⁰ I. e. the means mentioned further on, says *Nilakanṭha*.

Expelling all impressions¹, and restraining the self in the self², he understands that holy Brahman, than which nothing greater exists. And when the understanding is clear, he attains tranquillity³. And the nature of tranquillity is as when one sees a dream⁴. This⁵ is the goal of those emancipated ones who are intent on knowledge. And they see all the movements⁶ which are produced by development. This is the goal of those who are indifferent (to the world). This is the eternal piety. This is what is acquired by men of knowledge. This is the uncensured (mode of) conduct. This goal can be reached by one who is alike to all beings⁷, who is without attachment, who is without expectations,

¹ Impressions from external causes. Cf. inter alia Sâṅkhya-sūtra III, 83; see, too, pp. 247-358 supra and notes there.

² I. e. restraining the mind in the lotus-like heart, *Nilakantha*. Cf. as to this, pp. 248, 372 inter alia.

³ Cf. Gîtâ, p. 51. See also Maitrî-upanishad, p. 176, and *Mundaka*, p. 314.

⁴ Arguna Misra says, 'The nature of tranquillity is this, that in that state you perceive everything to be unreal like what is seen in a dream.' *Nilakantha* says, 'The nature of tranquillity is this, that in that state the self abides without attachment to the body, and any external objects, but working within itself as in a dream.' But see on this *Kaṭha*, p. 147.

⁵ Viz. tranquillity, *Nilakantha*.

⁶ I. e., says *Nilakantha*, they see all worldly objects past and future. Arguna Misra, 'They see the actions performed for some wealth and so forth.' I am not satisfied with either meaning. Arguna Misra's is besides based on a reading different from that adopted in the text, namely, *Parimāṇagâḥ*, instead of *Parivāmagâḥ*. I think 'parivāma' is the development which, according to the Sâṅkhya philosophy, produces the universe, and the movements are the actions which that development—namely, here the activity of egoism and its products—occasions. Cf. as to some extent supporting this, Sâṅkhya-sāra, p. 16.

⁷ See inter alia Gîtâ, pp. 68-70.

and who looks alike on everything¹. I have now declared everything to you, O best of Brâhmana sages! Act thus forthwith; then you will acquire perfection.

The preceptor said:

Thus instructed by the preceptor Brahman, those high-souled sages acted accordingly, and then attained to the worlds². Do you, too, O noble person, of pure self! duly act according to the words of Brahman which I have stated. Then will you attain perfection.

Vâsudeva said:

That pupil thus instructed in the highest piety by the preceptor, did everything (accordingly), O son of Kuntî! and then attained final emancipation. And the pupil, having done all he should have done, attained to that seat, O supporter of the family of the Kauravas! going to which one grieves not³.

Arguna said:

Who, indeed, was that Brâhmana, O *Krishna*! and who the pupil, O *Ganârdana*! If this verily is fit to be heard by me, O Lord! then tell it me.

Vâsudeva said:

I⁴ am the preceptor, O you of mighty arms! and

¹ See inter alia *Gîtâ*, pp. 68-70.

² I. e., I presume, Bhûr and the rest. But see also *Khândogya*, pp. 272, 541, 620, and *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*, pp. 302, 608.

³ See p. 285 supra, and cf. inter alia *Khândogya*, p. 550.

⁴ I. e. I, the *Kshetragnâ*, am the preceptor, and the mind is that which has to be taught. This shows that one's instructor must be oneself, *Nilakantha*. Arguna Misra says, 'I am the preceptor, the mind is the pupil. The meaning of this is that anybody who has not acquired knowledge is treated here as a pupil; there is no other special pupil intended.' Cf. also p. 310 supra.

know the mind to be my pupil. And, O Dhanañgaya! I have related this mystery to you out of love for you. If you have love for me, O supporter of the family of the Kauravas! then having heard this (instruction) relating to the self, always duly act¹ (according to it). Then when this piety is duly practised, you will attain the absolute final emancipation, getting rid of all sins. It was this same thing I stated to you before² when the time for battle had come, O you of mighty arms! Therefore fix your mind on this. And now³, O chief of the descendants of Bharata! it is long since I saw the lord my father. I wish to see him, with your consent, O Phâlguna⁴!

Vaisampâyana said:

When *Krishna* spoke these words, Dhanañgaya replied (saying), 'O *Krishna*! let us verily go to-day to the city of Gâṇḍâ⁵. Be pleased, O you who understand piety! to see there king Yudhishtîra, who is of a devout heart, and after taking leave of him to go to your own city.'

¹ Nilakantha interprets the words without supplying anything, thus 'be devoted to yama niyama,' &c. Yama &c. are the eight requisites for Yoga or concentration of mind as taught by Patañjali.

² That is to say, in the Gîtâ.

³ Here he takes up the thread of the story. In the first chapter it was hinted that *Krishna* was anxious to go to Dvârakâ.

⁴ This is a name of Arguna.

⁵ I. e. Hastinâpur, the capital of the Pândavas. They were, when the dialogue was held, at Indraprastha. See p. 229 supra.

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TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.	II Class.									
		III Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
2 " aspirata	kh	.	.	ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh	
3 Media	g	.	.	ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	.	
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	.	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	.	
6 Nasalis	ñ (ng)	.	.	ङ	{ 𐬛 (ng) 𐬜 (N) 𐬝 (w hv)	.	.	.	.	.
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	ह	.	.	.	.	.	h, hs
8 " lenis	,	.	.	𐬟	.	.	.	.	.	.
9 " asper faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
11 " asper fricatus . . . . .	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
12 " lenis fricatus . . . . .	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis . . . . .	.	k	.	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	k
14 " aspirata . . . . .	.	kh	.	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	kh
15 Media . . . . .	.	g	.	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	.
16 " aspirata . . . . .	.	gh	.	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	.
17 " Nasalis . . . . .	.	ñ	.	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	.

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𑀲 ^{init.}	𐭪	ی	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(y)								
20 " lenis		(y)								
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𑀱𑀲		ش	ش	ש	z
22 " lenis assibilatus		z								t
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𑀲𑀸	𐭪	ت	ت	ת	th
24 " aspirata	th									
25 " assibilata			TH	द			د	د		
26 Media	d			द						
27 " aspirata	dh									
28 " assibilata			DH							
29 Nasalis	n			न			ن	ن		n
30 Semivocalis	l			ल			ل	ل		l
31 " mollis 1		l		ळ						
32 " mollis 2			L	ळ						
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स			س	س		s
34 " asper 2			S (/)							
35 " lenis	z									z
36 " asperimus 1			Z (ß)							ß
37 " asperimus 2			Z (ß)							ß

VOWEL	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ə			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ɔ			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	...	...	...	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	...	...	...	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	ɛ			ए	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	ē			ऐ	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ɪ			ऍ	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	ī			ऎ	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	é (ai)	(e)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " "	ei (ēi)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " "	oi (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ô (au)	(o)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " "	eu (ēu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " "	ou (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä		
25 Palatalis fracta	ī		
26 Labialis fracta	ū		
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ü		

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